A Series in Memory of Professor Joseph Fewsmith

纪念傅卓士教授的系列文章

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(In English)

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(In Chinese)

前言

海内外学者【追忆傅士卓（Joseph Fewsmith）】系列文章

赵全胜

美利坚大学国际关系学院教授

【海外看世界】主编

国之交在于民相亲，而民相亲的基础又在于相互理解和熟悉。不久前去世的波士顿大学教授傅士卓先生就是一辈子在做中美之间相互理解的工作。他既是在“中国学”领域里的泰斗，同时又是中美交流杰出的践行者。他的研究路径和为人师表也为当前在国内方兴未艾的区域国别研究领域树立了一个标杆。

参加这次由华人论坛和【海外看世界】发起的追思活动的学者来自美国、中国大陆、新加坡、和港台地区。我们今天的活动不但是深切怀念傅士卓先生，而且也表达了我们要继续完成他未竟事业的决心。

2025 年 11 月 20 日

(In English)

Preface

A Series in Memory of Professor Joseph Fewsmith

Zhao Quansheng

Professor, School of International Service, American University

The Chief Editor of *Global China*

【Editor's note】

The friendship between countries lies in the friendship between the peoples, and the basis of the peoples' friendship lies in mutual understanding. The late Professor Joseph Fewsmith of Boston University dedicated his entire life to fostering mutual understanding between China and the United States. He was not only a leading figure in the field of "China studies" but also an outstanding practitioner of China-U.S. exchanges. His research methodology and his exemplary conduct as a scholar set a benchmark for the burgeoning field of area studies in China.

Scholars participating in this memorial series, which was initiated by the Global Forum of Chinese Political Scientists (全球华人政治学家论坛)'s main publication *Global China* (海外看世界), came from the United States, Mainland China, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. This series serves not only as a profound tribute to Professor Fewsmith but also as a declaration of our determination to carry forward the important work he began.

November 20, 2025

(In Chinese)

1

怀念 Joe：生有涯，学无限，人情永存

叶敏

波士顿大学帕蒂全球研究院国际关系教授

波士顿大学帕蒂未来研究中心主任

我这一生深受道家思想影响，重在自我修行，顺势而为。因此，Joe 退休前，我曾想牵头办一次大型学者聚会，请他的朋友与学生撰文，结集成书，以纪念他的学术成就。但在校内落实时，同事与机构支持相对有限，若要推进将耗费大量精力且前景不明， 我最终作罢。退休会本身办得很成功，同事与友人齐聚，回顾他对波士顿大学与学术界的贡献。Joe 的发言却避开了我们的致谢，他说，自己最自豪的不是著作、机构或政策贡献，而是他的学生。遗憾的是，因为我的迟疑与不作为，让他最引以为傲的学生多未到场。我原以为等他退休，时间宽裕，再请他写作，办活动，为中美交流多做些事 （他的老大哥，Ezra Vogel 退休 20 年做了无数事情）。未曾料到他离去如此突然，我什么都没来得及做。一直以来，都是 Joe 在帮我；当我终于想为他做点什么时，他已不在。

在研究中国的学者中，Joe 和 Ezra 是对中国抱有善意的一支：他们批评某些政策，但对中国官员 或学者 从不苛责，总尽力相助、保持友好。2015 年，几个部委和省政府新闻发言人来哈佛访问，希望跟专家交流。我征询一些研究中美关系的学者，要么忙，或觉得新闻宣传者是政府口舌，对政策或具体问题了解不多，交流意义不大。我请教 Joe 时，他虽将出差无法见团，却立刻写信给 Ezra，请他帮忙。Ezra 又亲自写信给 Joseph Nye 等学者，大家都欣然应允。短短半天的行程，被安排的紧凑又充实。交流的内容十分深刻，也很实在。我们都很感激 Ezra 的慷慨和善意，但幕后英雄 Joe 却不在场。当然，Joe 也从不计较。Joe 去世仅几日，已有许多人来信，讲述他在背后默默相助的故事。

Joe 的离去，更令人忧心中美关系与两国社会的未来。今年秋天，同样是国内政府代表，来哈佛进行交流。他们预定的活动被取消了， 临时找我救急。我联系相熟的学者和相关中心，很多人不在，没时间，或觉得有危险。中方来者在不友好的氛围下也性质寥寥，即

便与我和另一位熟人见面，已显得悲观、消极。这样的心态和行为很正常，可以理解。但，对中美两国的未来十分堪忧。中美两国即使是竞争对手，双方的政治生态，经济社会，都是充满活力与热力，互相交流，学习与了解，对学者，商界，政界都很有帮助。更别说，如此有意思的两个社会，怎么能断交呢？作为人类社会文明的重要组成，相互了解，交流，建立联系，不是让我们的人生经历更丰富多彩，求知历程更有奇迹发现吗？

人的一生很普通，但又可以很丰富；学者生涯很艰辛，但也可以充满乐趣。关键是选择做一个什么样的人， 做什么样的学问。Joe 选择了善意，包容，充满好奇心；与中国人交朋友，下到地方上去不断观察，学习，从实地学习中提升自己、完善自己；在自己有能力的范围内，与人为善，能帮就帮，不纠结回报、值不值得。他真正活出了丰富，慷慨，充满乐趣的一生。生有涯，学不息，人情无限。

退休后，Joe 应 Kevin 邀请，我们仨一起给博士后和年轻学者分享“如何出版第一本书”的座谈。Kevin 建议大家关注有关新书，丛书主编与致谢对象，然后有针对性跟这些人联系，交流，为自己新书找到助力。我呢，分享了匿名审稿人同意审稿的心态。我说，“大家都很忙，一般不会接受审稿要求，除非他们在做类似的研究。那么他们的心态应该是这样：我可以学到什么，稿子的缺点在哪里。但是，他们也有学术修养，要面对主编和编委的看法，不能太过偏颇，影响声誉。基于此，年轻作者要把文献阅读做得很扎实，理论框架和方法尽量不要有遗漏；然后，实证部分一定要够新颖，重要，和严谨。递交的书稿尽量达到可出版水平，不要有侥幸心理，成功才比较有把握。”Joe 听了我们的意见后，他开始慢慢聊自己出书的经历，每本书都是一个故事，把这个故事写好，出版就不成问题。他说：“我相信，我也是这样做的，学者答应审稿是因为对这个问题感兴趣；如果可以，就要支持作者，帮助他们提高书的质量。除非稿子很差，才会建议拒掉。”

Joe走后几天，我已收到十余位美国学者朋友的哀悼与慰问，表达对Joe的感激与怀念；更别说他的学生、中国朋友们对他的敬仰和思念。我意识到，我的观点是多么狭隘与偏激。人间的善这么少，却是最难得的。而我们的中美学者圈，善意仍然居多。未来更要小心呵护，让知识与人性的美好，抵御工具理性和数据崇拜的控制与统治。

(In English)

1

Remembering Joe: Life Is Finite, Learning Is Endless, and Human Bonds Live On

Ye Min

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Throughout my life, I have been deeply influenced by Taoist philosophy, which emphasizes personal cultivation and aligning with the natural flow of things. Thus, before Joe's retirement, I had considered organizing a large gathering of scholars, inviting his friends and students to contribute essays for a commemorative volume celebrating his academic achievements. However, when it came to practical implementation within the university, support from colleagues and institutions was relatively limited. Moving forward would have demanded immense effort with uncertain prospects, so I ultimately abandoned the plan. The retirement event itself was very successful, bringing together colleagues and friends to reflect on his contributions to Boston University and the academic world. Yet in his speech, Joe sidestepped our tributes, stating that his greatest pride lay not in his publications, institutions, or policy impacts, but in his students. Regrettably, due to my hesitation and inaction, many of the students he was most proud of were absent. I had assumed that after his retirement, with more time available, I could invite him to write, organize events, and contribute more to U.S.-China exchanges (Note: his elder colleague, Ezra Vogel, accomplished countless things in the 20 years after his retirement). I never anticipated his departure would come so suddenly, leaving me with nothing accomplished. All along, it was Joe who helped me; when I finally wanted to do something for him, he was already gone.

Among China scholars, Joe and Ezra belonged to a group that held goodwill toward China: they criticized certain policies but never reproached Chinese officials or scholars harshly, always striving to assist and maintain friendly relations. In 2015, when spokespersons from several ministries and provincial governments in China visited Harvard and sought expert exchanges, I consulted several scholars specializing in U.S.-China relations. Some were too busy, while others viewed publicity officials merely as government mouthpieces with limited understanding of policies or specific issues, doubting the value of such exchanges. When I turned to Joe for advice,

though he was unable to meet the delegation due to travel commitments, he immediately wrote to Ezra, requesting his assistance. Ezra, in turn, personally wrote to scholars like Joseph Nye, all of whom gladly agreed. The half-day itinerary was arranged tightly yet substantively, with discussions both profound and practical. We were all deeply grateful for Ezra's generosity and goodwill, yet the behind-the-scenes hero, Joe, was absent. Of course, Joe never minded such things. Within days of his passing, many have written to share stories of his quiet, behind-the-scenes assistance.

Joe's departure makes me even more concerned about the future of U.S.-China relations and the societies of both nations. This autumn, another delegation of Chinese government representatives came to Harvard for exchanges. Their scheduled event was canceled, and they urgently sought my help. When I reached out to scholars and research centers in related fields, many were unavailable. The Chinese visitors, facing an unfriendly atmosphere, showed little enthusiasm; even in meetings with me and other acquaintances, they appeared pessimistic and negative. Such attitudes and behaviors are understandable and natural under such circumstances. Yet they intensify my worries about the future of both countries. Even as competitors, the political ecosystems, economies, and societies of the U.S. and China are vibrant and dynamic. Mutual exchange, learning, and understanding remain immensely beneficial for scholars, business communities, and policymakers. Moreover, how could two such fascinating societies cut ties? As integral components of human civilization, mutual understanding, exchange, and connection only enrich our life experiences and make the quest for knowledge more wondrous.

A person's life can be ordinary yet profoundly rich; an academic career can be arduous yet filled with joy. What matters is the choice of what kind of person to be and what kind of scholarship to pursue. Joe chose kindness, inclusiveness, and boundless curiosity. He befriended Chinese people, traveled extensively to observe and learn from local realities, refining himself through firsthand experience. Within his capacity, he helped others whenever possible, without dwelling on returns or whether it was "worth it." He truly lived a life of abundance, generosity, and joy. Life is finite, but learning is endless, and human bonds live on.

After retirement, at Kevin Gallagher's invitation, the three of us held a seminar for postdoctoral researchers and young scholars on "How to Publish Your First Book." Kevin advised attendees to pay attention to new books, series editors, and individuals acknowledged in publications, then connect and engage with them to seek support for their own projects. For my part, I shared insights

into the mindset of anonymous peer reviewers. I said, “Everyone is busy and typically declines review requests unless they are working on similar research. Their mindset might be: What can I learn from this manuscript, and where are its shortcomings? However, they also uphold academic integrity, considering the perspectives of editors and editorial boards, and avoid being overly biased to protect their reputation. Thus, young authors must conduct thorough literature reviews, ensure theoretical frameworks and methods are comprehensive, and make sure the empirical sections are sufficiently novel, significant, and rigorous. Submitted manuscripts should be as close to publishable quality as possible—no room for complacency—to maximize chances of success.”

After listening to our advice, Joe began recounting his own experiences with publishing, describing each book as a story. “Write the story well,” he said, “and publishing will follow naturally.” He added, “I believe, and I have always acted on this belief, that scholars agree to review because they are interested in the topic. If possible, they should support authors and help improve the quality of the work. Only if the manuscript is truly poor would they recommend rejection.”

In the days since Joe’s passing, I have received condolences and messages from over a dozen American scholar-friends, expressing gratitude and fond remembrance of Joe—let alone the reverence and longing felt by his students and Chinese friends. I have come to realize how narrow and extreme my own perspectives can be. Goodness in this world is scarce, yet it is the most precious quality. And within our community of U.S.-China scholars, goodwill still predominates. Moving forward, we must carefully nurture this, allowing the beauty of knowledge and humanity to resist the dominance and control of instrumental rationality and data worship.

(In Chinese)

2

忆我的导师傅士卓

孙太一

美国克里斯多夫纽波特大学政治科学系副教授

第一次见到傅老师是一个阳光明媚的波士顿的下午，在查尔斯河畔 Bay State Road 那栋老楼顶楼他宽敞却堆满各种书籍文献的办公室里。他见到我这个刚来的博士生，上来就问“你确定你要研究水利政治学吗？这个话题有点窄啊。”我当时心里嘀咕，这位笑呵呵的老先生，自己研究中国精英政治不觉得话题窄，怎么上来就要给我“改命”呢？

傅老师希望我不仅要维持研究的深度，还得有开阔的研究视野。后来我和其他系里的同门聊才恍然大悟，傅老师并非对所有人都有这样的偏好和要求，他这是因材施教，而且是在见到我之前就早已详细看了我的材料和背景，才一见面就给了我这样的提示。

目前为止，我写的几本书都不是同一个领域的，有些同行会诧异，一个学者难道不该深耕一个很小的领域，这样大家一提到你就能联想到一个具体的话题和一个具体的理论吗？面对这样的疑问，我丝毫不担心，因为我背后有傅老师给我撑腰。他老人家还身体力行，一会儿写写精英政治，一会儿研究研究基层治理。仿佛在跟我说“你看，精英政治这个话题也有点窄嘛”。

傅老师不太管我，我一直以来觉得自己是被“放养”的，可以自由自在地探索。他是我的博士委员会主席，我想象中哪怕不是每天找我，怎么着他都得每周让我干点活，让我扮演一下“研究助理”的角色，毕竟我可是个优质的免费劳动力啊。但傅老师不仅不太找我，每次找我仿佛还都小心翼翼的。比如有一次，他约我到他办公室，说是请我帮他个忙。他说他中文不太好，希望让我陪他一起听听刚刚完成的一系列对中国精英的访谈录音。我心想，终于轮到我在导师面前大显身手了。

后来的连续几周，我每周都会去他办公室。他放一会儿访谈录音，然后时不时暂停一下跟我讨论、交流几句，分析用词选择和语言背后所包含的意图。我还就真就自以为是地跟傅老师说，这句话可能是这个意思，那句话可能是那个意思，很自豪地作为一个中国人

在教老外中文呢。过了一段时间后，某一天，我恍然大悟，这哪是在寻求我的帮助啊，他这个中国通，文言文都可以不查字典直接看懂的人，根本没有理解上的障碍，那分明是在手把手教我做田野啊。后来我自己在做田野、做访谈的时候，恍惚间就会想起那些跟他一起听录音的日子，好像他一直在我的身边陪伴着我。

后来我习惯了他的这种风格了。他有的时候会给我发个邮件，说“太一我请教你一个问题，”我就知道他其实是要我去思考一下某个我可能还没深度思考过的问题了。或者，有的时候他会问我说请教我关于某个话题有没有一个具体的更为丰富的文献。我就知道他是想让我再更多探索一下这个领域的学术论争和各方论点了。

我在波士顿读博的时候，热衷于学生社团的活动，有的时候好像主要精力都不在博士研究上。傅老师从来不会让我只埋头做研究，让我收心；相反，他还非常支持我的各种尝试和探索。因为我参与搭了好几个不同的“台子”，每次邀请傅老师做分享，他这个大忙人都毫不犹豫地答应，而且都是义务分享。也正因为此，我的波士顿的朋友们，哪怕是从全球各地来波士顿参加我们的活动的朋友们也基本上都见过傅老师。

傅老师也是通过鼓励我参与各种各样的活动，让我学会如何与不同的人打交道，然后对不同的话题好奇，以引导和支持研究。哪怕是我的博士学位授予仪式当天，我们俩正排着队准备上台以让他给我正式带上博士帽呢，他就开始跟我讲台海议题，从美国的“一中政策”到中国的“一中原则”，来来去去围绕这个话题和我交流了近半个小时。我心想，博士阶段我可从来没研究过台海议题，也不是做这个的，怎么临上台了快把我送出门了，开始讲这个了呢？我想，他虽然脸上笑呵呵的不紧不慢的，心里可能确实恨不得把他的技艺学识都塞给我。后来在台上，傅老师给我带上了博士帽，我就感觉那帽子里装的全是关于台海的研究问题和想法。说来也怪，也许是他当时在我心里种下了一颗种子，今年早些时候，我与翁履中教授合写的《台海战争迷思》（*The Myth of War in the Taiwan Strait*）一书正式出版了，我也被邀请去了包括美国国务院、约翰霍普金斯、北大清华在内的中美十几所高校和研究机构分享了研究成果。虽然和我博士阶段研究的课题没有任何关系，傅老师得知后依旧非常高兴。当然，按照他一贯的风格，他又给我提出了更多的问题。

虽然傅老师研究的领域是中国政治，但他也时不时会开发我对时事关注的兴趣，有时会发邮件跟我聊美国政治和中美关系。有一次他对我写道：“……除此之外，你说得对——这些紧张局势并非特朗普造成的。民主党人似乎和特朗普一样反华。所以我们面临着一

个长期问题。鉴于中国的体量和实力，我认为中国超越美国是不可避免的，至少在经济规模方面是如此。我希望美国能弄清楚它的优先事项是什么（Beyond that, you are right -- these tensions go beyond Trump. The Dems seem to be just as anti-China as Trump. So we have a long-term problem. Given the size and talent of China, it seems to me inevitable that China will overtake the US, at least in terms of the size of the economy. I wish the US could figure out what its priorities are.）。” 我现在经常在媒体发声，分享我的观察，看似在和观众、读者交流，隐隐约约仿佛也是在给傅老师回着邮件。

除了关照我的研究以外，傅老师也毫不吝啬地跟我分享他的教学心得。别看他每过几年就能出一本书，他实际上把更多的心思花在了教书育人上，也为他的学生的成功感到欣喜、骄傲。就在去年，他还特别激动地给我写邮件跟我分享说他带的几位博士生分别都找到教职了，非常高兴，“看来我们还不赖。”

但哪怕我们这些博士生已经找到教职，自己开始授课带学生后，傅老师依旧会继续予以支持。我博士毕业拿到教职后，才刚开学没多久，傅老师就跟我分享他开始教书时的前几年遇到的挑战和困惑，表示他当时也花了很久才慢慢对课程有了把控，也分享了他当时的一些具体做法和心得。当然，他永远不会忘记幽一把默。有一次刚开学他写道：“如果开学时就已经累得不行的话，其实也挺好——这样一来前两三周都感觉不到累了，学期也仿佛被缩短了（Always nice to start a semester exhausted. Then you don’t notice the first 2-3 weeks. It shortens the semester）。”

我出第一本个人专著《颠覆及转机》（*Disruptions as Opportunities*）之后，傅老师激动不已，给我发邮件告诉我说：“我相信你是我第一位出版了学术专著的博士生！写书真是不容易的！恭喜你！（I believe you are my first PhD student who has gone on to write an academic book! It is hard work writing a book! Congratulations!）” 这是我第一次见他连用三个感叹号。他自己出书似乎都没这么激动，反而很谦虚。三年前他快完成上一本书的时候，已经是精英政治研究领军人物的他在给我的邮件里写道：“我正在写一本书，《反思中国政治：一种分析框架》– 看来我得不断重写“精英政治”，直到真正写对为止！（I am working on a book project, *Rethinking Chinese Politics: A Framework for Analysis*. I guess I'll keep rewriting elite politics till I get it right!）

业内很多人习惯于把他和哈佛的傅高义（Ezra Vogel）以及马若德（Roderick MacFarquar）教授视为是领衔在美国研究中国精英政治的三驾马车。傅老师和傅高义经常互相开玩笑说他们是亲兄弟，因为都姓“傅”。有一次三位大咖会面，我也在场。傅老师又开玩笑用中文说：“我们俩（指指他和傅高义）是亲兄弟，他（指指旁边的马若德）不一样，他姓马。”马若德听了也是一如既往地坐在那儿一动不动，只是微微一笑。如今三驾马车已纷纷离我们而去了。

傅老师也关心学生们的生活，他在波士顿最喜欢的餐馆是石库门，经常会在那里请学生们吃饭。我在这之前只听说有学生会请老师吃饭表示感谢的，没听说过老师要常常掏腰包请学生吃饭的。后来有一天，他突然改约我在查尔斯河对面剑桥的 Shanghai Fresh 吃饭，我以为他那天在哈佛有事，毕竟他也常年是费正清中心的研究员。结果那天他到了餐馆，先环顾一下四周好像要确保没有人在偷听，然后很神秘地悄悄跟我说：“你知道吗，石库门的大厨跑到这里来了。”

从此，我们便改在 Shanghai Fresh 吃饭了。后来我父母第一次到波士顿，傅老师也执意要请他们在那里吃一顿饭，哪怕他那天晚饭之后还得立刻去赶火车。傅老师特别喜欢和中国人打交道，也习惯用中文和我们交流。他这个俄亥俄长大，在美国中西部受教育又在东海岸工作了 34 年的美国人，居然有时会说“我现在习惯用中文思考了，有的时候会想不出来英文该怎么说了。”也许也受到他的老师邹谠的影响，傅老师也热爱中国文化，甚至还有时会把这种文化融入到自己的行为方式中。我和太太结婚时，婚礼是在国内办的。告知傅老师这个消息后，他说：“中国人结婚不是都要领导致辞的吗，来，我给你录几句。”这才有了后来我婚礼上播放的傅老师对我们婚礼的祝福。

傅老师鼓励学生的方式也很有特色。其他老师表扬我，我一般都还比较淡定；傅老师表扬我时，我可是很骄傲的，因为他不太当面非常直白地表扬我。哪怕要表扬，都还得拐个弯抹个角。比如有一年，我跟他分享我那年发表的数篇学术论文，他回我的邮件第一句话是他一贯的幽默，让我仿佛能看到慈祥的他就在面前：“你今年没做什么事吧？（笑脸）我真不知道你是怎么把这么多事都办成的（You haven’t done much this year, have you? I don't know how you do it all. ）。”

但后来我多次听说，他总是在背地里，在别人面前使劲地夸我。母校波士顿大学的叶敏教授跟我说，就在今年 5 月傅老师退休会上，他还提到我，说“孙太一非常优秀，正在

成为一个领域的出色教授。”说他的一生最大的成就是学生，尤其是还在学术界的学生。他为学生们感到骄傲。

本来以为写这些文字的时候会很难落笔，会非常悲伤。但其实我是一边流泪一边傻笑着写完的。太多对傅老师的记忆交织在一起，但好像只有美好。他对生活的乐观，给身边人投射的美好，让我在想到他时很难真的陷入悲痛不能自拔，因为我知道，他面对这个世界的一切困难和意外，都会是积极且富有正面的感染力的。我教书的学校和家离得很远，新冠疫情刚开始时，有一次他给我的邮件是这样开头的：“希望你一切都好。我想你现在应该是在网上授课吧？这样每周可省了不少通勤时间，你一定挺喜欢新冠疫情的吧！（I trust (hope) all is well. I assume you are teaching remotely, which saves you many hours every week. You must like covid-19! ）”

如今，傅老师已然离去，但那些被他改变过命运的学生，早已在各自的岗位上继续前行。我们身上或多或少都留有他的影子，然而，这世间再也没有他那独一无二的“原版”了。即便如此，他的等身著作，以及我们这群传承他思想与精神的学生，仍然是他曾在世间意义非凡地走过一遭的最深印迹。

(In English)

2

Remembering My Mentor, Professor Joseph Fewsmith

Sun Taiyi

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Christopher Newport University

I first met Professor Fewsmith on a sunny afternoon in Boston, in his spacious yet book-cluttered office on the top floor of the old building on Bay State Road by the Charles River. Upon meeting me, a newly arrived doctoral student, he immediately asked, "Are you sure you want to study hydro-politics? That's a rather narrow topic." I thought to myself, "This cheerful elderly scholar studies Chinese elite politics without considering it narrow—why is he trying to 'reshape my fate' from the get-go?"

Professor Fewsmith hoped I would not only maintain depth in my research but also develop a broad academic perspective. Later, after talking with other students in the department, I realized that Professor Fewsmith did not impose this preference or requirement on anyone. He tailored his guidance to each student's strengths, and before even meeting me, he had thoroughly reviewed my background and materials, which led him to offer this advice right from the start.

To this day, the few books I have written span different fields, and some colleagues express surprise. Shouldn't a scholar delve deeply into a narrow area so that people immediately associate them with a specific topic or theory? Faced with such questions, I feel no concern because I have Professor Fewsmith's support. He himself led by example, writing about elite politics one moment and grassroots governance the next, as if saying to me, "See, even elite politics can be a narrow topic."

Professor Fewsmith rarely micromanaged how I conducted research. I always felt I was "free-range," allowed to explore freely. As the chair of my dissertation committee, I imagined he would at least have me do some work for him weekly, if not daily, and play the role of a "research assistant," given that I was, after all, a high-quality cheap laborer. But Professor Fewsmith not only seldom sought me out; when he did, it was always with great care. Once, he invited me to his office, saying he needed my help. He claimed his Chinese wasn't very good and asked me to join

him in listening to a series of interview recordings with Chinese elites. I thought to myself, “Finally, my chance to shine in front of my mentor.”

For several weeks afterward, I would visit his office weekly. He would play the interview recordings, pausing occasionally to discuss and analyze word choices and the intentions behind the language with me. I proudly offered my interpretations, thinking I, as a Chinese native, was teaching a foreigner Chinese. It wasn’t until later that I realized this wasn’t about him seeking my help at all. As a true “China hand” who could read classical Chinese without a dictionary, he had no trouble understanding. He was, in fact, teaching me how to conduct fieldwork firsthand. When I later conducted my own fieldwork and interviews, I would often recall those days of listening to recordings with him, as if he were still by my side.

I eventually grew accustomed to his style. Sometimes, he would email me, saying, “Taiyi, I’d like to ask you a question,” and I knew he actually wanted me to ponder something I might not have deeply considered. Or he would ask if I knew of more comprehensive literature on a particular topic, signaling that he wanted me to explore the academic debates and arguments in that field further.

During my doctoral studies in Boston, I was actively involved in student organizations, sometimes focusing more on extracurricular activities than research. Professor Fewsmith never urged me to narrow my focus or rein in my interests. On the contrary, he fully supported my various endeavors. Because I helped organize several platforms, whenever I invited him to share his insights, he never hesitated to agree, albeit being busy all the time, always doing so voluntarily. As a result, my friends in Boston, and even those who came from around the world to attend our events, had the chance to meet Professor Fewsmith.

By encouraging my participation in diverse activities, Professor Fewsmith taught me how to engage with different people, cultivate curiosity about various topics, and ultimately guide and support my research. Even on the day of my doctoral graduation ceremony, as we stood in line waiting to walk onstage for him to officially confer my doctoral hood, he began discussing the Taiwan Strait issue with me. From the U.S. “One China policy” to China’s “One China principle,” we talked for nearly half an hour. I thought to myself, “I never studied the Taiwan Strait issue during my doctoral program, nor is it my area of expertise. Why bring this up now, just as I’m about to graduate?” I realized that behind his cheerful and unhurried demeanor, he was eager to impart as much of his knowledge and skills to me as possible. Onstage, as Professor Fewsmith

placed the doctoral hood over my shoulders, I felt as if it were filled with research questions and ideas about the Taiwan Strait. Strangely enough, perhaps he planted a seed in my mind that day.

In 2025, my co-authored book with Professor Dennis Luzhong Weng, *The Myth of War in the Taiwan Strait*, was officially published, and I was invited to share my research findings at over a dozen universities and research institutions in China and the United States, including the U.S. Department of State, Johns Hopkins University, Peking University, and Tsinghua University. Although it had nothing to do with my doctoral research, Professor Fewsmith was delighted to hear about it. True to his style, he promptly raised more questions for me to ponder.

Though Professor Fewsmith's research focused on Chinese politics, he also nurtured my interest in current affairs, sometimes emailing me about U.S. politics and China-U.S. relations. In one email, he wrote: "…Beyond that, you are right—these tensions go beyond Trump. The Dems seem to be just as anti-China as Trump. So we have a long-term problem. Given the size and talent of China, it seems to me inevitable that China will overtake the U.S., at least in terms of the size of the economy. I wish the U.S. could figure out what its priorities are."

Now, I frequently share my observations in the media, engaging with audiences and readers. In a way, it feels as if I am responding to Professor Fewsmith's emails.

Beyond guiding my research, Professor Fewsmith generously shared his teaching insights with me. Despite publishing a book every few years, he devoted even more energy to educating and mentoring students, taking great pride and joy in their successes. Just last year, he excitedly emailed me to share that several of his doctoral students had secured academic positions, adding, "It seems we're not doing too badly."

Even after we, doctoral students, secured faculty positions and began teaching and mentoring our own students, Professor Fewsmith continued to offer his support. Shortly after I started my career, he shared the challenges and uncertainties he faced in his early years of teaching, noting that it took time to gain confidence in course design. He also offered practical advice and reflections, never missing an opportunity to inject humor. At the start of one semester, he wrote: "Always nice to start a semester exhausted. Then you don't notice the first 2–3 weeks. It shortens the semester."

After the publication of my first monograph, *Disruptions as Opportunities*, Professor Fewsmith was thrilled. He emailed me, saying, "I believe you are my first Ph.D. student who has gone on to write an academic book! It is hard work writing a book! Congratulations!" It was the first time I

had seen him use three exclamation marks in a row. He seemed more excited about my book than his own, about which he remained humble. Three years ago, while finishing his latest book, this leading figure in elite politics studies wrote to me: “I am working on a book project, ‘Rethinking Chinese Politics: A Framework for Analysis.’ I guess I’ll keep rewriting elite politics till I get it right!”

Many in the field often regard him, alongside Harvard’s Ezra Vogel and Roderick MacFarquhar, as the “three pillars” of Chinese elite politics studies in the United States. Professors Fewsmith and Vogel often jokingly referred to each other as brothers because they shared the Chinese surname “Fu.” Once, when the three distinguished scholars met, I was present. Professor Fewsmith joked in Chinese, “We two (pointing to himself and Ezra Vogel) are brothers. He (pointing to MacFarquhar) is different—his surname is Ma.” MacFarquhar, as usual, sat quietly with a slight smile. Now, all three pillars have left us.

Professor Fewsmith also cared deeply about his students’ lives. His favorite restaurant in Boston was Shanghai Gate (Shikumen), where he often treated students to meals. Before this, I had only heard of students treating their mentors to express gratitude, not mentors frequently footing the bill for students. One day, he changed our meeting place to Shanghai Fresh in Cambridge, across the Charles River. Thinking he had business at Harvard—after all, he was also a longtime research fellow at the Fairbank Center—I went along. Upon arriving, he first glanced around as if ensuring no one was eavesdropping, then whispered mysteriously, “Did you know? The chef from Shikumen has moved here.”

From then on, we switched to Shanghai Fresh. Later, when my parents visited Boston for the first time, Professor Fewsmith insisted on treating them to a meal there, even though he had to catch a train immediately afterward. He loved interacting with Chinese people and often communicated with us in Chinese. Despite growing up in Ohio, being educated in the American Midwest, and working on the East Coast for 34 years, he once said, “I’m so used to thinking in Chinese now that sometimes I can’t find the English words.” Perhaps influenced by his mentor Tsou Tang, Professor Fewsmith also had a deep appreciation for Chinese culture, occasionally integrating it into his own behavior. When my wife and I got married, our wedding was held in China. After informing Professor Fewsmith, he said, “Don’t Chinese weddings always have a leader’s speech? Here, let me record a few words for you.” That’s how we ended up playing his heartfelt wedding blessings at our ceremony.

Professor Fewsmith had a unique way of encouraging his students. While praise from other mentors usually left me unfazed, his praise filled me with pride because he rarely offered direct, explicit compliments. Even when he did, it was often subtle. One year, when I shared with him several academic papers I had published, his first response was his signature humor, making me feel as if his kindly presence were right before me: "You haven't done much this year, have you? I don't know how you do it all."

Later, I often heard that he praised me generously behind my back, in front of others. Professor Ye Min from Boston University told me that at Professor Fewsmith's retirement gathering this past May, he mentioned me, saying, "Sun Taiyi is exceptional and is becoming an outstanding professor in his field." He said his greatest achievement in life was his students, especially those still in academia. He was immensely proud of us.

I thought writing these words would be difficult and filled with sorrow, but instead, I found myself smiling through tears as I wrote. Memories of Professor Fewsmith are intertwined, yet they are overwhelmingly beautiful. His optimism about life and the warmth he radiated to those around him make it hard for me to sink into profound grief when thinking of him. I know he would have faced any hardship or unexpected challenge with positivity and infectious resilience. When the COVID-19 pandemic began and I was teaching remotely (I live 175 miles away from campus), he once started an email to me, "I trust (hope) all is well. I assume you are teaching remotely, which saves you many hours every week. You must like COVID-19!"

Now, Professor Fewsmith has left us, but the students whose lives he transformed continue to advance in their respective fields. We all carry traces of his influence, yet the world no longer has his one-of-a-kind "original." Nevertheless, his scholarly legacy and the students who carry forward his ideas and spirit remain the deepest imprint of his meaningful journey in this world.

(In Chinese)

3

傅士卓先生千古！

俞可平

北京大学讲席教授　中国政治学研究中心主任

傅士卓先生的突然离世，不仅使我十分震惊，而且极其遗憾和悲伤。上个月我在弗吉尼亚大学访问讲学，他知道后便给我来信，除了推荐其学生与我交流外，还特别表示月底可能来弗吉尼亚，那样我们就可以在美国见面。但我在 10 月 26 日就回国了，便失去了这次见面的机会。岂料 Joe 突然撒手人寰，不仅没有见上最后一面，而且那个邮件也成为我们之间最后的通讯，无限感伤！傅士卓先生是当代最重要的美国中国研究专家之一，他在中国学术界有着广泛的影响，对推动中美学术交流做出了重要的贡献。于我个人而言，他曾积极参加分别由我（中方）和李侃如先生（美方）领导的“中美政治发展对话”项目，他是美方的主要成员之一，对该项目的圆满完成做出了独特的贡献。Joe 的逝世，不仅是美国中国研究领域的重大损失，也是中美学术交流的一个重大损失。谨向傅士卓先生致以沉痛的哀悼，傅士卓先生千古！

(In English)

3

Eternal Remembrance of Professor Joseph Fewsmith!

Yu Keping
Distinguished Chair Professor, Peking University
Director, Center for Chinese Political Studies

The sudden passing of Joe has left me not only deeply shocked but also profoundly sorrowful and regretful. Last month, during my academic visit to the University of Virginia, he learned of my presence and wrote to me. In his letter, aside from recommending his students for exchanges with me, he particularly mentioned the possibility of visiting Virginia at the end of the month so that we could meet in the United States. However, as I returned to China on October 26, the opportunity for such a meeting was lost. Little did I know that Joe would depart so suddenly, not only preventing a final farewell but also rendering that email our last correspondence — a source of endless sorrow! Joe was one of the most important contemporary American experts on China studies, whose influence extended widely within Chinese academic circles. He made significant contributions to advancing Sino-American scholarly exchanges. On a personal note, he actively participated in the "U.S.-China Political Development Dialogue" project, which was jointly led by myself (representing the Chinese side) and Professor Kenneth Lieberthal (representing the American side). As a key member of the American team, he played an indispensable role in the successful completion of this initiative. Joe's passing is not only a significant loss to the field of American China studies but also a great loss to academic exchanges between China and the United States. I hereby express my deepest condolences. May his legacy endure forever!

(In Chinese)

4

追思傅士卓（Joseph Fewsmith）教授

徐湘林

北京大学博雅教授荣休/中山大学人文高等研究院驻访特聘教授

上个周四（11 月 6 日）中午，我的一位学生给我打电话，说傅士卓（Joseph Fewsmith）教授在波士顿去世了。我很惊愕，我知道她和傅先生一直保持有联系，不会误传，但还是不愿意相信这是真的。紧接着，我又收到了另外几位和我共同认识傅教授的年轻人的来信。证实了消息的真实性，心里不由得一阵悲伤。

傅士卓教授是我从美国毕业回国从教后接触的最多的美国中国问题专家。第一次见傅教授还是上世纪九十年代中期。那时我刚回国不久，与伯克利的罗德明教授在北大约见时他也在场。他温和、友善、开朗，也更愿意用中文交谈，让人感觉很亲切。我们第一次见面就聊了很多，聊了什么已经记不起了，算算到现在也有近三十年了。后来我们有了更多的见面，在北京或外地，还有在波士顿和英国布莱顿的萨克萨斯大学。

作为知名的中国问题专家，傅士卓教授常被国内高校和研究机构邀请来中国参加学术活动。但他和我说，相比坐在会场开会，他更愿意到实地去考察，开现场会，走访当地人。记得本世纪初我们同时参加了浙江天台县政府关于基层自治和民主决策的现场研讨会，并安排有一天实地走访考察。他中文好又了解中国文化，走访村民时，能很流畅地和村民交谈，通过朴实地道的提问了解村民的想法。傅教授很注重田野工作的研究方法，对美国兴起的政治科学量化研究方法用于中国研究抱有警觉。2017 年 1 月，我邀请他来北大做了题为“政治科学与中国研究”的讲演，他明确指出政治科学和中国研究是两个不同的研究领域，前者更加强调从对各国政治的研究中剥离出具有规律性且可以广泛适用的理论，而中国研究则针对一个相对具体的案例。他强调田园调查和史学研究方法在中国研究的重要性。

傅士卓教授乐于助人，对中国学者尤其是年青一代学者给予过很多无私的帮助。2015 年秋季，傅教授邀请我在波士顿大学访学一个月，期间总是能遇到受他帮助来波士顿短期

访问和学习的中国学者和博士生。他大约每周都会在波士顿大学附近的一家叫“上海石门”的中国餐馆请中国来的学者和学生吃饭和讨论问题。一个月内我就参加过两次。

我对傅士卓教授记忆最深的一次相会是在 2001 年 9 月 11 至 13 日期间，我们共同参加了英国萨克萨斯大学举办的“中国发展”的国际学术研讨会。会议开始的第一天下午，主持人突然告知纽约发生了飞机撞击世贸大楼的重大恐怖袭击事件，大多数人都感觉非常的震惊。除举办方为美国与会者提供查询家人是否安全的免费长途电话之外，研讨会继续举行。到了晚上大家都守在电视机旁边观看新闻关注事态的发展。那是几个不眠之夜。当时我对发生这样的事件无法理解，问了傅士卓教授几个问题，傅教授给了我多方面的分析和回答。他那种遇事冷静沉着的个性，理性客观面对事实的品德，深厚的专业水平都给我留下了深刻的印象。

疫情期间阻断了我和傅士卓教授见面的机会。本想着疫情结束后傅教授又会如往常一样来中国，来北京相见。我曾经答应他陪他去我的家乡湖南转转，他尤其想要去韶山看看。然而，他的突然离世，让这一切都变成了我的终身遗憾。

(In English)

4

In Memory of Professor Joseph Fewsmith

Xu Xianglin

Boya Professor Emeritus, Peking University

Distinguished Visiting Professor, Institute for Advanced Studies in Humanities, Sun Yat-sen University

On November 6, 2025, one of my students called to inform me that Professor Joseph Fewsmith had passed away. I was shocked. Though I knew she had maintained contact with Professor Fewsmith and was unlikely to be mistaken, I still struggled to believe the news was true. Shortly after, I received messages from several other young scholars who also knew Professor Fewsmith, confirming the sad truth. A wave of sorrow washed over me.

Professor Fewsmith was one China expert I interacted with most frequently after returning to China from my studies in the United States. I first met him in the mid-1990s. Having recently returned to China, I arranged a meeting with Professor Lowell Dittmer at Peking University, during which Professor Fewsmith was also present. He was gentle, kind, cheerful, and preferred to converse in Chinese, which made him feel particularly approachable. We talked extensively during that first meeting, though the specifics of our conversation now escape my memory—nearly thirty years have passed since then. Over the years, we met on many other occasions, whether in Beijing, other parts of China, Boston, or at the University of Sussex in Brighton, England.

As a renowned China expert, Professor Fewsmith was often invited by universities and research institutions to participate in academic events in China. However, he once told me that compared to sitting in conference halls, he preferred on-the-ground investigations, meetings in the field, and engaging with local communities. I recall attending a field seminar on local self-governance and grassroots democracy in Tiantai County, Zhejiang, in the early 2000s, which included a day of site visits. Fluent in Chinese and deeply knowledgeable about Chinese culture, Professor Fewsmith conversed effortlessly with villagers during our visits, using simple and authentic questions to understand their perspectives. He placed great emphasis on fieldwork and remained cautious toward the application of quantitative political science methods to China studies, which were

gaining popularity in American academia. In January 2017, at my invitation, he delivered a lecture at Peking University titled "Political Science and China Studies," in which he clearly distinguished between the two fields. He argued that political science seeks to extract generalizable and widely applicable theories from the study of various political systems, while China studies focus on a relatively specific case. He underscored the importance of fieldwork and historical research in the study of China.

Professor Fewsmith was always eager to help others, offering selfless support to Chinese scholars, particularly the younger generation. In the fall of 2015, during my one-month visit to Boston University at his invitation, I frequently encountered Chinese scholars and doctoral students who had come for short-term visits or studies with his assistance. He would often invite these scholars and students to a Chinese restaurant near Boston University called Shikumen for meals and discussions, roughly once a week. During my stay, I attended two such gatherings.

One of my most vivid memories of Professor Fewsmith dated back to September 11–13, 2001, when we both attended the "China Development International Conference" at the University of Sussex in England. On the first afternoon of the conference, the chair suddenly announced the horrific terrorist attacks in New York involving airplanes crashing into the World Trade Center. Most attendees were profoundly shocked. Despite the organizers providing free long-distance calls for American participants to check on the safety of their families, the conference proceeded. In the evening, everyone gathered around televisions, closely following the news and developments. Those were sleepless nights for many. At the time, I struggled to comprehend the events and posed several questions to Professor Fewsmith. He responded with comprehensive analyses, and his calm demeanor, rational and objective approach to facts, and profound expertise left a deep impression on me.

The pandemic disrupted our opportunities to meet in person. I had hoped that once the pandemic subsided, Professor Fewsmith would resume his visits to China and Beijing as before. I had promised to accompany him on a trip to my hometown in Hunan, as he particularly wished to visit Shaoshan. However, his sudden passing has turned all these plans into lifelong regrets.

(In Chinese)

5

追忆刚刚逝去的傅士卓

周志兴

美中新视角基金会主席

美东时间 11 月 6 日，突然接到在国内的邵梓捷的微信，只有 8 个字：傅士卓老师去世了. 我顿时惊呆了。

邵梓捷原来是共识网的员工，我推荐给傅士卓当他的博士生，她的信息应该是准确的。但是我还是不敢相信，我问 AI，问在波士顿的朋友，都说不知道。我就有了侥幸心理:是不是误传呢？但是，昨晚费正清中心的一则正式的通告证实了这个消息！

我还是难以相信。傅士卓 1949 年出生，76 岁这个年龄在美国不算老。他刚刚办了退休手续。10 月 16 日，疫情以后就没见过面的他突然给了我一个邮件，说他最近要到华盛顿来，问我在不在，遗憾的是我正好在国内，没有缘分见上最后一面。听邵梓捷说，他就是在去华盛顿的路上，二次中风而离世的。

我和傅士卓是老朋友。2013 年，我应约到费正清中心作了一个演讲，这时认识了傅士卓，之后直到 2019 年，每年都会和他见面。疫情开始了，我就没有见过他。但是，此时此刻，我和他相聚的点点滴滴，都涌上了心头。摘取其中的两则日记：

2014 年:今晚和两个美国人吃饭，一个学者，波士顿大学的傅士卓，一个企业家，康明斯的全球副总裁曹思德。他们都取了中文名字，都说流利的汉语甚至都能看中文书，都和中国有几十年的渊源，都有很多的中国朋友。我太太和儿子都参加了，更像是一个家庭的聚会。又一次感到，地球村里，邻居常常串门，才能互相了解。

2017 年 1 月 14 号:今天的北京格外冷，但是来自美国的著名学者傅士卓和美中关系全国委员会的海妮不约而同的到来，带来了热度。都是老朋友了，没有客套，都是友谊，是坦诚的交流。孩子们也参加了，要让他们从小就知道，无拘束交流的重要性。

傅士卓是波士顿大学国际关系与政治学教授，也是哈佛大学费正清中国研究中心的研究员。他在上世纪 70 年代进入芝加哥大学攻读博士学位，师从华裔政治学者、国民党创

党元老邹鲁之子邹谠。他的博士论文就很接地气，《民国时期的政党、国家和地方精英：上海的商会组织与政治 1890-1930》。

傅士卓长期研究中国大陆的政治议题，主要包括中国政治体制与改革：探讨中国政治改革的路径、挑战及精英政治动态。历史与现实关联，等等，并先后发表多本中国政治相关著作，其中最近出版的一本书是《重新思考中国政治》。在这本书里傅士卓提到，就像在所有列宁主义体系中一样，政治权力很难从一位领导人转移到下一位领导人，每一位新领导人都必须动用一切资源来控制关键职位，从而巩固权力。从中国政治的实践中，有些职位比其他职位更重要。除政治局常委，重要职位还包括中共中央办公厅主任、组织部部长、宣传部部长、国家安全部部长和公安部部长等，此外，控制军队也是必不可少的。控制这些职位可以做到相对的政治集权。

傅士卓还说：这是一个非常有趣的问题。因为我们通常认为制度（institutions）是约束、限制领导者的。制度并不总是阻止领导者做一些事情，但它们限制并反对权力的任意使用，它们建议制定规则。我想说的是，在中国，情况正好相反。领导人使用制度来约束其他人，也就是说，制度变成了权力的工具，而不是对权力的约束。

2014 年，共识网曾经专门采访过他，有这样几个核心观点：

1、任何一个人，只要手上有了难以制约的权力，首先想到的必然是提拔自己认识的人，给他们好处，像亲戚、朋友以及秘书等，这样一来，势必就会在地方形成以家族为单位的小派系。

2、当地仍有不少人对提高人大地位表示怀疑，不愿看到人大权力逐步扩大。但在我看来，在目前的政治体制框架下，像温岭这种增强人大作用的创新不仅合法，而且很有必要。

3、其实不用照搬西方的民主体制，仅就进一步完善现有的政治体制而言，中国的中央和地方政府还是有很多事情可做的。

前些年，傅士卓在浙江大学当讲座教授的同时，侧重于中国基层政治研究，屡屡到江浙一带考察，他的研究的一个重点，是为什么中国的私营经济没有催生公民社会。这个方向，还是可以从他的博士论文找到源头。他说，作出这个转变的原因，是觉得当时的中国精英政治已经变得有些无聊。

在中国大陆浸淫多年，傅士卓对中国的了解非常透彻。他说，在邓的时代，中国的政治派系大致上是基于他们的政策取向，比如改革派或者保守派。但是现在的政治派系，更多的是基于政治利益、个人背景。他认为，如果不能很好的协调或者治理这些问题的话，中国的派系可能会重回意识形态——中国的政治人物们很可能会采取更加意识形态的方法。我们可以根据形势的变化来验证他的预测。

傅士卓也十分关注中国的反腐。他认为，反腐要有严格的标准和规则，对什么是腐败做出严格限定。现在的反腐为什么会让地方官员产生不作为心理，问题还是出在规则本身，规则不清楚，潜规则就会横行。他认为，现有的政治体制不做改变的话，反腐很难取得成功，别的国家也会反腐，但不会像中国这样，把反腐搞成运动。

说了他这么多的观点，我们可以看到他的深刻。但是，深刻是属于学者的。我是把这个学者当成老朋友看的。

这个大学者，特别在研究中国的领域里，名气很大。他长得可有点不像学者般温文尔雅，显得有点接地气。说起来，世界上的事情就是这样，外貌和职业总是有点关联，傅士卓虽说是学者，但是，他在中国经常深入基层调研，就是常说的田野调查，因此，也沾上了中国的乡土气。

他的性格也有点像中国人了，豪爽，爱讲笑话，也讲义气。他总对我对，我姓傅，你的另一个朋友傅高义就是我的堂兄。

傅士卓一个突出的特点是爱抢着买单，这不太像美国人。有两年，共识网有两个女孩在波士顿攻读学位，一个算是在他门下，另一个的专业和他不沾边，可是他时不时地就请这两位学生吃饭，像个家长呵护自己的孩子一样。那年春天我去波士顿，他对我开玩笑说，弄得那个学生的本尊老师吃醋了，问他，我的学生，你为什么老请他吃饭。

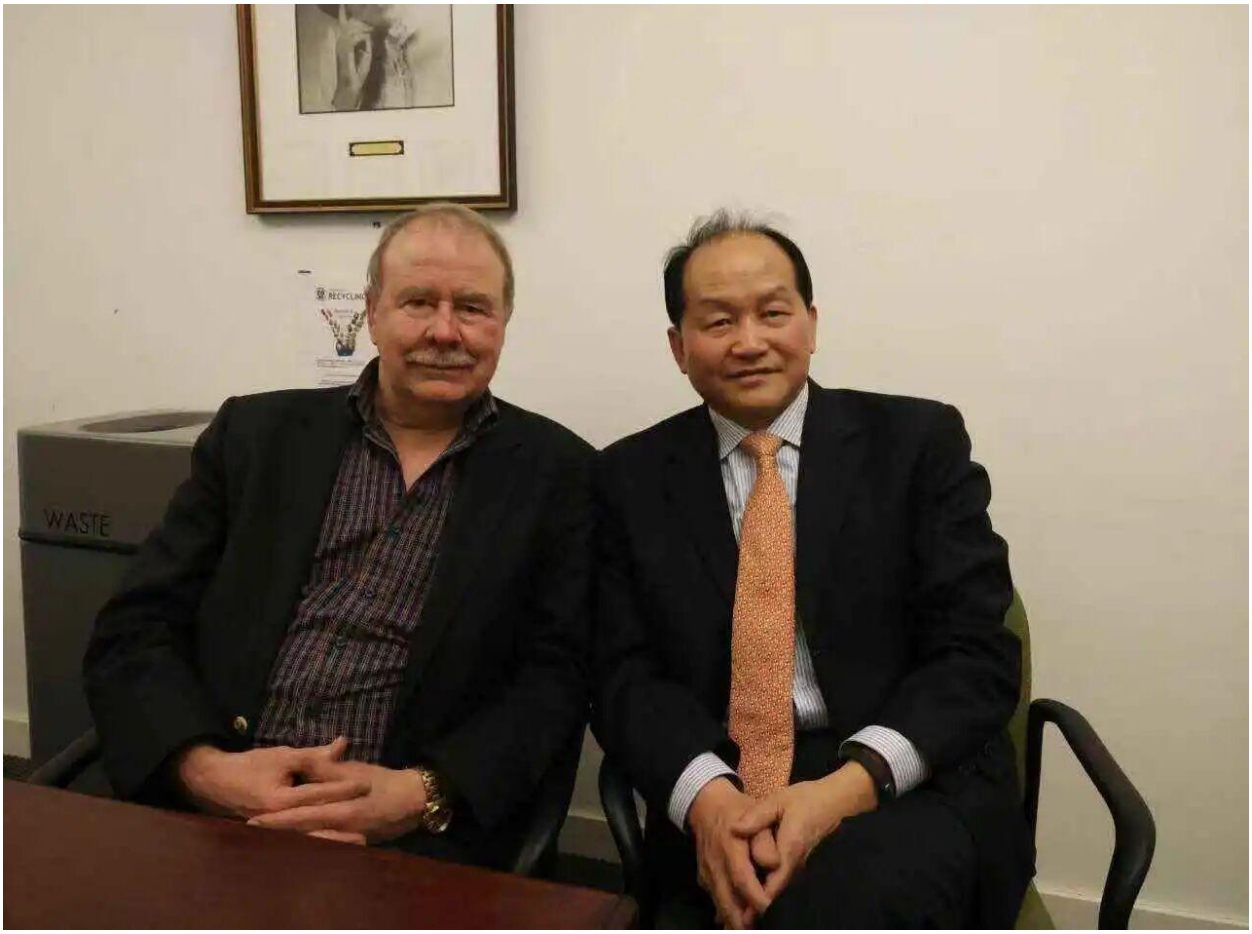
我曾经写过这样一段故事。2018 年，我带着全家到了波士顿，中午饭约了傅士卓。那是一个星期天，美国人重视家庭，重视星期天，一般不出来应酬。傅士卓的家离学校很远，往返开车要三个多小时，听说我来了，他特地赶到学校来请我吃饭。

我太太说，上次你请我们在另外一个中餐馆吃饭。我开玩笑说，你看，还是要请我们吃饭吧，这样容易被记住。他说，那就这么定，在美国，我请你们吃饭，在中国，你们请我吃饭，反正中国饭贵。

不过，这次是我抢着把单买了，他直埋怨我不给他面子。

2016 年，傅士卓到北京，又到杉园做客，他是专门和我来聊天的，说起这些年中国发生的变化，他感慨不已。他也看到了我给他画的像，因为是我前一年刚刚学画两个月时画的，水平很差，他笑着问我，我有那么难看？

傅士卓走了，他带走了太多的精神财富，但是，也留下了太多的精神财富，我们的任务，是继承，是继续前进。



(In English)

5

Remembering Professor Joseph Fewsmith

Zhou Zhixing

Chairman, The Sino-American New Perspective Foundation

On November 6, Eastern Time, I suddenly received a WeChat message from Shao Zijie in China, which read just eight words: "Professor Joseph Fewsmith has passed away." I was stunned.

Shao Zijie was formerly an employee of Consensus Net, and I recommended her to Professor Fewsmith as his doctoral student. Her information should have been accurate. Yet, I still couldn't believe it. I checked online and friends in Boston, but no one seemed to know. A glimmer of hope arose in me—could this be misinformation?

However, an official announcement from the Fairbank Center last night confirmed the news! I still find it hard to believe. Joe was born in 1949. At 76, this age is not considered old in the United States. He had just completed his retirement procedures. On October 16, after not seeing him since the pandemic began, he suddenly sent me an email saying he would be coming to Washington soon and asked if I would be there. Unfortunately, I happened to be in China at the time, missing the chance for a final meeting. According to Shao Zijie, he passed away from a second stroke while on his way to Washington.

Joseph Fewsmith and I were old friends. In 2013, I was invited to give a speech at the Fairbank Center, where I met him. From then until 2019, we met every year. After the pandemic began, I never saw him again. But at this moment, every memory of our time together comes flooding back.

Here are two excerpts from my diary:

"Had dinner with two Americans tonight—one a scholar, Joseph Fewsmith from Boston University, and the other an entrepreneur, Steve Chapman, Global Vice President of Cummins. Both have Chinese names, speak fluent Chinese, can even read Chinese books, have decades of connections with China, and have many Chinese friends. My wife and son also joined, making it feel more like a family gathering. Once again, I felt that in this global village, neighbors must visit often to truly understand each other."

- 2014

"Beijing is particularly cold today, but the arrival of a renowned American scholar Joseph Fewsmith and Jan Berris from the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations brought warmth. All are old friends—no formalities, just friendship and candid conversation. The children also participated. It's important for them to learn from a young age the value of unrestricted communication."

-January 14, 2017

Joe was a professor of international relations and political science at Boston University and a research fellow at Harvard University's Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies. In the 1970s, he pursued his doctoral studies at the University of Chicago under the mentorship of Tang Tsou, a Chinese-American political scholar and son of u Tsou, a founding member of the Kuomintang. His doctoral dissertation was deeply grounded: "Party, State, and Local Elites in Republican China: Merchant Organizations and Politics in Shanghai, 1890–1930."

Joe long focused on political issues in mainland China, including China's political system and reforms, exploring the paths, challenges, and dynamics of elite politics in China's political reforms, the connections between history and reality, and more. He authored numerous works on Chinese politics, with his most recent book being *Rethinking Chinese Politics*.

In this book, Joe noted that, as in all Leninist systems, political power is difficult to transfer from one leader to the next. Each new leader must mobilize all resources to control key positions to consolidate power. In the practice of Chinese politics, some positions are more critical than others. Beyond the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, important roles include the Director of the General Office of the Central Committee, the Minister of Organization, the Minister of Propaganda, the Minister of State Security, and the Minister of Public Security, among others. Additionally, controlling the military is essential. Controlling these positions enables relative political centralization.

Joe also observed: "This is a very interesting question. Because we usually think institutions constrain and limit leaders. Institutions do not always prevent leaders from doing things, but they restrict and oppose the abusive use of power — they suggest establishing rules. What I want to say

is that in China, the situation is the opposite. Leaders use institutions to constrain others. In other words, institutions become tools of power rather than constraints on power."

In 2014, Consensus Net conducted a special interview with him, highlighting several core viewpoints:

- Anyone with power that is difficult to constrain will inevitably prioritize promoting people they know—such as relatives, friends, and secretaries—granting them benefits. This inevitably leads to the formation of small local factions centered around families.
- Many locals remain skeptical about enhancing the status of the People's Congress and are reluctant to see its power gradually expand. However, in my view, within the current political framework, innovations like those in Wenling that strengthen the role of the People's Congress are not only legal but also necessary.
- There is no need to replicate Western democratic systems. Merely improving the existing political system offers much for China's central and local governments to accomplish.

In recent years, while serving as a chair professor at Zhejiang University, Joe focused on grassroots political research in China, frequently conducting field studies in Jiangsu and Zhejiang. One of his key research questions was why China's private sector has not fostered civil society. This direction can be traced back to his doctoral dissertation. He explained that the shift was because elite politics in China had become somewhat dull at the time.

Having immersed himself in mainland China for many years, Joe possessed profound insights into the country. He noted that during Deng's era, political factions were largely based on policy orientations, such as reformist or conservative. However, current political factions are more often based on political interests and personal backgrounds. He believed that if these issues were not properly coordinated or governed, factions in China might revert to ideology—Chinese political figures might adopt more ideological approaches. We can test his predictions based on evolving circumstances.

Joe also paid close attention to China's anti-corruption efforts. He believed that anti-corruption requires strict standards and rules, with clear definitions of what constitutes corruption. The reason why local officials might become passive in the face of anti-corruption campaigns lies in the rules themselves—when rules are unclear, hidden rules prevail. He argued that without changes to the existing political system, anti-corruption efforts would struggle to succeed. Other countries also combat corruption, but not as a campaign like China does.

Discussing so many of his viewpoints reveals his depth. But depth belongs to scholars. I viewed this scholar as an old friend. This great scholar, particularly in the field of China studies, was highly renowned. His appearance was not that of a typical refined scholar—he seemed more down-to-earth. As they say, appearances and professions often have some connections. Although Joe was a scholar, he frequently conducted grassroots research in China—what is often called fieldwork—which imbued him with a touch of Chinese rustic charm.

His personality also resembled that of many Chinese: straightforward, fond of jokes, and loyal. He often told me, "My surname is Fu (in Chinese). Your other friend, Ezra Vogel (whose last name is also Fu in Chinese), is my cousin."

One notable trait of Joe was his eagerness to pay the bill, which is not typical of Americans. For two years, two former employees from Consensus Net were studying for degrees in Boston—one was his student, while the other's research was unrelated to his. Yet, Joe frequently treated them to meals, like a parent caring for his children. When I visited Boston that spring, he joked with me that the other student's actual advisor had grown jealous and asked him, "Why do you keep treating my student to meals?"

Here is another story. In 2018, I brought my family to Boston and arranged to meet Joe for lunch. It was a Sunday. Americans value family and Sundays, and they generally avoid social engagements on this day. Joe lived far from the school, a round trip of over three hours by car. Hearing that I was in town, he especially drove to the school to treat me to a meal.

When we met, my wife remarked, "Last time, you treated us at another Chinese restaurant."

I joked, "See, you have to treat us to meals, it makes you more memorable."

Joe replied, "Then it's settled. In the United States, I'll treat you; in China, you treat me. After all, Chinese meals are expensive."

At the end, however, when I insisted on paying the bill, he complained that I hadn't given him "face."

In 2016, Joe visited Beijing again and came to Shanyuan as my guest. He specifically came to chat with me about the changes in China over the years, expressing deep concerns. He also saw the portrait I had drawn of him. Since I had only been learning to draw for two months at the time, the quality was poor. He laughed and asked me, "Do I really look that bad?"

Joe is gone. He took with him a wealth of intellectual treasures, but he also left behind a profound legacy. Our task is to inherit and continue moving forward.

(In Chinese)

6

追忆我的导师傅士卓：以最踏实、最细腻的方式支持学生成长

李明江

新加坡南洋理工大学

在得知傅士卓老师离世的消息后，我心中一直难以平静。回想起他作为我博士生导师的那些岁月，许多画面至今仍历历在目。

傅老师指导学生的一大特点，就是我常形容的“放养式”风格。他从不主动催促学生的学习和研究进度，更不会强加自己的偏好或框架。无论是在选题、研究方向，还是写作方式上，他都给予学生极大的自由度，让我们可以在学术探索最原始的热情中找到自己的道路。在这种宽松而包容的氛围中，我逐渐形成了独立的研究习惯，也学会了对自己的学术选择负责。

让我一直深受感动的一件事，是我向他提交博士论文的初稿之后，本来只是希望听听他对整体结构和论证方向的意见，没想到他竟然几百页逐页帮我修改语法和表达。那是极为耗时、也极为不易的工作。他本来也没有必要为我帮忙做这样的事情，但他却选择用最踏实、最细腻的方式支持我的成长。每次想到这一点，我都由衷地感念他的用心良苦。

在学术之外，傅老师也是一位极其温暖、关怀学生的前辈。我读博期间，他时常请我们吃饭。那不是礼节性的聚餐，而是让大家在一个自在、无压力的环境里交流心得、谈生活、讲笑话。那些饭桌上的谈笑风生，是我博士生活中最轻松、最温暖的记忆之一。

傅士卓老师离去，让人无比惋惜。他是一位真正让人敬佩的学者，也是一位真正热爱教书育人的教育者。他以宽厚的性情、平和的心态和踏实的关怀影响了无数学生。我很幸运能成为他的学生，并在生命中遇见这样一位温暖、无私、值得永远铭记的导师。

愿傅老师安息。愿他的精神与风范，继续在我们心中长存。

(In English)

6

Remembering My Mentor, Joseph Fewsmith: Supporting Students in the Most Grounded and Meticulous Way

Li Mingjiang

Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

Upon learning of the passing of my mentor, Joseph Fewsmith, my heart has been unable to settle. Reflecting on the years he served as my doctoral advisor, many memories remain vivid in my mind.

One of the defining characteristics of Professor Fewsmith's mentorship was what I often describe as a "free-range"style. He never proactively pressured students regarding their learning or research progress, nor did he impose his own preferences or frameworks. Whether it was in selecting topics, determining research directions, or choosing writing approaches, he granted students significant freedom, allowing us to forge our own paths driven by the purest passion for academic exploration. In this relaxed and inclusive atmosphere, I gradually developed independent research practices and learned to take responsibility for my academic choices.

One incident that has always deeply moved me occurred after I submitted the first draft of my doctoral dissertation to him. I had only hoped to hear his thoughts on the overall structure and argumentation direction, but to my surprise, he meticulously revised the grammar and expression across hundreds of pages of my work. This was an immensely time-consuming and demanding task. He was under no obligation to assist me in this way, yet he chose to support my growth in the most grounded and meticulous manner. Whenever I think of this, I am genuinely touched by his thoughtful dedication.

Beyond academia, Professor Fewsmith was also an exceptionally warm and caring mentor. During my doctoral studies, he frequently treated us to meals. These were not mere formal gatherings but opportunities for everyone to share insights, discuss issues, and exchange jokes in a relaxed and pressure-free environment. The lively conversations at those dining tables remain some of the most lighthearted and heartwarming memories of my doctoral study.

The passing of Professor Fewsmith is deeply regrettable. He was a truly admirable scholar and a dedicated educator who genuinely loved teaching and nurturing students. With his generous

disposition, calm demeanor, and steadfast care, he influenced numerous students. I feel fortunate to have been his student and to have encountered such a warm, selfless, and eternally memorable mentor in my life.

May Professor Fewsmith rest in peace. May his spirit and legacy continue to endure in our hearts.

(In Chinese)

7

追忆傅士卓老师

冯博

上海财经大学公共管理学院助理教授

上周，听到高翔老师询问我，知不知道关于傅老师去世的坏消息时，我是不敢相信的，我们俩都觉得那最好是假消息。傅老师在我毕业之后一直都好好的，虽然去年做过一次不小的手术，有段时间要拄拐杖走路，但精神依然矍铄，拐杖很快就被他扔了。

在消息被确认之后，有一个晚上，我半夜突然爬起来，忍不住打开电脑，翻看以前跟他的邮件。9 月份时，已经退休的他还回复，“现在我自己坐在家里，不用教课了，只用看着别人(屁颠屁颠地)去教课，习惯就好。”他的幽默，不知道从什么角度就朝你砸过来。我突然觉得，以前太幸福了，却当时只道是平常。所以我的回忆里，都是有关他的开心事情。

我 5 月在波士顿大学博士答辩后，他也退休了，说，送走我，他的任务也完成了，我是他的“关门弟子”。这绝对是我的荣幸，我问以后怎么联系他，还是用邮件吗？他说他用过微信，但是登录密码早忘记了，所以还是邮件吧。他的荣休演讲，还是跟以前一样风趣幽默，提到包括我在内的、他指导过的毕业学生时，脸上写满了自豪。他对我们这些年轻学者和学生的指导和教诲，会永远影响我们继续前行。

我怕他退休后很难再见到他，就去旁听他在 BU 最后几节课，课堂上，傅老师仍然跟学生们谈笑风生，时不时开些玩笑，气氛还是那么欢乐。当谈到中国的经济，他则表达了一些担忧。听着听着，我就想起 5 年前第一次上他的课 Post-Mao China, 那是我在波士顿的第一个大雪天，他穿着黑色大风衣、戴着一顶复古的黑色宽边帽，来到教室，就差手上没有拿着烟斗。我那时第一次跟他聊天，未免有些紧张。他知道我来 BU 读政治学博士之前，已经在国内有一个经济学的博士学位，开玩笑说，我要是张白纸就更好了，他还可以在上面写写画画，现在就 “很麻烦” 。

后来有一次，也是在 Post-Mao China 的课上，聊到中国经济，以及发展经济学里的刘易斯模型，他说中国这么多年来，工资不断上涨，是不是“刘易斯拐点”来到了？我说不一定，因为刘易斯模型假设了，劳动力在国内的流动是自由的，但中国并非这样，可能是一些制度性障碍，阻碍了劳动力的供给，不然工资可能没涨那么快。“很有道理！我知道很多农民工，子女没法在城里受教育，不得不返乡照顾孩子，”他转头对其他人说，“现在知道，有一个经济学博士做你的学生，你问他经济学的问题很方便，还不用给钱！”我满脸的黑线，您现在不觉得不是白纸，很麻烦啦？其实这些关于中国制度的细节，他肯定非常了解，之所以这么问，只是想让学生更好地思考，理论和现实约束条件之间的联系。

新冠疫情冲击到了所有人，当时我和其他学生，都很担心他的健康。但没想到我比他先中招，住进了隔离楼，那是 BU 为受感染学生准备的。他知道了以后，马上询问我在里面怎么样，“那里面的食物肯定很不好吃吧，oh wait，你现在反正尝不出味道来了！”

傅老师深受学生们的喜爱，疫情恢复之后，他的办公室立马被好多学生堵着，排着长队在门外等。见到有来自重庆的学生，他会开玩笑说，你来自“Bo’s Kingdom”! 后来这个梗就在他课上的学生中流传开来，懂的都懂。傅老师对学生的想法非常包容，这使得他在学生和年轻人中很受欢迎。他是一位使用定性方法的学者，而我则大多数情况下使用定量方法，但这并没有阻碍我们之间的交流。他经常喜欢用研究方法上的差异来打趣，有一次说，冯博，你估计出来的这个系数，我知道有随机性，有一个置信区间，就像一个枪手射击，反正就在那个区间里，差不多就好。我研究精英政治，我看新闻，看人事变动，也是分析得差不多就好，我们都是“差不多先生”!

我的工作市场论文使用了地方政府的政策文件作为数据来源。傅老师会一直追着我问，这些政策文件是怎么来的？里面的内容是怎么设计的？谁来拍板？它们真的有约束力吗？而我喜欢在邮件里写下不短的回复来解答他的疑惑，这些问题，只要是我在田野调查的时候了解到细节的，那我就能回答，有时候他会继续追问，直到我回答不了，不得不回头联系访谈过的基层公务员朋友们，再把反馈告诉他。他后来跟我见面说，知道我是想把政策文本的信息量化然后做定量分析，但是他更想了解制度背景，还有这些政策文件，到底在地方政府决策过程中处于什么样的地位，这些内容我可能不会全写进我定量分析的文章中，但他需要确认我知道。“Any case (这是他的口头禅), 现在我知道你了解够多了，可以把这篇文章加进你的博士论文里了。” 他鼓励我使用混合方法来做研究，统计学的结果，最好

也要跟田野调查的信息相互印证。我成功通过博士论文答辩后，他送了我一瓶贵州茅台酒，我的导师委员会里其他几位美国教授都没见过，非常好奇，幸亏没有说要品尝一下当做庆祝，不然他们后面都在办公室里醉倒了。

我真心希望，当我到了他这个年纪，八十多高龄，仍然保持这么强烈的好奇心、对不同研究范式的开放心态、对中国的关心和对学生的关爱。他让我回国后，即时分享关于中国经济的信息，但这个任务我现在没法完成了。一位朋友安慰我: “He will live through your academic career.”

是的呢，正如北岛所说，重逢总是比告别少，只少一次。

(In English)

7

Remembering Professor Joseph Fewsmith

Feng Bo

Assistant Professor, School of Public Administration, Shanghai University of Finance and Economics

Last week, when Professor Gao Xiang asked if I had heard the sad news about Professor Fewsmith's passing, I could hardly believe it. Both of us hoped it was merely a false rumor. Professor Fewsmith had been in good health since my graduation. Although he underwent a significant surgery last year and had to walk with a cane for a while, his spirits remained vibrant, and he soon discarded the cane.

After the news was confirmed, one night I suddenly got out of bed and couldn't help but open my laptop to revisit our past email exchanges. In September, already retired, he replied, "Now I sit at home, no longer teaching, just watching others (bustling about) go to teach. One gets used to it." His humor always seemed to catch you from unexpected angles. It suddenly dawned on me how fortunate I had been in the past, though at the time, it all seemed so ordinary. My memories of him are filled with joy.

After my doctoral defense at Boston University in May, he retired, saying that seeing me off marked the completion of his mission—I was his "final disciple." This was truly an honor. When I asked how to stay in touch, he mentioned he had used WeChat but had long forgotten the password, so email it was. His retirement speech was as witty and humorous as ever, and his face beamed with pride when he mentioned the students he had supervised, including me. His guidance and teachings for young scholars and students like us will forever influence our paths forward.

Fearing it would be difficult to see him after his retirement, I attended his final few classes at BU. In the classroom, Professor Fewsmith remained engaging, chatting and joking with the students, maintaining the same cheerful atmosphere. When discussing China's economy, however, he expressed some concerns. As I listened, I recalled my first class with him five years earlier. It was my first heavy snow day in Boston. He walked into the classroom wearing a black overcoat and a vintage wide-brimmed black hat—only missing a pipe in his hand. I was somewhat nervous

during our first conversation. Knowing that I had already earned a Ph.D. in economics in China before pursuing a political science doctorate at BU, he joked that it would have been better if I were a "blank slate" for him to write on, but now it was "quite troublesome."

On another occasion in his "Post-Mao China" class, while discussing China's economy and the Lewis model in development economics, he asked whether China's rising wages over the years indicated the arrival of the "Lewis turning point." I replied that it might not be the case, as the Lewis model assumes free domestic labor mobility, which China lacks due to institutional barriers that could be hindering labor supply; otherwise, wages might not have risen so quickly. "Very insightful! I know many migrant workers whose children cannot attend school in the city, forcing them to return home to care for their kids," he turned to the others and said, "Now you see, having an economics Ph.D. as your student is quite convenient—you can ask him economics questions without paying!" I couldn't help but think, "So now you don't find my non-blank slate status so troublesome?" In truth, he was undoubtedly familiar with such institutional details in China. His questions were meant to encourage students to better reflect on the connection between theory and real-world constraints.

The COVID-19 pandemic affected everyone, and my fellow students and I were particularly concerned about his health. Unexpectedly, I was the first to contract the virus and was placed in BU's isolation dormitory for infected students. When he found out, he immediately inquired about my well-being: "The food there must be terrible, oh wait—you can't taste anything anyway!"

Professor Fewsmith was dearly loved by his students. After the pandemic eased, his office was often crowded with students, forming long lines outside his door. When he met a student from Chongqing, he would jokingly refer to it as "Bo's Kingdom!" This inside joke soon spread among his students, understood by all in the know. His openness to students' ideas made him immensely popular among the younger generation. As a scholar who primarily employed qualitative methods, while I mostly used quantitative approaches, this never hindered our communication. He often playfully remarked on our methodological differences. Once, he said, "Feng Bo, the coefficient you estimated—I know there's randomness, a confidence interval, like a shooter aiming within a range, close enough is fine. I study elite politics, reading news and personnel changes, and my analysis is also 'close enough.' We're both 'Mr. Close Enough'!"

My job market paper used local government policy documents as data sources. Professor Fewsmith would persistently ask: How were these policy documents created? How were their

contents designed? Who made the decisions? Were they truly binding? I enjoyed writing detailed responses in emails to address his questions. Whenever I had gathered specific details during fieldwork, I could answer; sometimes, he would press further until I had to reach out to grassroots civil servants I had interviewed for additional insights, which I then relayed to him. Later, during a meeting, he told me that while he understood my goal was to quantify policy text for quantitative analysis, he was more interested in the institutional context and the role these policy documents played in local government decision-making—details I might not fully include in my quantitative articles. However, he needed to confirm that I understood them. "In any case" (his catchphrase), "now I know you understand enough to include this article in your doctoral dissertation." He encouraged me to adopt mixed methods in my research, emphasizing that statistical findings should be corroborated with insights from fieldwork. After I successfully defended my dissertation, he gifted me a bottle of Guizhou Maotai liquor. The other American professors on my committee had never seen it and were quite curious. Fortunately, no one suggested tasting it to celebrate, or they might have ended up drunk in their offices afterward.

I sincerely hope that when I reach his age, in my eighties, I can maintain the same intense curiosity, openness to different research paradigms, concern for China, and care for students. He asked me to share updates on China's economy after returning home, a task I can no longer fulfill. A friend comforted me: "He will live through your academic career."

Indeed, as Bei Dao wrote, reunions are always fewer than farewells—by just one.

(In Chinese)

8

Joe，我们永远怀念你

高新军

中央编译局比较政治与经济研究中心荣退研究员，教授

我和 Joe1996 年就认识了，当时他还是波士顿大学的副教授。1996 年，我所供职的编译局 比较政治与经济研究中心完成了一个 Ford Foundation 资助的研究项目，关注点在中国的基层民主治理。Joe 阅读了我们的研究报告，对这个领域的研究也很有兴趣，想和我们有更多的学术交流，我们就这样熟悉起来，之后，我和他逐渐成为了好朋友，老朋友，友谊持续了近 30 年。

在这期间，我们多次邀请 Joe 来研究中心做学术报告和学术交流，我也数次陪同他到中国的四川和河南的基层做调查。在与 Joe 的接触中，我感到 Joe 作为一个美国学者能够在国外的调查中那么接地气，我还是第一次见到。一次，我陪同 Joe 到四川平昌县和重庆开县麻柳乡调查，那里地处偏僻，交通不便，Joe 就和我一起乘坐普通的国内长途汽车前往，坐在我们周边的都是当地的老乡。我们一起到农民家访谈，和农村基层干部座谈，看着 Joe 操着一口流利的汉语，我还就真把他当成了来自国内大学的学者，Joe 也真的是被中国人民大学聘为兼职教授多年。

Joe 长期以来对于来自国内的学者给予很多帮助，这方面我尤其感受颇深。仅仅经过我手，Joe 就邀请了 3 位国内学者来波士顿大学访学。我自己在美国做地方治理的调查，也得到过 Joe 的热情帮助。他不仅为我介绍有关教授，而且亲自陪同我在他所居住的小镇 Cohasset 参加当地的 Town Meeting 会议，与镇政府的有关官员一起座谈。由此，我还多次到他家里蹭饭，居住了一夜。记得有一次我们单位有 3 位学者来波士顿做学术访问，他们想与 Joe 见见面，我向 Joe 转达了他们的想法后，Joe 毫不犹豫地就答应了，并且到了见面的那天，Joe 早早就到了，见面后还自己掏钱请 3 位学者在波士顿大学附近的一家上海餐厅吃了饭。我在哈佛大学东亚研究所的第一次 Presentation，也是 Joe 的邀请促成的。每每想到这些，我都从内心里真诚地感谢 Joe 的爱心。

Joe 为人真诚，正直，热情，工作特别努力。他比我大四岁，但他一直工作到 76 岁，我则在 60 岁就退休了。我退休后，虽然定居在美国，但自己的关住重心发生了转移，与 Joe 的联系比过去少了，但我一直关心他的消息。Joe 的去世使我们失去了一位充满爱心的、道德情操崇高的著名学者，是中美学术交流领域的重大损失。但我想，Joe 的物质生命虽然消失了，但他的精神力量仍在我们中间，Joe 的灵魂永远值得我们纪念，他永远活在我们心里。

(In English)

8

Joe, We Will Always Remember You

Gao Xinjun

Professor Emeritus and Researcher

Center for Comparative Political and Economic Studies, Central Compilation and Translation Bureau

Joe and I first met in 1996 when he was still an associate professor at Boston University. In that year, the Center for Comparative Political and Economic Studies, where I worked at the Central Compilation and Translation Bureau, completed a research project funded by the Ford Foundation, focusing on grassroots democratic governance in China. After reading our research report, Joe developed a keen interest in this field and expressed a desire for more academic exchanges with us. That was how we became acquainted, and over time, he and I grew into close friends—a friendship that lasted nearly three decades.

During this period, we invited Joe on multiple occasions to deliver academic lectures and engage in scholarly exchanges at our research center. I also accompanied him on several field visits to grassroots communities in Sichuan and Henan provinces. In my interactions with Joe, I was struck by how grounded he was as an American scholar conducting fieldwork abroad—a quality I had rarely encountered. On one occasion, I accompanied Joe to investigations in Pingchang County, Sichuan, and Maliu Township, Kaixian, Chongqing. These were remote areas with poor transportation, so Joe and I traveled together on ordinary long-distance buses, surrounded by local villagers. We visited farmers' homes for interviews and held discussions with grassroots rural cadres. Watching Joe communicate fluently in Chinese, I often felt as though he were a scholar from a Chinese university—indeed, Joe had been appointed as an adjunct professor at Renmin University of China for many years.

Joe provided considerable assistance to scholars from China over the years, and I experienced this firsthand. Through my connections alone, Joe invited three Chinese scholars to visit Boston University. When I conducted research on local governance in the United States, I also received warm assistance from Joe. He not only introduced me to professors in related fields but also

personally accompanied me to a Town Meeting in Cohasset, the town where he lived, and arranged discussions with local government officials. On these occasions, I even had the chance to enjoy meals at his home and stay overnight. I recall a time when three scholars from my institution visited Boston for academic exchanges and expressed a desire to meet Joe. After I conveyed their request to him, Joe agreed without hesitation. On the day of the meeting, he arrived early and generously treated the three scholars to a meal at a Shanghai-style restaurant near Boston University. Additionally, my first presentation at Harvard University's Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies was made possible through Joe's invitation. Whenever I reflect on these moments, I am sincerely grateful for Joe's kindness.

Joe was sincere, upright, and passionate, with an exceptionally strong work ethic. He was four years older than me, yet he continued working until the age of 76, while I retired at 60. After my retirement, although I settled in the United States, my focus shifted, and my contact with Joe became less frequent. Nevertheless, I always kept abreast of his news. Joe's passing is a tremendous loss—not only have we lost a compassionate and morally exemplary scholar, but the community of Sino-American academic exchanges has also suffered a significant blow. Yet, I believe that while Joe's physical presence may be gone, his spirit remains among us. His soul will always be worthy of remembrance, and he will live on forever in our hearts.

(In Chinese)

9

讨论开放，忧心中美

金君达

中国社会科学院世经政所

傅士卓老师（Joseph Fewsmith）是我当时选择波士顿大学的重要原因之一。从学术传承上来看，傅老师是美国的中国政治研究学界中十分重要的一位承上启下的人物，他本人也有大量的在华访问、研究经历，对于梳理阐释中国现代化进程中的一些重点事件有着难以替代的学术贡献。到了波士顿大学之后，傅老师的工作和研究日程相对紧凑，到访他办公室时经常会碰见排队的学生。虽然傅老师是我论文委员会的重要成员，在几年求学期间也对我的学术研究、论文写作提出了大量宝贵建议，但坦率来说，我和傅老师的私下交流还是相对欠缺的，现在回想起来，也为当时未能从这位重要的比较政治学研究者身上学到更多而遗憾。不过总体而言，傅老师给我带来了多方面的影响，我也非常感谢在美国求学期间能够遇到这样一位可敬的学者。

傅老师是一位在讨论中秉持开放态度的学者。因为中国政治学的特殊性质，在许多案例、学术研究的探讨上存在一些争议，包括对一些历史和事件的讨论，这种讨论在留学生参与的中国研究课程，甚至国际关系、比较政治学课程中很常见。傅老师在主持讨论的时候往往秉持一种兼顾学术严谨和轻松幽默的风格，鼓励大家进行讨论和发言，这在中美博弈整体趋于激化的当时非常可贵。我的硕士研究生是在华盛顿特区读的，那时的中国研究课程带有比较强的政策导向性质，因此可以感觉到美国对华战略敌意的强化。傅老师能够坚持开放且谨慎的研究和讨论态度，在时代背景下尤其值得钦佩。此外，傅老师的开放态度也体现在研究议题和研究方法上，即使在晚年，他仍然积极和学生共同探索量化研究在比较政治学中的应用，同时也积极扩张对中国国内治理研究的广度和深度，这种积极奋进的精神也时刻鞭策着我这样的学生晚辈。

傅老师对于中美关系恶化忧心忡忡，体现出一位致力于中美和平的国际关系学者的强烈政治责任感。在美国对华外交政策整体趋于强硬，美国对华交流在近年来整体减少的大环

境下，傅老师这样的学者对于两国人文交流，甚至公共外交具有重要意义，他的辞世是中美国际关系学界的重要损失。从中美关系的宏观发展来看，一代人有一代人的政治环境、政体战略观和政策优先事项，学者在国际关系转型期间不可避免地感到焦虑。但傅老师对我的提醒是，尽可能怀着一种善意的态度看国际关系发展，思考大国如何克服自身内部困境，使得双多边关系如何向着稳定和合作的方向发展。

同时，傅老师也是一位风趣幽默、对生活充满激情的老人。在提起波士顿本地球队的时候，他流露出发自内心的热情。这也是政治学研究的一个重要组成部分，对于人与人、人与社会、国家之前权力关系的研究首先应该基于对家乡和周围事务的热爱。这也是把抽象理论和现实使命感结合起来的重要环节。

再次向傅士卓老师的亲属和同事师友表示沉痛哀悼，我在地球另一边深切缅怀这位恩师和伟大的学者。

(In English)

9

Open Dialogue, Concerns for U.S.-China Relations

Jin Junda

Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Professor Joseph Fewsmith was one of the key reasons I chose Boston University for my doctoral studies. From the perspective of academic lineage, Professor Fewsmith served as a pivotal figure bridging generations in American scholarship on Chinese politics. With extensive firsthand experience from his numerous research visits to China, he made irreplaceable contributions to interpreting key events in China's modernization process.

After arriving at Boston University, I found Professor Fewsmith's schedule often quite full, and visits to his office frequently involved waiting in line alongside other students. Although he played a crucial role on my dissertation committee and offered invaluable guidance on my academic research and writing throughout my years of study, I must admit that my private exchanges with him were relatively limited. Looking back, I regret not having learned more from such an important scholar of comparative politics. Nonetheless, on the whole, Professor Fewsmith left a multifaceted impact on me, and I remain deeply grateful for the opportunity to have studied under such a distinguished scholar during my time in the United States.

Professor Fewsmith was a scholar who upheld an open attitude in academic discussions. Due to the distinctive nature of Chinese political studies, debates over certain cases, historical events, and academic interpretations are common—not only in China-focused courses attended by international students but also in broader courses on international relations and comparative politics. In facilitating such discussions, Professor Fewsmith consistently balanced academic rigor with a relaxed and humorous style, encouraging active participation and dialogue. This approach was particularly valuable at a time when U.S.-China tensions were intensifying. Having completed my master's degree in Washington, D.C., where China studies courses often carried a strong policy-oriented tone, I was acutely aware of the growing strategic rivalry toward China. Against this backdrop, Professor Fewsmith's commitment to maintaining an open yet cautious stance in research and dialogue was especially admirable.

His openness was also reflected in his choice of research topics and methodologies. Even in his later years, he actively collaborated with students to explore the application of quantitative methods in comparative politics while expanding the breadth and depth of his research on China's domestic governance. This driven and forward-looking spirit continues to inspire junior scholars like me.

Professor Fewsmith was deeply concerned about the deterioration of U.S.-China relations, demonstrating a strong sense of political responsibility as a scholar dedicated to peaceful bilateral engagement. At a time when U.S. policy toward China has grown more confrontational and bilateral exchanges have generally declined, scholars like Professor Fewsmith played a vital role in sustaining people-to-people ties and even public diplomacy between the two nations. His passing is a significant loss for the field of international relations in both countries.

From a macro perspective on U.S.-China relations, each generation faces its own political environment, strategic outlook, and policy priorities. Scholars inevitably experience anxiety during periods of international transition. Yet Professor Fewsmith's lesson to me was to approach the evolution of international relations with goodwill and to consider how major powers might overcome internal challenges to steer bilateral and multilateral relations toward stability and cooperation.

At the same time, Professor Fewsmith was a witty and passionate individual with a deep enthusiasm for life. His genuine excitement when discussing Boston's local sports teams revealed a personal warmth that, in my view, is an essential part of political science research. The study of power relations—between individuals, between people and society, and between nations—should be grounded in a genuine affection for one's community and the world around us. This connection between abstract theory and a sense of real-world purpose remains a crucial aspect of meaningful scholarship.

Once again, I extend my deepest condolences to Professor Fewsmith's family, colleagues, and friends. From the other side of the globe, I honor the memory of my mentor and a great scholar.

(In Chinese)

10

Remembering Joe

王亦诚

美国华盛顿与李大学政治学系助理教授

11 月 5 日晚上，我得知了我的恩师 Joseph Fewsmith（傅士卓）教授不幸离世的消息。我几乎一晚上没有睡着，不敢相信这是真的。就在正好三周之前，我还在波士顿跟他吃过一次午饭，聊了很多东西。他对军队内部和军工系官僚的清洗尤其关注，还问了我很多关于中国官媒宣传风向的问题。他说他实在不喜欢用微信，就只能通过我来看人民日报的微信号了。他又关心我是否喜欢大农村、是否习惯开车上班。他还说他好久没有回中国了，现在退休之后有了时间，有点想回去看看，但又担心没有微信没有滴滴，到了机场怎么打车。我当时还兴高采烈地跟他说了不少现在中国为了吸引外国游客制定的政策，还说到了机场最好还是要找人接机的。没想到却再也没法成行了。

几个月前，今年四月的时候，Joe 和其他几位老师找我去参加纪念 2023 年离世的 Merle Goldman 的纪念会议。Fairbank Center 打算为 Merle 出版一本纪念文集，主题是知识分子史，我也提交了我的稿子。听说当年 Joe 从业界回到学界找工作的时候，是 Merle 力主把他招来 BU 的。很难想象，Merle 刚离世两年，Joe 竟然这么快也走了。Joe 本来应该是那本文集的主编之一，可是他给那本文集写的关于中国新保守主义的文章，竟然成了他的遗作。

我在 BU 读博的六年里，Joe 既像一个父亲，也像一个真正的朋友。他不讲国内师门那一套，也从来不摆架子，他的办公室是我在波士顿感觉说话最自在的地方。他经常把别人送他的茶叶转手送给我，他说他感觉茶叶在中国的一部分文化里不是用来喝的，是用来作为货币流通的。我说那我就是个大银行了，因为我真的把它们都喝进去了。后来 2022 年，我家里的茶叶喝完了，去他那里问他还有没有多余的茶叶，他给了我四盒，其中的一盒绿茶我现在还没有喝完。毕业之后，每次把那盒茶拿出来的时候，我都会想这是 Joe 给的茶，还是珍惜些喝的好。以后每次看到茶，我也都会想起他的。

Joe 的身体其实一直不是特别好，去年他做了髋关节置换手术，我在去年的 APSA 上见到他，他拄着拐杖，但作为 discussant，还是坚持去了会场。他那次康复得很快，不久之后就告诉我他扔掉了拐杖，我也就没有太担心。他几个月前中风过一次，但也完全康复了，没有留下后遗症。我上个月跟他吃饭的时候他还对此很自豪，因为中风后完全康复还是很难得的，我当时也很开心。没想到最终上天还是犹豫之后决定接走他。

如果说有什么可以算是慰藉的话，我觉得 Joe 直到离世，都还一直在坚持思考。他一直到生命的最后都在关注中国政治，想法也仍然犀利。我想，能够这样，坚持思考到生命的最后，也是我作为一个学者的愿望。

Joe，一路走好。能成为您的学生，真的很幸运。

(In English)

10

Remembering Joe

Wang Yicheng
Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science,
Washington and Lee University, USA

On the evening of Nov.5th, I heard the sudden news that my mentor, Professor Joseph Fewsmith, had passed away. I didn't sleep almost that whole night. I couldn't believe the news. Exactly three weeks ago, I had lunch with him in Boston. We discussed a lot of things. He was particularly interested in the purges going on within the PLA and those against bureaucrats with army backgrounds. He asked me many things about the official media and their messaging. He said he really didn't like WeChat, so he had to read People's Daily's WeChat through me. He wondered if I liked rural America, and if I was used to commuting to work. He said he hadn't been back to China for a long while, and now that he was retired, he was thinking about going back sometime. But he was worried about how he could call a taxi at the airport without WeChat. I delightfully told him about the series of new policies China issued to attract foreign tourists, and I told him it was in any case better to have someone pick him up at the airport. Who would have thought that he would never make that trip.

A few months ago, in April, Joe and some other teachers of mine invited me to a conference honoring the late Merle Goldman, who passed away in 2023. The Fairbank Center planned to publish a festschrift to Merle, centering on the topic of intellectuals in China. I submitted my manuscript, too. I heard that when Joe went into the academia, it was Merle who rooted for recruiting him into BU. It's hard to think that Joe would pass so quickly after Merle did. Joe was supposed to be one of the editors of that volume. But his paper in that volume, on China's neo-conservative thoughts, would turn out to be his last piece.

In my six years studying at BU, Joe was like a father to me, but he was also a true good friend. He doesn't have that teacher-student ritual Chinese students usually have to follow. His office was where I felt the freest to share my thoughts. He would give me boxes of tea that others gave him. He said he felt in some part of the Chinese culture, tea was used to circulate, not to drink. I joked

that I was then a greedy banker, because I actually drank the tea. In 2022, I ran out of tea at home, and I asked him if he had extra. He gave me four boxes. One of them is still unfinished. After graduating, every time I take that box of tea out, I think to myself this is Joe's gift, and I should drink it more slowly. Now every time I drink tea, I think of him.

Joe's health was not always that great. He had a hip replacement surgery last year. When I met him at APSA in September 2024, he was walking with a cane, but he went to the conference to serve as a discussant nonetheless. He recovered quickly from that one, being able to walk without a cane just a few weeks later, and my worries quickly went away. A few months ago, he had a stroke, but he also recovered quickly, and he was proud of that because it's not common for people to fully recover from a stroke. I was happy for him too. But perhaps God made the decision in the end after hesitation.

If there's any silver lining - Joe continued to be a thinker until the last moment of his life. Until the end, he was focused on Chinese politics, and his thinking remained sharp as ever. It is my wish as a scholar that I can be like him, continuing thinking until the last moment.

Rest in peace, Joe. I was truly lucky to have been your student.

(In Chinese)

11

追忆傅老师

吴泽映

香港岭南大学研究助理教授

波士顿大学帕蒂未来研究中心访问学者

比起其他从 BU 政治系毕业的中国博士生，我和傅老师的缘分不算深。我可能是 BU 为数不多研究中国问题，但博士论文委员会里没有傅老师的学生之一。尽管如此，当听到傅老师突然去世的消息时，意外之余我心里有更多的悲伤和惋惜，脑子里也追忆起在 BU 求学时有关傅老师的好些片段。

因我去 BU 前着重于中日关系和日本的研究，对傅老师在中国研究领域的影响力和相关著作都知之甚少。我对傅老师的了解始于博一下学期去上他的一门有关中国外交政策的课。现在回想起来，我没记住太多课堂内容，却依稀记得傅老师讲课生动，风趣幽默。印象更深的是我课下找他聊课程论文题目时，我们对抗美援朝背后的动员机制有不太一致的猜想。为验证我们各自的猜想，我的课程论文最后以“为什么刚刚经历过二战和内战的中国领导人和老百姓愿意抗美援朝?”为题。为解答这个问题，我在哈佛燕京图书馆查看了许多抗美援朝前后的史料和文件，最后得出了中国领导人是在民族主义的驱使下用土地政策成功动员了广大民众参与抗美援朝的结论。尽管这个结论和傅老师最初的猜想有出入，但傅老师对我的课程论文给了很正面的评价，我也顺利在他课堂上拿到了 A grade.

之后在 BU 和哈佛的各种有关中国的讲座中都能看到傅老师的身影，在提问环节或讲座后也都能和他聊上几句。总记得他说话时会时不时用中文表达一些中国特有的概念和现象，也能说出很多我没去过，甚至没听说过的县级市的名字。说起中国各个行政单位和部委的英文和中文简称以及它们之间的关系，他更是驾轻就熟。我常感叹自己不如他了解自己的国家，也从他身上知道了何为国别研究的专家。

傅老师算是相对传统的老一辈美国学者，重视师生传承。我虽不算他指导的学生，但从他身上学习到了许多敬业之道。希望我们后辈能继承他的研究，在谋生之余，不忘探寻真实世界的乐趣。

(In English)

11

Remembering Professor Fewsmith

Wu Zeying

Research Assistant Professor, Lingnan University, Hong Kong

Visiting Researcher, Pardee Center for the Study of the Longer-Range Future, Boston University

Compared to other Chinese doctoral graduates from the Department of Political Science at Boston University, my connection with Professor Fewsmith was not particularly deep. I might have been one of the few students at BU studying China-related issues whose dissertation committee did not include Professor Fewsmith. Nevertheless, when news of his sudden passing reached me, beyond the initial shock, I felt a profound sense of sorrow and regret, and my mind began to recall many moments from my time as a student at BU involving Professor Fewsmith.

Before arriving at BU, my focus had been on Sino-Japanese relations and Japanese studies, so I knew little about Professor Fewsmith's influence in the field of China studies or his publications. My acquaintance with him began in the second semester of my doctoral studies when I enrolled in his course on Chinese foreign policy. Looking back now, while I cannot recall much of the specific content taught in class, I do remember vividly that Professor Fewsmith's lectures were lively, witty, and engaging.

What left a deeper impression was a conversation I had with him after class regarding the topic of my term paper. We had different hypotheses about the mobilization mechanisms behind China's involvement in the Korean War. To test our respective conjectures, my paper ultimately addressed the question: "Why were Chinese leaders and the masses, having just experienced World War II and a civil war, willing to participate in the Korean War?" To explore this issue, I examined numerous historical materials and documents from the period before and during the war at the Harvard-Yenching Library. In the end, I concluded that Chinese leaders, driven more by nationalism than communism, successfully mobilized the masses through land reform policies rather than appeals to patriotism. Although this conclusion differed from Professor Fewsmith's initial hypothesis, he gave my paper a very positive evaluation, and I ultimately received an A in his course.

After that, I would often see Professor Fewsmith at various China-related lectures at BU and Harvard, and I would occasionally chat with him during Q&A sessions or after events. I always remember how he would seamlessly weave Chinese expressions into his discussions, particularly when describing uniquely Chinese concepts or phenomena. He could also name many county-level cities I had never visited or even heard of. When it came to the English and Chinese abbreviations of various Chinese administrative units and ministries, as well as their interrelationships, he was exceptionally adept. I often lamented that I, as a native, knew less about my own country than he did, and through him, I came to understand what it truly means to be an expert in area studies.

Professor Fewsmith was, in many ways, a relatively traditional scholar of the older generation in the United States, one who placed great emphasis on the master-apprentice tradition. Although I was not formally his student, I learned much from him about the spirit of dedication to scholarship. I hope that we, the younger generation, can carry forward his research legacy and, while making a living, never lose sight of the joy of exploring the real world.

(In Chinese)

12

追忆与傅士卓教授的二三事

王国勤

浙江传媒学院教授

11 月 7 日北京时间 20 点 13 分，我的微信突然收到好友 Ceren（吉兰）发来的信息“Fewsmith passed away” 和三个哭泣的表情，我一时呆住，内心有种突然被抽空的感觉，有点茫然无助。陆续和太一、高翔、永东、续武等好友联系上，得知了傅士卓教授一些情况。难过了好几天，现在终于可以写篇纪念文章了。很多纪念文章介绍了傅教授的学术成就，我就写几件和傅教授在一起的真切往事。

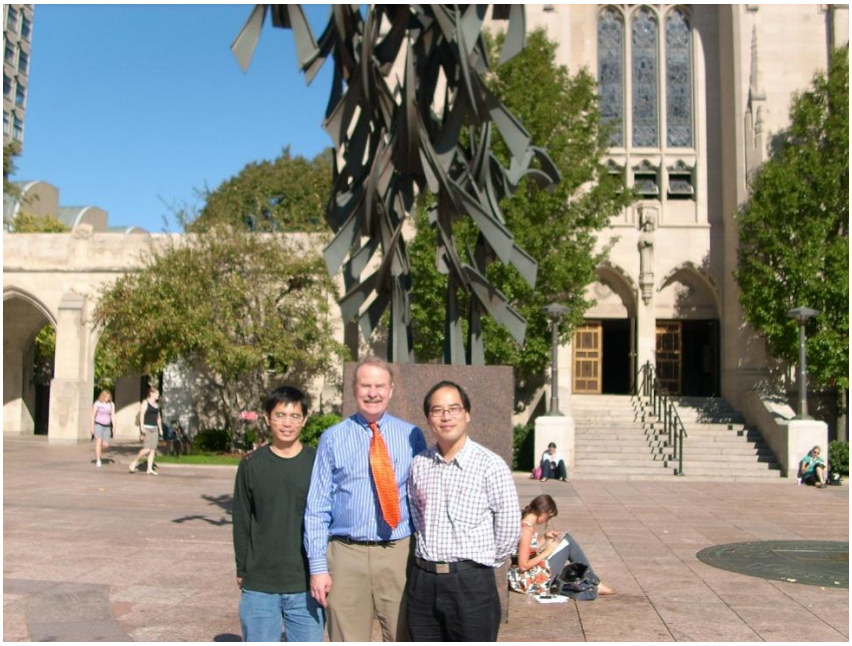
我在中国人民大学政治学系读博士期间，幸运得到国家留基委资助，于 2007 年 8 月份赴美国波士顿大学政治学系学习。期间，傅教授是我的导师。第一次去拜访傅教授，是在他办公室，他的儒雅亲切，让本来紧张的我放松很多。随后一学期听了他的一门课，是关于中国政治研究的。记得是在教学楼一楼的一间教室，我每次去上课，都拼命地记笔记。然后看看里面有哪些困惑或有异议的地方，课后就去和傅教授讨论。一方面是因为傅教授对我的鼓励和宽容，另一方面也印证了“无知者无畏”这句话，我开始和傅教授“抬杠”。这种状况后来越演越烈，以至于每堂课后都要堵着傅教授在走廊里讨论。傅教授有事要走的话，我就陪着他一路讨论，直到他的办公楼门口才罢休。我在波士顿大学学习结束时，傅教授请我在学校教工食堂吃饭，喝着咖啡，吃着丰富的自助餐。傅教授对我说，“国勤，你知道我为什么比较喜欢你吗？”我有些惊讶。傅教授接着说“是因为你喜欢和我抬杠，如果我说什么，学生就说什么，我是没有收获的，而学生说的和我不一样，我才有可能启发，哪怕学生说的不对，也是有意义的。”我听完很是感动，我想我应该算是一个比较怵老师的学生，但是在傅教授面前，却很快没有这种怵的感觉。“如沐春风”这个美好的词，适合用在傅教授身上，这也是一种师生在追求真理道路上结伴而行、共赏美好景致的陶陶然。

记得那一年学界爆出好几起学术不端的事件，影响不下。我有次问傅教授如何看待这种情况，傅教授说他很难理解，说一个人不是因为喜欢学术才会读博士、才会做研究的吗？既然喜欢学术，为什么要弄虚作假呢？我很受启发，我也问自己这个问题，我是不是真正

热爱学术？结论是应该是对学术的热爱才能支撑自己坚持走这条痛并快乐的道路。傅教授本人就是这样一位喜欢学术、热爱学术的学者。这种喜欢和热爱体现在他的专业水准和勤奋上。在国外研究中国问题的学者中，傅教授的中文水平是上乘的，有学者称他看文言文都没有问题。记得 2009 年他来杭州参加一次学术会议，当他一串地道的成语和口头禅字正腔圆地飙出来的时候，满座惊诧。他为了研究中国基层政治，常来中国调研，记得有一阵，几乎年年都来中国。这种勤奋执着也不是一般的学者能够做到。后来他根据调研的资料写了一本专著，我有幸得到一本签名本。记得他还在后记里写上我的名字，我以这种方式出现在大学者的著作中，也深感荣幸。

傅教授每次来杭州时，我们师生都要聚聚。他喜欢杭州小笼包，说来杭州不吃小笼包，还算来过杭州吗？说到吃，记得 2011 年我重返波士顿，那次是去燕京学社访学。刚去，傅教授请我、高翔等几个学生去石库门吃饭，就是太一的纪念文章中提到的石库门饭店。吃完饭，我去买单时，才发现傅教授是提前到的石库门，并预先将信用卡交给了收银员，这样别人就没有办法和他抢着买单了。这个时候，发现傅教授其实是一位中国长者。想起 2008 年元旦前夕，我是先收到傅教授的邮件，祝我新年快乐！这对于第一次异国他乡的寒冬季节冻成一团的我而言，顿觉全身暖流。这种温暖伴我至今，也会一直伴着我。

往事历历在目，情绪上头，一时不知如何下笔了。傅教授是位中国通，学生这里以一副中式挽联送别先生：“先生之风，山高水长；音容宛在，思忆绵长！”



(In English)

12

Remembering a Few Moments with Professor Joseph Fewsmith

Wang Guoqin

Professor, Zhejiang University of Media and Communications

At 8:13 p.m. Beijing time on November 7, I suddenly received a message from my friend Ceren Ergenc on WeChat: "Fewsmith passed away," followed by three crying emojis. For a moment, I was stunned, feeling as though something had been abruptly hollowed out inside me, leaving me somewhat lost and helpless. After connecting with friends such as Taiyi, Gaoxiang, Yongdong, and Xuwu, I gradually learned more about Professor Fewsmith's situation. After several days of sorrow, I can finally write this commemorative piece. While many tributes have highlighted Professor Fewsmith's academic achievements, I would like to share a few personal memories of my time with him.

During my doctoral studies in the Department of Political Science at Renmin University of China, I was fortunate to receive funding from the China Scholarship Council and went to study in the Department of Political Science at Boston University in August 2007. During that period, Professor Fewsmith served as my mentor. My first visit to him was in his office, where his scholarly elegance and warmth quickly eased my initial nervousness. In the following semester, I attended one of his courses on Chinese politics. I recall the classroom was on the first floor of the teaching building, and during each session, I diligently took notes, identifying points of confusion or disagreement to discuss with him after class. On one hand, Professor Fewsmith's encouragement and tolerance nurtured my confidence; on the other, as the saying goes, "fools rush in where angels fear to tread," and I began to engage in spirited debates with him. This dynamic intensified over time, to the point where I would often "corner" him in the hallway after class. If he had to leave, I would accompany him, continuing our conversation until we reached the entrance of his office building.

When my studies at Boston University came to an end, Professor Fewsmith invited me to dine at the faculty cafeteria. Over coffee and a hearty buffet, he said to me, "Guoqin, do you know why I quite like you?" I was somewhat surprised. He continued, "It's because you enjoy debating with

me. If students simply agree with everything I say, I gain nothing. But when students express different viewpoints, I find it enlightening—even if they are mistaken, it holds meaning." I was deeply moved by his words. As someone who had always been somewhat intimidated by authority figures, I quickly shed that apprehension in Professor Fewsmith's presence. The phrase "like a spring breeze" perfectly captures his demeanor—a sense of joyful companionship between teacher and student, walking together on the path of truth and appreciating the beauty along the way.

I recall a year when several high-profile cases of academic misconduct rocked the scholarly community. When I asked Professor Fewsmith for his thoughts on the matter, he expressed bewilderment, saying, "Doesn't one pursue a doctorate and engage in research out of a genuine love for scholarship? If so, why resort to dishonesty?" His words resonated deeply with me and prompted introspection: Was I truly passionate about academia? I concluded that only a genuine love for scholarship could sustain one on this challenging yet rewarding path. Professor Fewsmith himself embodied this passion—a scholar who not only loved academia but lived it through his expertise and diligence. Among Western scholars specializing in China, his command of Chinese was exceptional; some even remarked that he could read classical Chinese with ease. I remember his visit to Hangzhou for an academic conference in 2009, where his fluent use of idiomatic expressions and colloquialisms left the audience in awe.

To study grassroots politics in China, he frequently conducted fieldwork in rural areas, visiting almost annually at one point—a level of dedication few scholars could match. Later, he authored a monograph based on his research, and I was honored to receive a signed copy. I was particularly touched to find my name mentioned in the acknowledgments—a humble gesture that made me proud to be associated with such a distinguished scholar's work.

Whenever Professor Fewsmith visited Hangzhou, we would always get together. He had a fondness for Hangzhou's soup dumplings, often joking, "Can you really say you've been to Hangzhou without trying the soup dumplings?" Speaking of meals, I recall my return to Boston in 2011 for a visit to the Harvard-Yenching Institute. Shortly after my arrival, Professor Fewsmith treated me, Gaoxiang, and a few other students to a meal at Shikumen Restaurant—the same one mentioned in Taiyi's commemorative essay. When I tried to pay the bill afterward, I discovered that Professor Fewsmith had arrived early and preemptively handed his credit card to the cashier, leaving no room for anyone else to insist on paying. In moments like these, he truly embodied the demeanor of a caring Chinese elder.

I also remember receiving an email from him just before New Year's Day in 2008, wishing me a happy new year. For someone like me, shivering in the unfamiliar cold of a foreign land, his words instantly warmed my heart. That warmth has stayed with me ever since and will continue to do so.

As these memories flood back, emotions overwhelm me, making it difficult to put pen to paper. Professor Fewsmith was a true connoisseur of Chinese culture, and as his student, I would like to bid him farewell with a traditional Chinese elegiac couplet:

"Your virtue, sir, stands as lofty as the mountains and as enduring as the flowing rivers; Your voice and smile remain vivid in our hearts, and our memories of you will linger forever."

(In Chinese)

13

悼念傅士卓老師

陳建凱

美國羅德學院國際研究系副教授

傅士卓老師是我在波士頓大學 (BU) 博士論文的第二審查委員 (Second Reader)。因之我與老師的互動，與他的主要指導學生相比，並不算太多 。但是，他對我在 BU 的學習，以及日後的學術生涯，有著十分深遠的影響。

老師可以說是第一個真正帶領我進入中國研究領域的人。在台灣出生長大的我，一開始主要的學術興趣是台灣的民主化和經濟發展，對於中國大陸內外的各種議題，比較不那麼關注。不過我對兩岸關係倒是十分感興趣，但是在一開始的時候，也是只對台灣的大陸政策比較有接觸，對於中國大陸的對台政策，僅是一知半解。

老師在 BU 博士班開設的 Seminar on China in the Contemporary World 改變了一切，讓我對中國的議題產生了濃厚的興趣，我也開始在中國的內政和外交的框架下，探索北京的對台政策。最後在老師的指導下，我完成了一篇比較江澤民和胡錦濤對台政策的文章，並有幸被 Journal of Contemporary China 刊登。在擔任老師的助教的過程中，我也全程旁聽了他在 BU 大學部開設的 Foreign Policy of People's Republic of China 和 China: From Revolution to Reform。這讓我對於中國的內政和外交，有了更全面的認識。一言以蔽之，我所有中國相關的學術知識基礎，完完全全是老師給我的。我現在在我自己任教的學校，講授相關課程時，總是會想起老師。備課的時候，也還是會回頭參考我在老師課堂上所做的筆記。另外，我目前的研究主題，也從台灣政經發展及兩岸關係，擴展到中國的對外關係與外交政策。若是沒有老師啟發我對中國研究的興趣，這個轉變應該很難發生。

值得一提的是，老師不只學識淵博，更是充滿幽默感。在我得知上述那篇中國大陸對台政策的文章被接受刊登後，我立刻通知老師，並連忙致謝。他笑笑地對我說這不干他的事，他可沒有幫我關說。博士班最後一年，在替我準備求職的模擬面試中，正當我在做研究報告時，只見他東張西望盡顯不耐煩貌。結束後我正擔心剛剛是不是有什麼不對的地方，老

師告訴我：「我剛剛是在假裝不耐煩，你要知道，你在報告時，有可能遇到這種人，千萬不要被影響。」在真正面試的時候，我很幸運並沒有遇到那種令人分心不安的狀態，不過因為老師這幽默十足的提醒，的確讓我在面對求職的挑戰時更加從容自信。

2013 年我從 BU 畢業後，有跟老師通過幾次信更新近況。2019 年學術休假 (sabbatical) 期間，我回了波士頓一趟，不過恰好和老師錯過沒見上面。本想趁著 2026 年美國政治學學會 (APSA) 年會將在波士頓舉辦之際，定要找機會敘敘舊，並邀請他在會議期間參加由我幫忙籌辦的與台灣有關的場次。不想收到如此噩耗，再也無法相會。我知道我的 2026 年波士頓 APSA 之旅將會是一場充滿惆悵的旅程，同時也會是一趟想念及感恩之旅。教澤海深，師恩難忘，我會永遠懷念老師。

(In English)

13

In Memoriam: Professor Joseph Fewsmith

Chen Jian-kai

Associate Professor, Department of International Studies, Rhodes College

Professor Joseph Fewsmith served as the second reader for my doctoral dissertation at Boston University (BU). Consequently, my interactions with him were perhaps less frequent than those of his primary advisees. Nevertheless, his influence on my studies at BU and my subsequent academic career has been profound and enduring.

He was, in a very real sense, the scholar who first guided me into the field of China Studies. Having been born and raised in Taiwan, my initial academic interests were centered on Taiwan's democratization and economic development; I paid relatively little attention to the various domestic and international issues concerning Mainland China. While I maintained a strong interest in cross-strait relations, my exposure was initially limited to Taiwan's policy toward the Mainland, leaving me with only a superficial understanding of Beijing's policy toward Taiwan.

The seminar "China in the Contemporary World," which Professor Fewsmith taught in the doctoral program at BU, proved to be a transformative experience. It ignited in me a deep interest in Chinese affairs and prompted me to begin exploring Beijing's Taiwan policy within the broader frameworks of Chinese domestic politics and foreign relations. Under his mentorship, I eventually completed an article comparing the Taiwan policy of Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao, which was subsequently published in the *Journal of Contemporary China*.

Furthermore, while serving as his teaching assistant, I audited his undergraduate courses, "Foreign Policy of the People's Republic of China" and "China: From Revolution to Reform." These courses provided me with a comprehensive understanding of China's internal and external dynamics. Simply put, the foundational knowledge of my entire academic repertoire regarding China was bestowed upon me by Professor Fewsmith. Today, as I lecture on these subjects at my own institution, I am frequently reminded of him. When preparing for class, I still find myself consulting the notes I took during his lectures. My current research trajectory has also expanded

from Taiwan's political economy and cross-strait relations to encompass China's foreign relations and diplomatic policy—a shift that likely would not have occurred without his inspiration.

It is worth noting that Professor Fewsmith was not only a man of immense erudition but also one gifted with a keen sense of humor. When I informed him that the aforementioned article on China's Taiwan policy had been accepted for publication and expressed my gratitude, he replied with a smile that it had nothing to do with him, joking that he certainly hadn't "pulled any strings" on my behalf. During my final year of doctoral studies, while he was conducting a mock interview to prepare me for the job market, he spent the duration of my presentation looking around the room with an air of profound impatience. Concerned that I had committed some error, I was relieved when he explained: "I was feigning impatience. You must realize that during a presentation, you may encounter such people; you must never let them unsettle you." Fortunately, I did not encounter such distractions during my actual interviews, but his humorous and practical advice undoubtedly allowed me to navigate the challenges of the job market with greater composure and confidence.

After graduating from BU in 2013, I remained in contact with Professor Fewsmith through occasional correspondence. During my sabbatical in 2019, I returned to Boston but unfortunately missed the opportunity to meet with him. I had intended to capitalize on the 2026 American Political Science Association (APSA) Annual Meeting in Boston to reconnect and invite him to participate in a Taiwan-related session I am helping to organize. The news of his passing was a devastating blow, as we shall never meet again. I know that my trip to the 2026 APSA meeting will be one defined by melancholy, but it will also be a journey of remembrance and gratitude. The depth of his teaching is as vast as the sea; the debt of gratitude I owe him is unforgettable. I shall miss him always.

(In Chinese)

14

纪念傅士卓老师

逄锐之

中国社会科学院世界经济与政治研究所副研究员

2025 年 11 月初，当陈昊师兄告诉我傅士卓老师因中风去世时，我十分愕然。记得离开波士顿大学时，他也不过 70 岁，去年圣诞节时我还给他发过邮件，前几年我入职世经政所的时候，他还向我表示祝贺。我回国后至今也未回美国，曾经列过一些如果哪天回到美国要做的事情，包括取回我落在系图书馆的上百本书、落在 Bromfield 笔店的一枝威迪文 Le Man 100 钢笔……当然，最重要的是拜访 Berger 和傅士卓老师等一众师友，他们对我在美学习期间的帮助可谓无微不至。但没想到，拜访傅士卓老师这一如此简单的愿景竟然再难实现。

2015 年年初，凌晨，当我还在巴特勒图书馆加班加点准备期末论文时，在查看邮件的时候惊喜地发现了波士顿大学的录取通知，第二天，傅士卓老师便给我发来贺信，表示期待与我见面。来到波士顿大学后，他成为我最经常拜访的教授。我们探讨的话题包括精英政治、台海问题、中国外交。他多次表示其对所谓 “威权主义” 一词的反感，认为这一词汇笼统地概括所谓非 “自由民主” 国家政体，但每个国家的政体都有各自鲜明的特色，不能用如此笼统的词汇将他们混为一谈。他对黎安友和沈大伟所谓 “威权弹性” 亦有不同看法。虽然我们在这些话题上也常有不同的看法，但他经常触及我不曾想过的问题，拓宽了我看问题的视角，给我以重要启发。

他真的很喜欢中国，从大约 50 年前开始，研究中国已经是他生命中的一部分。记得最后一次跟他长聊时，他说他正在研究中国共产党早期外交。在他女儿的婚礼上，他朗诵《诗经》的篇章。他希望看到一个真正的中国，所以，他既访问中国的大城市，也希望能够更多了解中国农村和偏远地区。他对中国的发展既表示欣喜，又担心中国年轻一代只因中国的强大而盲目自信，看不到中国一系列的社会问题，尤其是基层治理的问题。他对中

国的风土人情也十分熟悉，在第一次得知我是青岛人时，他提到青岛啤酒，揶揄说：“你们的胃口都被污染了，才觉得青岛啤酒是玉液琼浆。”

后来，由于一系列原因，我开始专注于结构现实主义国际关系理论的研究，撰写论文的题目与他的兴趣点逐渐远离，我与他虽时常探讨其他的问题，但论文研究的话题却探讨不多。我的论文与中国问题并不相关，委员会成员也都是国关理论、方法与国关史的学者。但是，他仍然对我论文提供帮助指导。在我试图沿着硕士论文的思路研究权力转移理论时，他建议我案例研究不要做中美，因为这是一个正在进行时的权力转移，对于未来结果只能推测，故应该更加关注类似的历史案例……如此种种，不胜枚举。

2020 年初，我回国内过年，由于疫情的原因，只能在线上答辩毕业。2021 年在国内工作后，由于各种原因，也没能到美国拜访一众师友，只听说由于疫情和通胀，我熟悉的波士顿已经变化良多。这并不稀奇，现在的世界与 2014 年我初到美国时的世界，又何曾不是判若隔世。但是，环境变化，以至于世界格局的变化所能带来的唏嘘怎能比得上人生之无常！这两年经常听到以前的同学陆续毕业了，各自天各一方，现代社会“相隔万余里，各在天一涯”只是一种情感的表达，想见总能再见。然而，在 2025 年 11 月初的那一天，我知道，我再也见不到傅老师了。一个熟悉、曾经经常出现在自己生活中的身影，一个即使回国工作后也常常想起的身影，就此远去，再也不会在现实中相遇。呜呼，斯人已逝，怔怔地看着那个熟悉的邮箱地址，想发些什么，虽然知道永远不会再有回音。乃属辞云：历阶除以徐进兮，伫空居于旧巷；拂游尘之遮目兮，掩虚座而增凉。揭书章以玄思兮，馨翰墨之余香；寄鸿雁而不复兮，感斯人而怳怆。呜呼！哀泉台之杳隔兮，思故人以泫涕；惟志业之相继兮，迈精进以安饗。

(In English)

14

In Memory of Professor Joseph Fewsmith

Pang Ruizhi
Associate Research Fellow
Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

In early November 2025, when Chen Hao informed me that Professor Joseph Fewsmith had passed away due to a stroke, I was utterly stunned. I remember that when I left Boston University, he was only in his seventies. Last Christmas, I had sent him an email, and a few years earlier, when I joined the Institute of World Economics and Politics, he had sent me his congratulations. Since returning to China, I have not been back to the United States. I had made a list of things to do if I ever returned, including retrieving the hundreds of books I left in the departmental library and a Waterman Le Man 100 fountain pen I left at Bromfield Pen Shop... Most importantly, I wanted to visit mentors and friends such as Professor Berger and Professor Fewsmith, who had provided me with tremendous support during my study in the United States. Little did I expect that the simple wish of visiting Professor Fewsmith would now be impossible to fulfill.

In early 2015, in the early hours of the morning while I was working on my final paper at Butler Library, I was delighted to discover the admission letter from Boston University in my inbox. The next day, Professor Fewsmith sent me a congratulatory email, expressing his anticipation of meeting me. After arriving at Boston University, he became the professor I visited most frequently. We discussed topics such as elite politics, cross-strait relations, and Chinese foreign policy. He repeatedly expressed his aversion to the term "authoritarianism," arguing that it broadly categorizes political systems deemed "non-liberal democratic," while each country's political system possesses distinct characteristics that should not be conflated under such a vague label. He also held differing views from Andrew Nathan and David Shambaugh on the notion of "authoritarian resilience." Although we often had differing opinions on these topics, he frequently raised questions I had never considered, broadening my perspectives and offering profound insights.

He truly loved China. For nearly fifty years, the study of China had become an integral part of his life. I recall during our last lengthy conversation, he mentioned that he was researching the early diplomatic efforts of the Chinese Communist Party. At his daughter's wedding, he recited passages from the *Book of Songs*. He hoped to understand the real China, which is why he visited not only China's major cities but also sought to learn more about its rural and remote areas. While he expressed delight in China's development, he also worried that the younger generation in China might become overconfident due to the country's growing strength, overlooking a range of social issues, particularly in grassroots governance. He was also deeply familiar with Chinese customs and culture. When he first learned that I was from Qingdao, he mentioned Qingtao Beer and quipped, "Only because your palates have been tainted do you consider Qingtao Beer to be divine nectar."

Later, due to various reasons, I began to focus on the study of structural realism in international relations theory, and the topics of my papers gradually diverged from his primary interests. Although we often discussed other issues, we seldom delved into the subjects of my research. My dissertation was not related to China studies, and the committee members were scholars of international relations theory, methodology, and history. Nevertheless, he continued to provide guidance and assistance with my dissertation. When I attempted to explore power transition theory based on the direction of my master's thesis, he advised me not to use China and the United States as case studies, as this was an ongoing power transition where future outcomes could only be speculated. Instead, he suggested focusing on similar historical cases... Such instances of his guidance are too numerous to recount.

In early 2020, I returned to China for the Lunar New Year and, due to the pandemic, had to defend my dissertation online. After starting work in China in 2021, various circumstances prevented me from visiting my mentors and friends in the United States. I only heard that due to the pandemic and inflation, the Boston I once knew had changed significantly. This is hardly surprising—the world today is vastly different from the one I encountered when I first arrived in the United States in 2014. Yet, no amount of change in the environment or the global landscape can compare to the unpredictability of life! Over the past two years, I have often heard of former classmates graduating and scattering across the world. In modern society, the phrase "separated by thousands of miles, each at the edge of the sky" is merely an expression of sentiment—reunions are always possible. However, on that day in early November 2025, I knew I would never see

Professor Fewsmith again. A familiar presence, one that had frequently appeared in my life and lingered in my thoughts even after returning to China, had now departed, never to be encountered in real life again. Alas, the person is gone. Staring blankly at that familiar email address, I wanted to send something, though I knew there would never be a reply. Thus, I compose these words:

"*Climbing the steps slowly, I linger in the empty dwelling of the old alley; Brushing away the dust that blinds the eyes, I cover the vacant seat, adding to the chill. Unfolding chapters of books, lost in deep thought, I savor the lingering fragrance of ink; Sending a message that goes unanswered, I mourn this person with sorrow and anguish. Alas! Grieving the distant separation of the spring terrace, I think of the old friend with tearful eyes; Only by carrying forward the legacy of aspirations can we advance with diligence and find solace in remembrance."*

(In Chinese)

15

傅士卓：用心、用情、用时间去理解一个国家

吉兰（Ceren Ergenc）

布鲁塞尔欧洲政策研究中心和巴塞罗那自治大学

我失去了我的博士导师。傅士卓老师猝然离世。对中国研究界而言，这无疑是巨擘陨落；对我个人来说，我的心也碎了。

这些年，傅士卓老师是塑造我学术道路、指引我事业方向的重要导师之一。他既是我当面请益的前辈，也是我独自思考时常以对照的标杆与榜样。

从波士顿到北京，从安卡拉到芝加哥，从杭州到微信，在无数的回忆、相遇与思想碰撞中，我从傅士卓老师身上真正继承的，是一名区域研究学者对所研究国家发自内心的兴趣与感情——既投入其中，又不居高临下，也不失去自我。比如，花时间去学那门语言，用那门语言读一本小说；因这门语言结下的友谊，能让你和当地朋友就那本小说开个内部玩笑。在如今“快进快出”“任务导向”的学术环境中，他始终坚守这一点：用心、用情、用时间去理解一个国家。

得知噩耗时，我哭得不能自已。一位同事对我说：能有一段让你为之落泪的师生情，是一种幸运。是的，我很幸运。我曾以学生、以晚辈、以在中国研究路上同行者的身份，认识傅士卓老师。

(In English)

15

Joseph Fewsmith: Understanding a Country with Heart, Emotion, and Time

Ceren Ergenc

Centre for European Policy Studies (Brussels), University of Autonomous Barcelona

I have lost my doctoral supervisor: Professor Joseph Fewsmith passed away suddenly! For the field of China studies, this is undoubtedly the fall of a giant; for me personally, my heart is shattered. Over the years, Professor Fewsmith has been one of the most important mentors who shaped my academic path and guided my career. He was both a senior scholar I could consult in person and a benchmark and role model I often turned to in my solitary reflections.

From Boston to Beijing, from Ankara to Chicago, from Hangzhou to WeChat, among countless memories, encounters, and intellectual exchanges, what I truly inherited from Professor Fewsmith was a genuine interest in and emotional connection to the country he studied—an approach that allowed him to immerse himself fully without condescension or losing his own identity. For instance, taking the time to learn the language, reading a novel in that language, and forging friendships through it—to the point of sharing inside jokes with local friends about that novel. In today's academic environment, which often prioritizes "quick-in, quick-out" and task-oriented approaches, he remained steadfast in this belief: understanding a country requires heart, emotion, and time.

When I learned the tragic news, I could not stop crying. A colleague told me: "It is a blessing to have a mentor-student relationship that moves you to tears." Yes, I am fortunate. I knew Professor Fewsmith as a student, as a junior scholar, and as a fellow traveler on the path of China studies.

(In Chinese)

16

忆傅老师

吴斯

波士顿大学政治学系博士候选人

我第一次与傅老师交流，是因为我需要开始撰写系里要求的“第二年论文” (second-year paper)。当时我还没完全决定好要研究中国还是美国，所以问了傅老师应该如何推进我关于这篇论文的研究。他的回答是，“我觉得中国和美国是两个很不一样的地方，但我很乐意听听你的想法。” (It strikes me that China and the US are pretty different places, but I would be happy to hear what you have in mind.) 我一直追问如何才能改进我的研究课题，傅老师紧接着告诉我，“也许你需要思考的第一个问题是你打算如何进行问卷调查？我觉得现在做问卷调查比过去难多了，也挺贵的……所以，我觉得你首先要考虑的就是可行性问题。” (Perhaps the first question you need to think about is how are you going to do survey research? I understand that doing survey research is much more difficult today than in the past. It is also rather expensive…… So, I think the first question you have to address is feasibility.) 这些建议直到今天我还贯彻在我的研究里，并时常和刚入门想研究中国的博士生们分享。

无论我对中国政治的哪个课题不了解，傅老师总能马上找到合适的文献和书，不仅仅是政治学家，还有历史学家、人类学家写的书 — 推荐给我。这种态度我也是直到今天都一直想要传承并且做到的 — 无论是哪个领域的书籍都想要涉猎一些。傅老师是我第一位认识并向之学习的中国政治研究大家，我总是为他对中国政治的了解感到十分佩服。在傅老师的 Post-Mao China 的课上，傅老师讲课基本不用课件，凭他对中国政治的了解他就可以讲很久，大家也可以真心感受到傅老师对中国政治、特别是精英政治的热爱。

傅老师对中国政治研究、包括社会科学研究的态度也是我非常欣赏并且身体力行的：不只是经常开讲座，反而应该多多在市井气息、田野调查中感受中国。傅老师在我博士论文开题答辩前后都力主要我做这件事情，这也是直到今天我都还在对刚入门想研究中国的博士生的建议。

虽然傅老师已经离去，但他对待中国政治研究的态度、对于中国研究知识的广博，会永远留存在学生们心中。

(In English)

16

Remembering Professor Fewsmith

Wu Si

Doctoral Candidate, Department of Political Science, Boston University

My first exchange with Professor Fewsmith took place when I needed to begin working on the "second-year paper" required by the department. At the time, I had not yet fully decided whether to focus my research on China or the United States, so I asked Professor Fewsmith how I should proceed with this paper. His response was: "It strikes me that China and the U.S. are pretty different places, but I would be happy to hear what you have in mind." When I pressed further on how to refine my research topic, he continued, "Perhaps the first question you need to think about is how are you going to do survey research? I understand that doing survey research is much more difficult today than in the past. It is also rather expensive… So, I think the first question you have to address is feasibility." To this day, I still incorporate these suggestions into my research and frequently share them with doctoral students who are just beginning to explore China studies.

Whenever I encountered a topic in Chinese politics that I did not fully understand, Professor Fewsmith could immediately recommend relevant literature—not only works by political scientists but also by historians and anthropologists. This is an approach I strive to uphold and pass on to this day—to seek exposure to books across various fields. Professor Fewsmith was the first leading scholar in Chinese politics I had the privilege to know and learn from, and I was always deeply impressed by his profound understanding of Chinese politics. In his "Post-Mao China" course, he rarely relied on presentation slides. Instead, he could lecture at length based on his extensive knowledge of Chinese politics, allowing everyone to genuinely feel his passion for the subject, particularly elite politics.

Professor Fewsmith's approach to Chinese political research, and to social science research more broadly, is something I greatly admire and endeavor to practice: rather than merely attending classes, one should immerse oneself in the everyday life and fieldwork of China. Both before and after my dissertation proposal defense, Professor Fewsmith strongly encouraged me to do exactly

this—a piece of advice I continue to share with doctoral students who are just beginning their journey in China studies.

Although Professor Fewsmith is no longer with us, his approach to Chinese political research and vast knowledge of China studies will forever remain in the hearts of his students.

(In Chinese)

17

走进中国现实、理解真实中国：深切缅怀傅士卓老师

沈永东

浙江大学公共管理学院长聘教授

隔着大洋彼岸，猝不及防收到傅老师仙逝的噩耗，我整个人僵坐在办公室久久不能释怀，眼前浮现的一幕幕都是傅老师的音容笑貌。傅士卓（Joseph Fewsmith）老师是名副其实的“中国通”，不仅因为他讲得一口流利的中文，更因为他走进中国现实、理解真实中国，是中国人民的老朋友。

第一次见到傅老师是在 2011 年杭州炎热的夏天，他是来浙江调研温州商会，途径杭州来浙江大学作报告。我依稀记得，傅老师顶着酷暑，满头大汗，从外面走进会议室。大家都说，天气太热了，让傅老师吹吹空调，他说，“天气热好可以排汗。我就喜欢杭州的夏天，因为波士顿没有夏天只有冬天”。他的幽默风趣逗得大家哈哈大笑。正好我读博期间的研究主题也是行业协会商会，傅老师听我作了自我介绍后说，“研究温州商会很有意思，我这次是专程去温州调研商会，你一定要好好研究下去”。也正是这次见面，开启了我前去波士顿大学跟随傅老师学习的念想。后经郁建兴老师强烈推荐，我终于有幸前往美国波士顿大学开展为期一年的联合培养博士生的访学机会。

2012 年 8 月，刚到波士顿不久，我风尘仆仆想要拜见傅老师，于是我发邮件向他预约。他在邮件中说，“下周四我刚好在学校有教学，我们中午去石库门共进午餐如何？我想你肯定是想念吃中国菜了，而不是美国的汉堡与披萨”。我当时想，傅老师居然这么了解一个来访学的中国学生。我们边吃边聊，相谈甚欢，特别是他提出要真真切切地理解真实中国，并鼓励我多参加波士顿大学、哈佛大学的学术交流会。正是傅老师的鼓励，让我在哈佛大学费正清研究中心认识了许多来自哈佛、MIT、波士顿学院、波士顿大学的博士生小伙伴。午饭末了傅老师说，“不要浪费，你把这些菜打包带走”，这对于当时还不会做饭做菜的我临时解决了一顿晚饭。

2012 年秋学期，我去旁听傅老师开设的本科生课程，孙太一是本科生课程的助教，当时特别羡慕太一能够追随傅老师学习教学精髓。傅老师的本科生课程虽然教授的内容比较简单，但我从中学会的是不仅仅只是简单的知识灌输，更为重要的是傅老师通过自身经历让美国本科生知晓中国真实发展情形，并通过纽约时报、人民日报、联合早报等多元信息来源全面了解中国时事热点。

2013 年春学期，我又选修了傅老师的研究生课程。傅老师对研究生课程的教学方式是每周选择一个主题，让研究生先来讲讲对该议题的理解与讨论。期间正值他的新著《中国政治改革的逻辑与限度》出版，我围绕着该著作中的温岭民主恳谈、温州行业协会商会等议题向傅老师汇报讨论，傅老师对于上述议题的独特观察大大拓宽了我的思路，也为我后续博士论文写作奠定坚实基础。

最后一次见到傅老师是 2019 年 5 月，也是他最后来浙江大学访问。作为 *Journal of Chinese Governance* (JCG)编委，傅老师与 *Journal of Chinese Governance* 编辑部成员共同探讨了 JCG 期刊如何组稿选稿，如何提升期刊在海外影响力等系列议题。遗憾的是，疫情之后，我没能有时间前往美国看望傅老师，而傅老师也没能有机会前来浙江调研。我们之间的见面就永远定格在 2019 年春夏之交。

傅老师虽已离去，但那些向他学习过、请教过，甚至被他改变过命运的学生，都将继续前行。“傅门弟子”不会解散，我们将相亲相爱、勇猛精进，把傅老师热爱的研究事业不断推向前进。敬爱的傅老师，您安息吧！

(In English)

17

Understanding the Real China: In Deep Remembrance of Professor Joseph Fewsmith

Shen Yongdong

Professor, School of Public Affairs, Zhejiang University

From across the ocean, the sudden and devastating news of Professor Fewsmith's passing left me in deep sorrow, unable to find solace for a long time. Vivid memories of his voice and smile kept appearing before my eyes. Professor Joseph Fewsmith was truly a China scholar—not only because he spoke fluent Chinese but also because he deeply immersed himself in China's reality and understood the real China. He was an old friend of the Chinese people.

The first time I met Professor Fewsmith was in the sweltering summer of 2011 in Hangzhou. He was conducting research on Wenzhou business associations in Zhejiang and stopped by Zhejiang University to give a lecture. I vividly recall him walking into the conference room, covered in sweat from the intense heat. Everyone urged him to cool off under the air conditioning, but he humorously remarked, "The heat is good—it helps you sweat. I actually like Hangzhou's summer because Boston doesn't have summers, only winters." His wit and humor drew laughter from everyone. At the time, my doctoral research also focused on trade associations and business chambers. After I introduced myself, Professor Fewsmith said, "Researching Wenzhou business associations is fascinating. I'm here specifically to investigate them, and you should definitely continue your research." This meeting guided me to study under his guidance at Boston University. Later, with Professor Yu Jianxing's strong recommendation, I was fortunate to receive an opportunity for a one-year joint doctoral exchange program at Boston University.

In August 2012, shortly after arriving in Boston, I eagerly sought to meet Professor Fewsmith and emailed him to schedule an appointment. In his reply, he wrote, "I happen to be teaching on campus next Thursday. How about we have lunch at Shikumen? I imagine you must be missing Chinese food, not American burgers or pizza." I was struck by how well he understood the needs of a visiting Chinese student. Over lunch, we engaged in a lively and pleasant conversation. He emphasized the importance of truly understanding the real China and encouraged me to participate actively in academic exchanges at Boston University and Harvard. Inspired by his encouragement,

I met many doctoral students from Harvard, MIT, Boston College, and Boston University at the Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies. At the end of the meal, he said, "Don't let it go to waste—take the leftovers with you." For someone like me, who did not yet know how to cook, this gesture provided a convenient dinner solution.

In the fall semester of 2012, I audited Professor Fewsmith's undergraduate course. Sun Taiyi served as the teaching assistant for the class, and I greatly admired how Taiyi was able to learn the essence of teaching from Professor Fewsmith. Although the content of the undergraduate course was relatively straightforward, what I gained was far more than mere knowledge. More importantly, Professor Fewsmith used his own experiences to help American undergraduates understand the real dynamics of China's development, drawing on diverse sources such as *The New York Times*, *People's Daily*, and *Lianhe Zaobao* to provide a comprehensive view of current affairs in China.

In the spring semester of 2013, I enrolled in Professor Fewsmith's graduate course. His teaching method involved selecting a weekly topic and having graduate students present their understanding and discussion of the issue. During this period, his new book, *The Logic and Limits of Political Reform in China*, had just been published. I presented discussions on topics from the book, such as Wenling's democratic consultations and Wenzhou's trade associations and business chambers. Professor Fewsmith's unique insights into these issues greatly broadened my perspective and laid a solid foundation for my subsequent doctoral dissertation.

The last time I saw Professor Fewsmith was in May 2019, during his final visit to Zhejiang University. As a member of the editorial board of the *Journal of Chinese Governance (JCG)*, he discussed with the editorial team how to select and organize submissions and enhance the journal's international influence. Unfortunately, after the pandemic, I did not have the opportunity to visit him in the United States, nor did he have the chance to return to Zhejiang for research. Our final meeting remains forever in the spring and summer of 2019.

Though Professor Fewsmith is no longer with us, the students who studied under him, sought his guidance, or even had their lives transformed by him will continue to move forward. The "Fewsmith school" will not disband. We will support one another with affection, advance courageously, and tirelessly push forward the research endeavors he cherished. Rest in peace, dear Professor Fewsmith.

(In Chinese)

18

悼傅士卓（Joe Fewsmith）先生

何俊志

中山大学

今年 2 月初，我和同事一起在波士顿访问期间，有幸再度与傅士卓先生见面。我清晰地记得是波士顿今年最冷的那天，他结束上午的课程后，邀请我们在学校的餐厅相聚。当时的他仍然精神矍铄，还专门叫了他的博士研究生冯博一起过来交流。虽然室外的温度极冷，交流结束我们好几人都被冻感冒，但午餐期间的交流非常热烈。大家就博士生培养，中国政治和中美交流的研究状况等话题做了非常充分的探讨，最后还特地安排了合影留念。临别之际，他还专门提出，希望我能够在年底前邀请他到中国来做研究，还说现在更有时间和精力来做一些深度研究。我当时欣然应许，并且正准备在近期安排他来华访问事宜。突然间噩耗传来，竟一时不知所措，怅然若失。

我与傅士卓于 2006 年前后相识于上海。第一次见面，他就给我留下了两个明显的印记：宽厚的身躯和流利的中文；他对中国的财务报销过程中的发票使用居然也极其熟悉。我后来了解到，他同时在区域研究和政治学学科方面都受过严格的训练，而且对理论与实务都有深度的把握。

在美国的当代中国政治研究群中，有不少人都对当代中国政治有深度的研究。令我印象深刻的是，他不但对当代中国的政经议题有非常深度的研究，而且常常能够从一个非常独特的角度提出问题。这些问题常常都会令我们这些身在其中的学者为之一惊；惊叹之余又觉得他确实抓住了一个被我们严重忽视的重大问题。

更让我们感到汗颜的是，他不但对结构与过程有深度的理解，而且对中国的近现代史的熟悉程度也超越常人。我的一位年轻的同事与他仅有过一面之缘，后来都一再跟我感叹，对近代史的了解程度远远不及傅士卓先生。正是因为他对中国近现史有深度的理解，他在探讨当代中国的政经议题时，才能够从更为深远的层次来驾驭现实问题的研究；再加上他定期会来中国利用各种机会就研究的主题做深度的田野调查，又导致他们的判断比较精准。

他的这两种治学态度的结合，使得他的观点整体上较为温和，不会走向极端。从我与他曾经指导过的各种学生的交流之中，同样能够感受到他在治学方面的宽厚与温和。

原来以为还可与傅士卓先生就共同感兴趣的话题再度交流与探讨，可惜未能实现我们在年初确定的计划。他的离去，让我们少了一位学界的长者，少了一位能够在轻松的气氛中展开多维探讨的朋友。愿他在天堂过得更好。

2025 年 11 月 23 日于广州

(In English)

18

In Memory of Professor Joseph Fewsmith

He Junzhi

Sun Yat-sen University

In early February of 2025, during a visit to Boston with colleagues, I had the honor of meeting Professor Joseph Fewsmith once again. I vividly recall that it was the coldest day in Boston this year. After concluding his morning class, he invited us to gather at the university's dining hall. At the time, he was still in good spirit, and he specifically invited his doctoral student, Feng Bo, to join the conversation. Although the temperature outside was bitterly cold, and several of us caught colds afterward, the discussion over lunch was exceptionally lively. We engaged in thorough exchanges on topics such as academic training, the state of research in Chinese politics, and Sino-American scholarly exchanges, ending with a group photo to commemorate the occasion. As we parted, he expressed his wish to be invited to China for research by the end of the year, mentioning that he now had more time and energy to pursue in-depth studies. I readily agreed and was in the process of arranging his visit when the sudden news of his passing left me momentarily at a loss, filled with a profound sense of sorrow and emptiness.

I first met Joe around 2006 in Shanghai. From our initial encounter, he left me with two distinct impressions: his generous physique and his fluent Chinese, as well as his remarkable familiarity with the use of invoices in China's financial reimbursement processes. I later learned that he had received rigorous training in both area studies and political science, with a deep grasp of both theory and practice.

Among the scholars of contemporary Chinese politics in the United States, many have conducted profound research on the subject. What struck me about Joe was not only his deep insights into contemporary Chinese political and economic issues but also his unique ability to raise questions from unconventional angles. These questions often surprised us scholars who are immersed in the field, leaving us in awe while recognizing that he had identified significant issues we had gravely overlooked.

What further impressed—and somewhat humbled—me was his profound understanding of structures and processes, coupled with an extraordinary familiarity with modern Chinese history. A younger colleague of mine, who had met him only once, later repeatedly remarked to me that his own knowledge of modern history paled in comparison to Joe's. It was precisely this deep understanding of modern Chinese history that enabled him to approach contemporary political and economic issues from a broader, more nuanced perspective. Additionally, his regular visits to China for in-depth fieldwork contributed to the precision of his judgments. The combination of these scholarly approaches lent his views an overall moderate tone, steering clear of extremes. In my interactions with his students, I similarly sensed his academic generosity and moderation.

I had hoped to engage in further exchanges and discussions with Joe on topics of shared interest, but unfortunately, the plans we made at the beginning of the year will never come to fruition. His passing has left us with one less expert in the field and one less friend with whom we could engage in multifaceted discussions in a relaxed atmosphere. May he rest in peace in heaven.

(In Chinese)

19

追思傅士卓教授：一个自由灵魂的远去

高兰

复旦大学日本研究中心教授

2017 年-2019 年，断断续续在哈佛大学费正清东亚研究中心访问和访学期间，有幸认识了著名的中国问题专家傅士卓教授。听闻傅教授主要研究中国政治制度和中共党史，我与傅教授的研究方向有所不同，主要研究中美日关系与美国政治，未能详细请教，十分遗憾。

近年来，一直在观察海外中国学研究，发现欧美学者包括日本学者研究中国问题的内容大致有三种；1，研究中国的历史文化。2，研究中国的政治制度。3，研究中国的现代化发展模式以及中国特色的经济发展道路。这些学者研究方法基本有两种视角。1，着眼于从西方的角度阐释中国问题的特征。2，从东方的角度，特别是从中国的角度来试图深度理解并解读中国在漫长的历史发展过程中的独特性与延续性。傅士卓教授研究中国的“制度化”问题，正是用行走式的“田野调查”的方法，力图从东方角度特别是从中国历史的发展逻辑中寻找中国政治发展的本质特征，从而使其研究成果更加富有学理，更加接近中国政治问题的本源。

以哈佛大学为代表的“东亚学派”以及“中国学派”学者们，形成了鲜明的“哈佛学派”特征。例如，有些学者注重政策研究，例如傅士卓教授、陆伯彬教授、William Overhalt 教授等等。有些学者注重以理论为分析工具，例如约瑟夫・奈教授和江忆恩教授等。有些学者则注重历史研究方法，例如傅高义教授、宋怡明教授、格雷厄姆・艾利森教授等。还有一些学者更加注重文化、文明的研究，例如萨缪尔亨廷顿教授。上述这些学者们尽管研究方法不尽相同，但是有一个共同特征，即十分注重“田野调查”，他们不仅活跃在欧美学术舞台，更时常行走在中国大地上展开对中国的实地学术交流与调研。

这些精彩纷呈的研究成果，不仅影响了美国社会的对华认知，影响美国决策层在制订对华政策的决策思路和判断基准，也在一定程度上影响了日本的对中国认识，以及日本政府对华政策的决策思路。日本学者在研究中国问题的时候，往往采取两种方式。其一，学

者对于中国问题的独自思考。其二，借鉴欧美学者、特别是美国学者的关于中国问题的研究成果。很多在日本的中国问题专家的书斋里收集了很多美国学者的著作，例如约瑟夫・奈、傅高义教授、宋怡明教授、傅士卓教授等的巨著。例如，原东京大学教授沟口雄三提出“作为方法的中国”的中国学研究途径，热切倡导“中国模式”研究，正是对应了傅士卓教授等学者们从东方的角度，特别是从中国的制度本身研究中国政治与社会问题的科学路径。著名的东亚问题专家五百旗头真教授与傅士卓教授、约瑟夫・奈、傅高义教授等的互动交流，也推动了中美日三边关系研究的深度与广度。

傅士卓教授不仅学识卓越，也在中美文化交流领域做出了很多贡献。当然，傅教授等美国学者对中国的认识与理解与中国的主流观点未必一致，甚至有很多尖锐的批评意见，但是他们建立十分重要的中美学术交流平台与外交决策二轨渠道，使得中美两国学者们能够坦诚相见求同存异，加深了中美两国民众的相互认识与相互了解，避免战略误判，构建了改善并维护中美关系大局的人文护栏。

十分感谢“海外看世界”以及大学沙龙、“中美印象”等非常重要的中美学术交流平台的联合组织，参加了傅士卓教授的网上追思会，再次深切感受到中美两国学者对痛失傅老师的沉痛哀悼。作为一位桃李满天下的中国问题专家，傅士卓教授已经离我们远去，但他的独立自由的研究风范永远定格在中美两国的学术殿堂，值得我们永远学习纪念。

(In English)

19

Remembering Professor Joseph Fewsmith: The Departure of a Free Spirit

Gao Lan

Professor, Center for Japanese Studies, Fudan University

From 2017 to 2019, during my intermittent visits and research stays at the Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies at Harvard University, I had the privilege of meeting the renowned China expert, Professor Joseph Fewsmith. I learned that Professor Fewsmith's research primarily focused on China's political system and the history of the Chinese Communist Party. As my own research interests lie more in China-U.S.-Japan relations and American politics, our academic paths diverged, and I regret not having had the opportunity to engage with him in deeper discussions.

In recent years, I have been observing overseas Chinese studies and have noted that Western scholars, including those from Japan, generally approach China-related research from three perspectives:

- Studying China's history and culture.
- Examining China's political system.
- Analyzing China's modernization development model and its distinctive economic development path.

These scholars typically employ two methodological approaches:

- Interpreting China's issues from a Western perspective.
- Seeking to understand and interpret China's uniqueness and continuity throughout its long historical development from an Eastern perspective, particularly from a Chinese standpoint.

Professor Fewsmith's research on China's "institutionalization" exemplifies the latter approach. Through immersive fieldwork, he endeavored to uncover the fundamental characteristics of China's political development from an Eastern perspective, particularly within the logic of China's historical trajectory. This methodology endowed his research with greater theoretical depth and brought it closer to the essence of China's politics.

Scholars associated with the "East Asian Studies" and the "China Studies," particularly those at Harvard University, have developed distinct characteristics. For instance, scholars such as

Professor Fewsmith, Professor Robert Ross, and Professor William Overholt emphasize policy-oriented research. Others, like Professor Joseph Nye and Professor Alastair Iain Johnston, prioritize theoretical frameworks as analytical tools. Meanwhile, scholars such as Professor Ezra Vogel, Professor Michael Szonyi, and Professor Graham Allison focus on historical research methods. Additionally, some scholars, like Professor Samuel Huntington, emphasize the study of culture and civilization. Despite their varied methodologies, these scholars share a common emphasis on "fieldwork." They are not only active on academic platforms in Europe and the United States but also frequently engage in on-the-ground academic exchanges and research within China.

The rich and diverse outcomes of these studies have not only shaped American society's understanding of China and influenced the decision-making processes of U.S. policymakers in formulating China policy, but have also, to some extent, impacted Japan's perception of China and its government's approach to China policy. When Japanese scholars study China, they often adopt two approaches: first, independent critical thinking on China-related issues, and second, drawing on the research findings of Western scholars, particularly those from the United States. Many Japan-based China experts' personal libraries are stocked with seminal works by American scholars such as Joseph Nye, Ezra Vogel, Michael Szonyi, and Joseph Fewsmith. For example, the late University of Tokyo Professor Mizoguchi Yuzo proposed the approach of "China as a method" in Chinese studies and fervently advocated for research on the "China model." This aligns with the scholarly path taken by Professor Fewsmith and others, who studied China's political and social issues from an Eastern perspective, particularly through the lens of China's institutional framework. The interactions between renowned East Asia expert Professor Iokibe Makoto and scholars like Professors Fewsmith, Joseph Nye, and Ezra Vogel have also deepened and broadened research on the trilateral relations among China, the United States, and Japan.

Professor Fewsmith was not only a scholar of exceptional erudition but also made significant contributions to China-US cultural exchanges. While the perspectives and understanding of China held by Professor Fewsmith and other American scholars may not always align with mainstream Chinese views—and indeed often include sharp criticisms—they have played a crucial role in establishing vital platforms for China-US academic exchange and Track II diplomatic channels. These initiatives have enabled scholars from both countries to engage in candid dialogues, seek common ground while reserving differences, deepen mutual understanding between the peoples,

prevent strategic miscalculations, and construct a humanistic safeguard for improving and maintaining the China-US relations.

I am deeply grateful to influential exchange platforms such as Overseas Perspectives on the World, University Salon, and "China-US Focus" for jointly organizing the online memorial service for Professor Joseph Fewsmith. Through this event, I once again felt the profound grief shared by scholars from both China and the US over the loss of Professor Fewsmith. As a China expert whose influence spans generations, Professor Fewsmith may have left us, but his independent and free scholarly spirit will forever remain etched in the academic halls of both China and the United States. He is a figure worthy of our perpetual remembrance and emulation.

(In Chinese)

20

一个少见的中国政治研究“匠人”：傅士卓先生追记

杨雪冬

清华大学政治系教授

11 月 8 日，我在微信圈程浩发出的详细信息中得到 Joe 不幸辞世的确切消息，内心非常悲痛。8 月份我在浙江温岭调研的时候，看到他当年调研温岭参与式预算的留影，非常高兴，当天（8 月 8 日）就把几张照片发给他，问他是否还记得，什么时候再重访温岭。他在电邮中回复说，当然记得，还询问是否可以给他发一封邀请信。3 个月之后，没有等到他来访的喜讯，反而收到了他去世的噩耗。

我知道 Joe，可以追溯到 1997 年左右。当时我在中央编译局刚刚开始自己的中国政治研究生涯，开始对海外学者有了更多的了解。托尼•赛奇当时任福特基金会驻华代表，他与中央编译局来往密切，曾经听他提到过 Joe。1999 年，我到哈佛大学作访问学者，在费正清中心图书馆，通过南希女士，认识到傅士卓教授。还记得他幽默地说，我在 BU 工作，没有哈佛那么有名。后来，往来就越来越紧密。他到中国来，都会来编译局做客，我到美国，有机会，他也会请我吃饭。几次在哈佛广场，他都从家里坐火车转地铁赶过来。最后一次见面，是在疫情前的北大勺园，俞可平教授主持的宴请上。

Joe，在美国的中国政治研究群体中是一个承上启下的学者之一，他师承芝加哥大学的邹谠教授，后来长期浸染并活跃在以哈佛为中心的新英格兰中国政治研究共同体中，始终密切关注、深入分析中国政治的阶段性发展，并具有理论化抱负和反思精神。他集中体现在，在长期跟踪中国精英政治，尤其是领导层变化之后，在学术生涯后期，他力图用 “制度化” 来解释中国政治的变化，并出版了 *Rethinking Chinese Politics* (2021， Cambridge University Press) 这本虽然很薄，但很有洞见的著作。在这本书的结尾，他得出这样的结论，虽然制度化可以描绘中国政治变化的样态，但是几代政治精英的更迭，反而印证了列宁主义是比制度化更深层的，更有说服力的力量。

尽管他的判断和观点有争议，但他积多年研究的发现，人、组织比制度更为重要这个判断，对于我们理解当代中国，乃至世界范围政治的变化，依然具有启发性。

这印证了中国人常说的，学术比生命更持久。更如他的姓 Fewsmith 所意味的，一个少见的匠人，终将有经得起时间考验的作品流传。

(In English)

20

A Unique "Craftsman" in Chinese Political Studies: A Remembrance of Professor Joseph Fewsmith

Yang Xuedong

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On November 8, 2025, I learned the sad news of Joe's passing through the detailed information posted by Cheng Hao on WeChat. My heart was filled with deep sorrow. In August, while conducting research in Wenling, Zhejiang, I came across photos from his earlier fieldwork on the participatory budgeting in Wenling. Delighted, I sent him several photos on the same day and asked if he still remembered and when he might revisit Wenling. He replied by email, saying he certainly remembered and inquired whether I could send him an invitation letter. Three months later, instead of receiving joyful news of his visit, I was met with the tragic news of his death.

My acquaintance with Joe dated back to 1997. At that time, I had just begun my research career in Chinese politics at the Central Compilation and Translation Bureau and started to gain a deeper understanding of foreign scholars. Tony Saich, then the Ford Foundation's representative in China, had close ties with the Bureau and mentioned Joe in conversations. In 1999, while I was a visiting scholar at Harvard University, I came to know Joe through Nancy at the Fairbank Center Library. I still remember him humorously remarking, "I work at BU, which isn't as famous as Harvard." Since then, our interactions grew increasingly frequent. Whenever he visited China, he would stop by the Bureau, and whenever I traveled to the United States, he would invite me for a meal if the opportunity arose. On several occasions at Harvard Square, he would travel by train and subway from his home to meet me. Our last meeting took place at Peking University's Shaoyuan before the pandemic, over a dinner hosted by Professor Yu Keping.

Joe was a scholar who bridged generations within the American community of Chinese political studies. He studied under Professor Tang Tsou at the University of Chicago and later immersed himself in and remained active within the New England Chinese political studies community centered around Harvard. Throughout his career, he maintained a close and in-depth study of Chinese politics, driven by theoretical ambitions and a reflective spirit. A notable example of this

was his long-term focus on Chinese elite politics, particularly changes in the leadership. In the later stages of his academic career, he sought to explain changes in Chinese politics through the lens of "institutionalization," publishing his insightful work, *Rethinking Chinese Politics* (2021, Cambridge University Press). In the conclusion of this book, he argued that while institutionalization could outline the patterns of political changes in China, the turnover of political elites across generations instead demonstrated that Leninism was a deeper and more compelling force than institutionalization.

Although his judgments and viewpoints sparked debate, his findings—accumulated over years of research—that people and organizations are more critical than institutions remain insightful for understanding contemporary China and political changes worldwide.

This echoes the Chinese saying, "Scholarship outlives life." Just as his surname, Fewsmith, implies, he was a rare craftsman whose work will withstand the test of time.

(In Chinese)

21

追忆老朋友 Joseph Fewsmith 教授

郎友兴

浙江大学公共管理学院政治学系

11 月 5 日，是我给研究生讲授《当代中国政治分析》课程的最后一次课。我梳理了包括 Joseph Fewsmith 教授在内的西方学者对中国体制的研究文献，没 想到第二天竟然听到他去世的噩耗。医学如此发达的今天，居然发生这样毫无征兆的事，让人没有思想准备。Joe 今年 5 月刚刚退休啊，这就走了，惊愕难言。

大概 20 年前我认识 Joseph Fewsmith 教授。谁介绍他来杭州找我，记不得了，也许是郑永年教授吧。我第一次见到他，是在杭州的香格里拉饭店。我带着我年幼的儿子同他一起吃晚饭。儿子尽管不到上小学的年龄，但是中国人待客的基本“礼数”还是有的。他将菜夹到 Joe 的碗里。Joe 很礼貌地说，谢谢你，并问万一夹的菜，客人不喜欢吃，那怎么办。估计从来没有人这样问过他，儿子有点懵了。Joe 见此样子，开心极了，接着说你们中国人太客气了，不过客气背后有着强迫的意思，万一夹的菜，客人不喜欢，可是，按中国人的礼节还得吃下去，应该自己夹菜，吃自己喜欢吃的菜。儿子年幼，不一定能完全理解。那晚我们谈了什么，想不起来，但他同我儿子的对话依然清晰地记得。Joseph Fewsmith 教授那时来浙江，主要出于对浙江各地的商会尤其温州商会的关注。我带他去温州调研，随后将研究温州商会的我的同事郁建兴、陈剩勇教授介绍给他。2004 年我与何包钢教授一起开始关注并介入温岭的民主恳谈会。Joe 特别关注温岭民主恳谈会，给予充分的肯定，同时指出了问题之所在，足见他对中国了解之深和准。我也曾几次陪他去温岭调研，参加那里的研讨会。他访问的村民尤其温岭的地方领导、基层干部很喜欢他，我想原因不仅在于 Joe 幽默风趣，笑眯眯，能用中文交流，更主要在于他对中国有同情性的理解。

安息吧，亲爱的朋友，Joseph Fewsmith 教授。愿您安然长眠，愿您的智慧之光将照亮中美两国光明的方向。

(In English)

21

Remembering An Old Friend: Professor Joseph Fewsmith

Lang Youxing

Department of Political Science, School of Public Affairs, Zhejiang University

On November 5,2025, I delivered the final lecture of my graduate course, "Analysis of Contemporary Chinese Politics." During the session, I reviewed the scholarly literature on China's political system by Western scholars, including Professor Joseph Fewsmith. Little did I expect that the very next day, I would receive the heartbreaking news of his passing. In an era of such advanced medical science, such an unforeseen event leaves one utterly unprepared. Professor Fewsmith had only retired this past May—his departure is truly shocking and beyond words.

I first met Professor Joseph Fewsmith approximately two decades ago. I cannot recall who introduced him to me in Hangzhou—perhaps it was Professor Zheng Yongnian. Our initial encounter took place at the Shangri-La Hotel in Hangzhou. I brought my young son along to have dinner with him. Though my son had not yet reached primary school age, he was already familiar with the basic etiquette of Chinese hospitality. He picked up food with his chopsticks and placed it in Joe's bowl. Joe politely said, "Thank you," but then asked, "What if the guest doesn't like the dish that was served to them?" This was likely a question my son had never encountered before, and he was momentarily puzzled. Seeing his reaction, Joe was visibly delighted. He went on to remark, "You Chinese are exceedingly courteous, yet such courtesy carries a subtle element of imposition. If a guest is served a dish they dislike, Chinese etiquette would still require them to eat it. In my view, guests should serve themselves and eat what they truly enjoy." My son, being young, may not have fully grasped the meaning. As for what else we discussed that evening, I can no longer recall, but the conversation between Joe and my son remains vivid in my memory.

During that period, Joe visited Zhejiang primarily due to his interest in business associations across the province, particularly those in Wenzhou. I accompanied him on a research trip to Wenzhou and later introduced him to my colleagues Professors Yu Jianxing and Chen Shengyong, who were also studying Wenzhou's business associations. In 2004, together with Professor He Baogang, I began to focus on and engage with the Deliberative Democracy Forums in Wenling.

Joe showed particular interest in these forums, offering both genuine affirmation and insightful critiques, reflecting his profound and precise understanding of China. On several occasions, I accompanied him to Wenling for fieldwork and academic seminars. The local villagers, as well as Wenling's officials and grassroots cadres, held him in high regard. I believe this was not only due to Joe's humor, warm smile, and ability to communicate in Chinese but, more importantly, because of his empathetic understanding of China.

Rest in peace, my dear friend. May you find eternal peace and may the light of your wisdom continue to illuminate the path toward a brighter future for both China and the United States.

(In Chinese)

22

悼傅先生

张济顺

华东师范大学

人生在世，最悲痛的送别，莫过于亲人和师长的“不辞而去”。简直无法相信，傅士卓先生已和我们天人两隔。与先生结识已经十几年，每次见到他，总是红光满面，精力充沛，好像“衰老”二字与他无缘。直到去年，我到费正清中心访学，见到他，一如以往。

今年 1 月，先生热情邀请我一起吃饭。席间，他说正在酝酿写一本关于 1962 年七千人大会的书，征求我的意见。我坦率地告诉他，这方面的档案材料不好找，国内已经有一本专著和若干文章，要在资料和现有成果上都有突破，困难会不小。如果有新的解读，另辟蹊径，倒也不失为值得一做的好题目。先生听后，思索了一会儿，说：这确实是个难题，我才要做。就像研究井冈山时期中国共产革命的书已经很多，但我重新审视这场“农村革命”，得到与以往不同的结论，地方知识青年组成的地方组织，把马克思主义引入农村，而不是毛。“七千人大会”的研究也可能修正甚至否定现成的看法。说着，他把新作 *Forging Leninism in China: Mao and the Remaking of the Chinese Communist Party, 1927-1934* 送给我，并嘱咐说，这本书或许不能带回中国。一顿饭的时间很快过去，但先生对未来研究的这份执着与热情却令人难忘。

在哈佛的日子飞快，在我即将结束访问，将要回国前夕，王开元的 “大学沙龙” 要为先生举办祝贺荣休的晚宴。接到邀请，一面为傅先生加入“退休同道”之列而高兴，想着不久就能拜读 “七千人大会” 的新著；一面又觉得他似乎没到需要退的时候，还可以再干上好几年……

想到此，不禁悲从中来。傅先生还有那么多的事要做，还没有好好享受退休生活，我还盼着他有一天来上海，翘首以待那本新书问世。

这一切，都随傅先生带到了天堂，而我已经把对他的思念，连同他的书，安放在心灵深处。三言两语，哀思无尽，以此告慰先生的在天之灵，并愿家人保重！

2025 年感恩节于上海

（In English）

22

In Memory of Professor Joseph Fewsmith

Zhang Jishun
East China Normal University

In life, the most sorrowful farewell is the sudden departure of loved ones and mentors without warning. It is almost impossible to believe that Professor Joseph Fewsmith has now passed beyond our reach.

I first met Professor Fewsmith over a decade ago, and every time I saw him, he was always glowing with vitality and energy, as if the word "aging" had no place in his life. Even last year, during my visit to the Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies, he appeared just as I remembered him. In January of this year, Professor Fewsmith warmly invited me to join him for a meal. During our conversation, he mentioned that he was contemplating writing a book about the 1962 Seven Thousand Cadres Conference and sought my opinion. I candidly told him that archival materials on this topic are difficult to access, and with existing domestic monographs and articles already published, breaking new ground in terms of both sources and scholarly contributions would be quite challenging. However, if he could offer a fresh interpretation or approach, it might still be a worthwhile endeavor. After hearing this, he paused thoughtfully and said, "That's precisely why it's a challenge—and why I want to tackle it. Just as there are already many books on the Chinese Communist Revolution during the Jinggangshan period, I re-examined this 'rural revolution' and arrived at conclusions different from the conventional ones. It was local educated youth organizations, rather than Mao alone, who introduced Marxism to the countryside. Research on the Seven Thousand Cadres Conference could similarly revise or even overturn existing views." As he spoke, he presented me with his new work, *Forging Leninism in China: Mao and the Remaking of the Chinese Communist Party, 1927–1934*, and advised that this book might not be suitable to bring back to China. Though our meal passed quickly, his dedication and enthusiasm for future research left a lasting impression.

Time at Harvard flew by. Just as I was about to conclude my visit and return to China, Wang Kaiyuan's "University Salon" organized a farewell dinner in honor of Professor Fewsmith's

retirement. Upon receiving the invitation, I felt both happy for Professor Fewsmith as he joined the ranks of retirees—looking forward to soon reading his new book on the Seven Thousand Cadres Conference—and somewhat regretful, thinking that he was not yet at an age where retirement seemed necessary and could have continued working for several more years...

This thought fills me with sorrow. Professor Fewsmith had so much more to accomplish and had yet to fully enjoy his retirement. I eagerly anticipated his future visit to Shanghai and the publication of his new book.

All of this, Professor Fewsmith has now taken with him to heaven. As for me, I have placed my memories of him, along with his book, deep within my heart.

In these few words, I express boundless grief, hoping to console his spirit in heaven and extend my deepest condolences to his family. May they take care!

(In Chinese)

23

追思我的导师傅士卓

陈昊

哈佛大学肯尼迪政府学院

11月5号我突然得知导师傅士卓去世的消息，非常震惊，极度悲痛。

傅老师是我的博士导师。我跟傅老师从2011年秋天开始学习中国政治，在BU的时候修过傅老师所有的课，包括Taiwan Politics，Post-Mao China，Bureaucracy，Chinese Foreign Policy，还连续多年帮他代课 China From Revolution to Reform。 在博士资格考试的时候，专有一门中国政治的考试，傅老师非常用心的把从费正清以来每一代中国问题专家的代表作都列了出来，要求我读懂，特别是要了解整个China field在美国的发展。很遗憾，这种学术传承在当今的美国学界已经很少了。

博士论文写作期间，我有一个章节探讨大型企业对政府社会政策的影响，曾与傅老师争论多年且面红耳赤，后来他自己偷偷跑去杭州做调研，访谈地方政府官员是否有渠道倾听企业声音，以此来验证我说的是对的。其他章节关于开发区行政架构和地市级领导人的研究，都是傅老师擅长的领域，对我的发现也都非常信服。

2016年开始我们俩都对党史产生了浓厚兴趣，经常一聊就是一两个小时，他生前最后两本书之一的*Forging Leninism in China*探讨了中共崛起的组织成因，我帮他无偿做了大量档案文献挖掘工作，包括查阅民国时期出版的竖排繁体字的县志。他在2017年秋天给本科生讲课时也把他最新的研究成果加进去，比如AB团、二七土地会议、富田事变等，可以很明显感受到他发自内心的兴奋，每节课都讲得眉飞色舞。

傅老师是一位非常活跃的学者，媒体上也经常有他的声音出现。他曾经开玩笑说，每隔五年中国开党代会，《纽约时报》就会给他打电话，看看他是不是活着，当时课上的学生都哄堂大笑，现在他突然辞世，也不禁很多酸楚。 傅老师的身体其实一直不太好，虽然他表面看起来很有干劲，但早在大概十五六年前他就做过心脏搭桥手术。2023年秋天他非常年轻的女儿突发癌症去世，白发人送黑发人，对他打击很大，他办公室里一直放着女儿

的照片。2024年夏天他又做了一次腰臀胯部位的大手术。 2025年2月傅老师最好的朋友Steve Goldstein教授去世，他更感孤独。傅老师曾说过他退休之后想搬去DC，可以继续参与相关活动，没想到这么突然就去世了。

傅老师您一路走好！

(In English)

23

In Memory of My Mentor, Professor Joseph Fewsmith

Hao Chen
Harvard Kennedy School

My journey with Joe began in the fall of 2011, when I first studied Chinese politics at Boston University. Over the years, I took nearly all of his courses—Taiwan Politics, Post-Mao China, Bureaucracy, and Chinese Foreign Policy—and for several consecutive years I covered his undergraduate course, China: From Revolution to Reform, when he was away.

When it came time for my comprehensive exams, Joe carefully designed the reading list for the Chinese politics field exam. He compiled a list of key works by each generation of China scholars, since John Fairbank, insisting that I not only read them closely but also understand how the China field had evolved in the United States. Sadly, this kind of intellectual lineage is becoming increasingly rare in American academia today.

During my dissertation research, one chapter examined how big business influences government social policies—a topic that sparked years of intense debate between us, sometimes to the point of red-faced arguments. Later, Joe quietly traveled to Hangzhou to conduct his own fieldwork, interviewing local officials to test whether my argument held true. Other chapters, on development zones and municipal leadership, drew on areas of his expertise, and he offered generous feedback and deep engagement with my findings.

Starting around 2016, both of us developed a strong interest in Party history. We would often talk for hours about archival sources and interpretations. One of his final books, 'Forging Leninism in China,' explored the organizational foundations of the CCP's rise. I helped him, without pay, comb through large amounts of Republican-era archives and local gazetteers, which were printed in vertical classical texts. When he taught undergraduates in the fall of 2017, he eagerly incorporated these new findings—on topics like the AB Group, the February 7th Land Meeting, and the Futian Incident—and his enthusiasm filled every lecture hall.

Joe was not only a prolific scholar but also a vibrant public intellectual whose voice often appeared in the media. He once joked, "Every five years, when China holds a Party Congress, The

New York Times calls me to check if I'm still alive." The class burst into laughter; today, that line carries a deep poignancy.

Though he always appeared energetic, Joe had struggled with health issues for years. He underwent heart bypass surgery more than a decade ago. In the fall of 2023, he lost his beloved and very young daughter to cancer—a tragedy that left him heartbroken; her photo always sat on his office desk. In the summer of 2024, he endured another major hip replacement surgery. When his closest friend, Professor Steve Goldstein, passed away in February 2025, Joe felt even more alone. He had spoken of moving to Washington, D.C. after retirement to remain active in the China studies community. Tragically, he suffered a sudden stroke and passed away before that plan could be realized.

Farewell, Joe. Thank you for the knowledge, mentorship, and warmth you shared with all of us. Your spirit and scholarship will continue to live on in your students.

(In Chinese)

24

怀念 Fewsmith 教授

郁建兴

浙江大学公共管理学院教授

在这个据说是秒级连通的时代，近年来，Fewsmith 教授消息渐阙。尽管如此，我还是在他去世的当天就收到了消息。不过，我们多么希望这是一个假消息，不断去刷波士顿大学官网。待消息得到确认，我们于 11 月 8 日发出悼念新闻后，我忍不住吟诵了一句曾经的歌词：江湖儿女日见少。

Fewsmith 教授的学术成就和影响力巨大，不容我来叙说。我只是简要回顾他与我们的部分交游。他与浙江大学公共管理学院渊源深厚，超过 20 年。在如此漫长的岁月里，他多次访问杭州，出席我们主办的研讨会，开设讲座、与师生交流前沿学术话题，由我们介绍去温州调研、观察温州商会。他非常支持学院人才培养工作，接收了高翔、沈永东、李琳等多名在读博士生前往波士顿大学开展联合培养，并在 2015-2017 年间主讲浙江大学海外教师主导的全英文课程 Comparative Government and Politics，为浙大公共管理学科的人才培养与国际化作出了重要贡献。特别是，自 *Journal of Chinese Governance*（JCG）创刊以来，Fewsmith 教授一直担任本刊编委，长期关心中国治理研究的发展，支持办刊并提供真知灼见，鼓励并支持 JCG 更好地向国际学术界介绍中国治理的实践与经验。

难忘的是，我第一次见到他的时刻，因为在下午 3 点左右，他还没有吃中饭，我在浙大玉泉校区门口的灵峰山庄给他点菜，竟然点了一条有很多刺的鲫鱼，他很慢很慢但仍然很绅士地吃完，这一场景仿佛就在眼前。我们举办地方政府创新研讨会，他与郑永年先生同台，打趣道：“你是正（郑）教授，我是副（傅）教授。”当我担心他只身赴温州调研是否会遇到沟通问题，他在信中加了一句中文道：“我觉得我中文讲的不好,但是有信心沟通!”他在波士顿两次于同一个地方请我吃饭，因为时隔多年，他的第一句话是：“美国老了，你看一点变化都没有。”2015 年 9 月，我们决定创办 *Journal of Chinese Governance*，请他做编委，他回复道：“First and foremost, congratulations on getting this journal launched. I think

it will be an important journal and I will do all that I can to support it. Needless to say, I am proud to serve on the editorial board.” 事后，我才知道这不是客套话，他是真关心、真支持，数次给我写信评论作者和论文。

哲人其萎，雨泣青郊。2007 年 5 月，Fewsmith 教授在浙江大学的演讲中说：“研究中国问题，完全依靠西方的理论是不够的，基于中国的问题和经验，有可能发展出新的理论来加以阐释和研究。期待中国能在未来不只是引入西方的社会科学理论，更能够输出基于对中国问题研究和思考产生的新的社会科学理论。” 近 20 年过去，我们的自觉和自信更强了，发展出基于中国发展和治理的社会科学自主理论，当是对 Fewsmith 教授的告慰。进一步地，在百年变局加速演进、世界变乱交织、动荡加剧之际，民间的、学术的交流往来更加弥足珍贵。它们犹如穿透乌云的阳光，消融隔阂，增进跨文化理解，促进不同文化传播，推动全球知识共享。习近平总书记指出：“中美关系希望在人民，基础在民间，未来在青年，活力在地方。”我衷心期待在 Fewsmith 教授之后，中美两国学者尤其是年轻一代，不仅增进彼此的理解，而且建立长久的信任与友谊，为两国关系稳定发展提供支撑。我想，这是对 Fewsmith 教授最好的怀念。

(In English)

24

In Memory of Professor Joseph Fewsmith

Yu Jianxing

Professor, School of Public Affairs, Zhejiang University

In an era characterized by instantaneous connectivity, news regarding Professor Fewsmith had become increasingly sparse in recent years. Nevertheless, I received news about his passing on the very day it occurred. We clung to the hope that it was a mere rumor, repeatedly refreshing the Boston University official website for updates. Once the news was confirmed and we issued an official eulogy on November 8, I could not help but recite an old song lyric: *Fewer are those who share our journey as time flows by*.

Professor Fewsmith's academic achievements and his vast influence are so well-established as to require no further elaboration from me. Instead, I wish to briefly reflect on his long-standing engagement with our institution. His relationship with the School of Public Affairs at Zhejiang University spanned more than two decades. Over this extensive period, he visited Hangzhou on numerous occasions to participate in our symposia, deliver lectures, and engage with faculty and students on cutting-edge academic research. At our recommendation, he conducted fieldwork in Wenzhou, where he observed the operations of the Wenzhou Chamber of Commerce.

He was a staunch supporter of our talent cultivation initiatives, hosting several of our doctoral candidates—including Gao Xiang, Shen Yongdong, and Li Lin—at Boston University for joint training programs. Furthermore, between 2015 and 2017, he led the English-language course "Comparative Government and Politics" as part of Zhejiang University's international faculty initiative, making significant contributions to the internationalization of our public administration discipline. Notably, since the inception of the *Journal of Chinese Governance* (JCG), Professor Fewsmith served on its editorial board. He maintained a strong interest in the evolution of Chinese governance studies, providing invaluable insights and encouraging the journal to better communicate the practices and experiences of Chinese governance to the global academic community.

I vividly recall our first meeting. It was around 3:00 PM and he had not yet had lunch. At the Lingfeng Hotel near the entrance of Zhejiang University's Yuquan Campus, I ordered a crucian carp—a fish notorious for its many fine bones. He finished the meal slowly, maintaining a consummate gentlemanly poise throughout; that scene remains etched in my mind. During a seminar on local government innovation, where he shared the stage with Professor Zheng Yongnian, he quipped: "You are the 'Zheng' (Principal) Professor, and I am the 'Fu' (Fewsmith/Associate) Professor"—a witty play on their surnames and academic titles. When I expressed concern about whether he would encounter communication barriers during his solo fieldwork in Wenzhou, he added a line in Chinese in his correspondence: "I feel my spoken Chinese is not excellent, but I have the confidence to communicate!" On two separate occasions years apart, he hosted me for dinner at the same restaurant in Boston. His opening remark was: "America is aging; you see, nothing has changed at all."

In September 2015, when we decided to establish the *Journal of Chinese Governance* and invited him to join the editorial board, he replied: "First and foremost, congratulations on getting this journal launched. I think it will be an important journal and I will do all that I can to support it. Needless to say, I am proud to serve on the editorial board."

I later realized these were not mere pleasantries; he demonstrated genuine concern and support, frequently writing to me with substantive critiques of authors and manuscripts.

The passing of such a titan is a profound loss. In May 2007, during a lecture at Zhejiang University, Professor Fewsmith remarked: "In studying China, relying solely on Western theories is insufficient. Based on China's specific issues and experiences, it is possible to develop new explanatory theories. I look forward to a future where China does not merely import Western social science theories, but rather exports new theories derived from the study of Chinese phenomena."

Nearly twenty years later, our scholarly self-awareness and confidence have strengthened. The development of social science theories based on China's development and governance serves as a fitting tribute to his legacy.

Furthermore, as the "profound changes unseen in a century" accelerate—amidst a global landscape of turbulence and increasing volatility—non-governmental and academic exchanges become all the more precious. They are like rays of sunlight piercing through dark clouds, dissolving barriers, enhancing cross-cultural understanding, and promoting global knowledge sharing. As President Xi Jinping has noted, the hope of the U.S.-China relationship lies in the

people, its foundation is in the grassroots, its future lies with the youth, and its vitality comes from subnational exchanges.

It is my sincere hope that, following Professor Fewsmith's example, scholars from both China and the United States—particularly the younger generation—will not only deepen their mutual understanding but also build lasting trust and friendship. This will provide the necessary ballast for the stable development of bilateral relations. This, I believe, is the finest way to honor the memory of Professor Fewsmith.

(In Chinese)

25

追忆 Fewsmith 教授-一个可爱的人

张伊帆

香港大学当代中国与世界中心研究员

2015 年对我而言，是异常艰难的一年。那年秋季，我从波士顿大学 gap 了一个学期，之后又决定从生物专业转向国际关系专业，一切仿佛从零开始。面对种种压力，19 岁的我幸运地遇见了 Fewsmith 教授。他告诉我，他也曾从艺术转向政治学，所以“一切都还不晚”。这份鼓励，支撑着我坚定追求政治科学研究的决心，直至今日。

对我而言，Fewsmith 教授不仅是学术上的向导，更是人生中慈爱的长辈。他为人宽厚温和，熟知他的人亦知其幽默与纯真。我们会在严肃的学术讨论之后，轻松地聊起美食、旅行与艺术。波士顿的石库门餐厅是他的最爱，也是在那里，包括我在内的许多人才有机会了解到他更为温暖、可爱的一面。正是他让我明白，严谨的治学与美好的生活，并非相悖。

在他的推荐下，我于 2018 年进入他曾执教的约翰霍普金斯大学 SAIS 开启了忙碌的硕士生涯。2019 年 11 月底，他来信告知将在 12 月初来 DC 参加 CSIS 的会议——虽一直保持邮件往来，但我们已一年多未见，我格外期待。正值节日季，我便亲手篆刻了一方带有他中文姓名“傅士卓”的汉印，并附上陆游《闲居自述》的上半阕，以此寄托我对他能在纷繁时局中保持清醒与耿直的敬意，也愿他不必过于劳累。

之后他多次来信表达对这方印的珍爱。他说：“I have a couple seals but never one designed and carved by a former student… Wonderful! I will treasure it.” 从字体到石料，他好奇地询问了许多篆刻的细节，我想他对中国文化的兴趣与好奇心从未减退。他还告诉我，他非常喜欢陆游那首诗，那年他 70 岁整，笑说或许不久后也能过上诗中的闲居生活。记得 2020 年春节，我发邮件祝他鼠年快乐，他幽默地回应：“One thing I have never done is memorize the Zodiac sign in order. Maybe I will try when I retire…” 然而在追思会上，几位师长都提到，

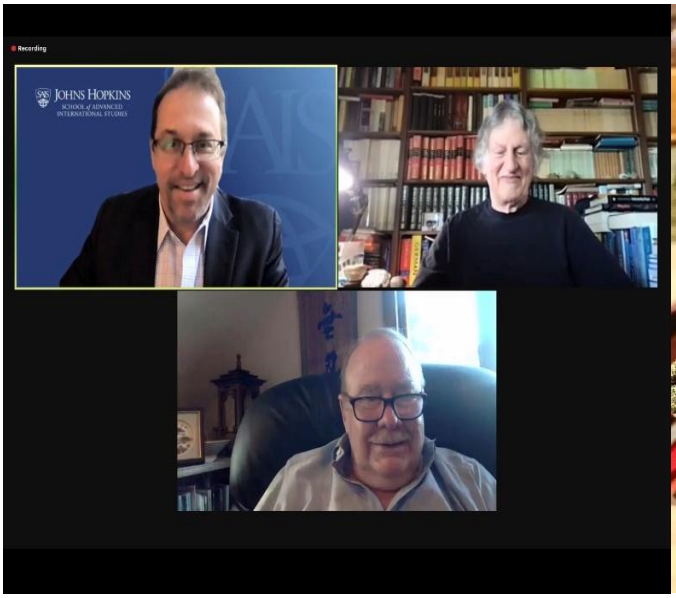
他从未真正停下思考，退休后反而更忙了。如同他许多新的学术想法，背诵生肖顺序的计划，也被永远搁置了。

我最后一次见他，是 2023 年在波士顿 Association for Asian Studies 的年度学术会议上。一如往昔的重逢，他给了我一个紧紧的拥抱。那时他面色红润，嘱咐我一定找时间和他聊聊我在 SAIS 的博士研究方向。我知道他对学术向来严谨，因此总想将修改得更完善的稿子发给他，然而时不待人。

今年 8 月，在来到香港大学当代中国与世界中心担任研究员之前，我写信祝贺他“光荣退休“并向他更新了我的近况。他说李成教授是很好的学者和导师，并告诉我他退休后计划多来 DC，等我明年回去，我们就有机会常见面了。他说想听听我博士研究的进展，以及过去一年多我在田野调查中的思考。只是时间走得太快、太仓促，上天终究没有再给我们一次相聚的机会。

过去 10 年，Fewsmith 教授不仅塑造了我理解中国政治的学术框架，也以自身的学术轨迹告诉我：学问不仅可以是一生的事业，也可以是一种美好的生命实践。

他拓宽了世界对中国政治的认知，更在无数人心中留下了温暖、幽默与豁达的印记。能成为他的学生，是我一生的幸运。我将永远铭记他的智慧，以及那颗坚定而明亮的学者之心。



(In English)

25

Remembering Professor Fewsmith: A Beloved Soul

Zhang Yifan

Researcher, Centre for Contemporary China and the World, The University of Hong Kong

For me, 2015 was an exceptionally challenging year. That fall, I took a gap semester from Boston University and later decided to switch from biology to international relations, feeling as if I was starting over from scratch. Facing immense pressure, at the age of 19, I was fortunate to meet Professor Fewsmith. He told me that he too had once switched from art to political science, so "it was never too late." This encouragement has sustained my determination to pursue political science research to this day.

To me, Professor Fewsmith was not only an academic mentor but also a kind and caring elder in life. He was generous and gentle, and those who knew him well were also familiar with his humor and sincerity. After serious academic discussions, we would often chat casually about food, travel, and art. The Shikumen Restaurant in Boston was his favorite, and it was there that many of us, including myself, had the chance to see his warmer and more endearing side. He made me realize that rigorous scholarship and a fulfilling life are not mutually exclusive.

On his recommendation, I began my busy Master's study at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) in 2018, where he had once taught. At the end of November 2019, he wrote to inform me that he would be attending a conference at CSIS in early December. Though we had stayed in touch via email, we hadn't seen each other in over a year, and I was especially looking forward to it. As it was the holiday season, I hand-carved a traditional Chinese seal engraved with his Chinese name, "傅士卓," and included the first half of Lu You's poem "An Account of a Leisurely Life." This was meant to express my respect for his ability to remain clear-minded and upright amid complex circumstances, as well as my hope that he would not overexert himself.

He wrote back several times to express how much he treasured the seal. He said, "I have a couple of seals but never one designed and carved by a former student… Wonderful! I will treasure it." From the font to the stone material, he inquired about many details of the seal carving process, and

I sensed that his interest and curiosity in Chinese culture had never waned. He also told me how much he loved Lu You's poem. That year, he turned 70 and joked that perhaps he would soon be able to live the leisurely life described in the poem. I recall during the 2020 Lunar New Year, I emailed him to wish him a happy Year of the Rat. He humorously replied, "One thing I have never done is memorize the Zodiac signs in order. Maybe I will try when I retire…" However, at his memorial service, several colleagues mentioned that he never truly stopped thinking and, in fact, became even busier after retirement. Like many of his new academic ideas, his plan to memorize the Zodiac order was forever set aside.

The last time I saw him was at the annual Association for Asian Studies conference in Boston in 2023. As always when we reunited, he gave me a warm hug. At that time, he looked vibrant and urged me to find time to discuss my doctoral research direction at SAIS. Knowing his rigorous approach to scholarship, I kept wanting to send him a more polished draft, but time did not wait.

In August of this year, before starting my role as a researcher at the Centre for Contemporary China and the World at The University of Hong Kong, I wrote to congratulate him on his "glorious retirement" and updated him on my recent endeavors. He said that Professor Li Cheng was an excellent scholar and mentor and told me that after retirement, he planned to visit Washington, D.C., more often. He looked forward to catching up when I returned the following year, and he wanted to hear about the progress of my doctoral research and the reflections from my fieldwork over the past year. But time passed too quickly and too abruptly, and fate ultimately did not grant us another chance to meet.

Over the past decade, Professor Fewsmith not only shaped the academic framework through which I understand Chinese politics but also demonstrated through his own scholarly journey that scholarship can be both a lifelong career and a beautiful way of life.

He broadened the world's understanding of Chinese politics and left a lasting impression of warmth, humor, and open-mindedness in the hearts of countless people. To have been his student is a lifelong blessing. I will forever cherish his wisdom and that steadfast, luminous heart of a scholar.

(In Chinese)

26

缅怀我的导师傅士卓（Joseph Fewsmith）

成晓河

中国人民大学国际关系学院教授

傅士卓教授是我的导师，也是我的恩师。从 1997 年在哈佛大学费正清中心举办的一场研讨会上的邂逅，我与乔相识相知相交二十八年。没想到我们最后一次通信定格在 2025 年 1 月 2 日。乔在电邮中告诉我，从 2019 年 5-6 月以来，他再也没有访问过中国了，他将在今年夏季到中国来。乔还告诉我，他将在今年 6 月退休，即将开始的新学期将是他在波士顿大学最后的一个学期。令人遗憾的是，我没有听到他在夏季来过中国的消息，但却在入冬之际听到了他溘然长逝的噩耗。我听闻此讯，悲痛万分。

--壹--

乔在世时流年不利。2023 年，他遭受了丧女之痛。

2023 年 10 月 15 日，波士顿大学的一位教授在北京神情严肃地告诉我一个沉痛的消息：乔的女儿斯蒂芬妮去世了。这一消息让我心头一颤，心痛得瞠目结舌。她走得太早了！

我和乔的女儿斯蒂芬妮（Stephanie Fewsmith）虽然交往不多，但结识多年。1999 年，我有幸到乔的家里做客，那时才十岁的斯蒂芬妮就在爸爸的鼓励之下大大方方给我表演了一套中国武术。虽然站桩还不太稳，但已有板有眼。斯蒂芬妮喜欢语言，正在学习法语和拉丁语；她还喜欢动物，自豪地向我展示了她饲养的小兔子。

大致 2003 年夏，乔携全家到中国旅行。我正好在京，便主动请缨给他们当地陪。乔不愿意麻烦我，只让我陪他们逛了颐和园。那时见到的斯蒂芬妮已经从一个天真无邪的小丫头片子成长为豆蔻年华的少女。她彬彬有礼，总是面带微笑。

最后一次见斯蒂芬妮是在 2012 年的 8 月 5 日。我开车拉乔、女儿以及准女婿到北京门头沟的古村灵水和爨底下转了转。那时的斯蒂芬妮已经从小女孩长成了落落大方的大女孩，并成了波士顿大学的小校友。她穿着浅蓝的短袖，斜夸着一个长长的布包，显得非常的健康和阳光。

北京一别，我就再也没有见到斯蒂芬妮了。2017 年 4 月 7 日，我和乔夫妇在离白宫不远的一个饭店小聚。饭店不大，但生意兴隆。听老两口说，当日是女儿的生日，他们来华盛顿特区是为斯蒂芬妮庆生。我又听他们说，斯蒂芬妮在华盛顿特区的一个医院工作，并已结婚，日子过得挺好。

--贰--

老来丧女是乔的不幸，我实在想不出好办法来宽慰乔。犹豫再三，我在 2023 年圣诞节前夕给他发了一条现在觉得非常不可思议的电邮，在悼念他的女儿的同时祝他圣诞快乐。

乔似乎没有在意电邮中的自相矛盾。在复信中，乔坦承过去几个月是他一生中最困难的时期，同时他非常风趣地告诉我，他的学生认为他身体不好但认为他还没有到见上帝的份上。乔是一个幽默的长者。我跟他交流的时候，他时常会蹦出两句英式幽默，令人忍俊不住，但那一次我仍习惯性地把他的自嘲当成幽默，没能听出他身体已出状况的弦外之音。其实，我对乔的身体健康并不那么放心，早在 2020 年新冠疫情肆虐全球的时候，我就提醒乔他更容易感染病毒，外出时戴口罩。乔幽默地答复：“我当然会戴上口罩，也许戴两个口罩。”我们的关心不是单向的。乔在北京出现新冠病例后，马上在 2020 年 6 与 18 日发信给我，提醒我多加注意，保证安全（stay safe）。

没有想到乔熬过了来势汹汹的新冠疫情，但在疫情结束没有多久却跌倒在另一个疾病之下。七十六年，对乔来说，有些短。

--叁--

乔是我的恩师，没有他，就没有我在波士顿大学的学习生涯，也没有可能成为大学教师。乔改变了我的人生。我和乔的友谊大致分为两个阶段。在学生时期，乔是导师，我是学生，而且是拖家带口的老学生。我上过他两门有关中国的课程，对他的远见卓识和幽默风趣所折服。因为我曾在 1992 年至 1995 年援过藏，乔还在 1999 年秋季学期请我在课堂上做了一次有关西藏问题的讲座。尽管我的观点与中国政府的观点接近，但乔仍采取了开放的态度，让我畅所欲言。还有在读博做教学助理（TA）期间，我与政治系就我办公室的电话费产生了争执，乔也经行了干预，给我争取到了权益。因为是老学生，乔对我采取了放养的政策，给我了充分的自由发挥的空间。在我回国工作阶段之后，我和乔各忙各，只在逢

年过节彼此问候一下。乔来中国的次数比较多，但只要他来北京，我们都要小聚一下；我去美国次数也不少，但大都在华盛顿特区逛荡，只在 2018 年 1 月去威尔斯利学院给冬令营的学生做一个有关朝鲜半岛主旨发言中的行程中顺道回了波士顿大学。不巧，乔来了中国，我们擦身而过。尽管交往没有那么多了，但我有时会请他出山给我的英文论文把把关。乔格外认真，直言不讳地向我提出了四条中肯的意见。修改后的论文最终发表在伦敦政治经济学院主办的《冷战史研究》（*Journal of Cold War*）上。在这一期间，乔与我的师生关系已演进成到了新的阶段。乔比我大，但要作我的父亲，就太年轻，但要做我的兄长，他又太老，所以在我的眼里，他是半父半兄。

2019年9月以来，乔没有来过中国，我也没有去过美国，疫情以及中美战略竞争把世界搞得物是人非，并使我与导师的相聚变成了一个永远无法实现的遗愿了。

--肆--

我与乔尽管分属两个不同的国家，但在教育与工作经历上却有惊人的相似之处：都曾在政府核心部门工作；老大不小了开始读博；博士毕业后到大学任教；尽管资历不浅，但都从讲师做起，一大把年纪才成为教授。这种相似了经历使我们惺惺相惜。

乔为人幽默，但治学严谨。他勤奋多产，出版了十部有关中国的专著，成为中国精英政治的翘楚。他来中国，上得了智库大学，也下得了村庄和集市。他会利用来华的每一次机会，发挥他中文的语言优势，进行广泛而持续的田野调查，用自己的感官感受这个国家从南到北、从东到西的变化。这与我到美国在大城市的高校、智库搞调研形成了鲜明的对照。乔的著作不是闭门造车的结果，饱含了丰富的第一手的经验材料。

乔在中国的田野调查不往往是问题引导。他在参观门头沟灵水村的时候，认真地探寻为什么这么一个偏僻的村庄却走出了二十多个举人和进士；他在走访爨底下村时，他也思忖为什么一个偏僻的村庄要用三十个笔画的“爨”字以及这个爨字到底是什么意思？

乔是长于思考和探索的智者，也是践行读万卷书行万里路的专家，他的离世是中国精英政治研究领域的重大损失。乔的离世也使我失去了一位可敬可爱的导师，我在美国似乎失去了可以倚重的根基。

傅士卓先生千古！

(In English)

26

In Memory of My Mentor, Professor Joseph Fewsmith

Cheng Xiaohe

Professor, School of International Studies, Renmin University of China

Professor Joseph Fewsmith was my mentor. From our first encounter at a seminar held at Harvard University's Fairbank Center in 1997, I had the privilege of knowing him for twenty-eight years. Little did I expect that our last correspondence would be on January 2, 2025. In his email, Joe told me that he had not visited China since May–June 2019 and that he planned to come to China this summer. He also mentioned that he would retire in June, and the upcoming semester would be his last at Boston University. Regrettably, I never heard news of his summer visit to China. Instead, as winter approached, I received the heartbreaking news of his sudden passing. Upon hearing this, I was overwhelmed with grief.

Joe faced many hardships in his later years. In 2023, he suffered the tragic loss of his daughter. On October 15, 2023, a professor from Boston University solemnly informed me in Beijing of the devastating news: Joe's daughter, Stephanie, had passed away. The news struck me like a bolt from the blue, leaving me speechless with sorrow. She left this world far too soon!

Although my interactions with Joe's daughter, Stephanie, were limited, I had known her for many years. In 1999, I had the honor of visiting Joe's home. At just ten years old, encouraged by her father, Stephanie confidently performed a set of Chinese martial arts for me. Though her stances were still a bit unsteady, her movements were already precise and spirited. Stephanie had a passion for languages and was studying French and Latin. She also loved animals and proudly showed me the little rabbits she was raising.

Around the summer of 2003, Joe traveled to China with his family. As I was in Beijing at the time, I volunteered to serve as their local guide. Unwilling to trouble me too much, Joe only asked me to accompany them to the Summer Palace. The Stephanie I met then had transformed from an innocent little girl into a graceful young woman in the bloom of her youth. She was polite and always wore a warm smile.

The last time I saw Stephanie was on August 5, 2012. I drove Joe, his daughter, and her then-fiancé to visit the ancient villages of Lingshui and Cuandixia in Beijing's Mentougou District. By then, Stephanie had grown from a young girl into a poised and elegant young woman, and she had become a fellow alumnus of Boston University. Wearing a light blue short-sleeved shirt and carrying a long cloth bag slung over her shoulder, she radiated health and vitality.

After parting ways in Beijing, I never saw Stephanie again. On April 7, 2017, I had a small gathering with Joe and his wife at a restaurant not far from the White House. The restaurant was modest but bustling with customers. The couple told me that it was their daughter's birthday and they had come to Washington, D.C., to celebrate with her. They also mentioned that Stephanie was working at a hospital in Washington, D.C., had gotten married, and was living a happy life.

Losing a child in old age was Joe's great misfortune, and I struggled to find the right words to console him. After much hesitation, I sent him an email on Christmas Eve 2023 that now seems almost inconceivable—offering condolences for his daughter's passing while wishing him a Merry Christmas.

Joe seemed unbothered by the inherent contradiction in the email. In his reply, he candidly shared that the past few months had been the most difficult period of his life. At the same time, he humorously noted that his students thought he was in poor health but "not yet ready to meet God." Joe was a witty and humorous elder. In our conversations, he often sprinkled in bits of British humor that never failed to amuse me. Yet, that time, I mistakenly took his self-deprecating remarks as mere humor and failed to read between the lines—that his health was already deteriorating. In truth, I had long been concerned about Joe's well-being. As early as 2020, when the COVID-19 pandemic was raging globally, I reminded him that he was more vulnerable to the virus and advised him to wear a mask when going out. Joe humorously replied, "Of course, I will wear a mask—maybe even two." Our care for each other was never one-sided. When COVID-19 cases emerged in Beijing, Joe immediately wrote to me on June 18, 2020, urging me to take extra precautions and stay safe.

Little did I expect that Joe would survive the fierce onslaught of the pandemic, only to succumb to another illness not long after it ended. Seventy-six years—for Joe, it was too short.

Joe was my mentor. Without him, I would not have had the opportunity to study at Boston University, nor would I have become a university professor. Joe changed the course of my life. My friendship with Joe can be divided into two phases. During my student years, Joe was the mentor,

and I was the student—an older student with a family in tow. I took two of his courses on China and was deeply impressed by his foresight, wisdom, and humor. Having served in Tibet from 1992 to 1995, Joe invited me to give a lecture on Tibet in his class during the fall semester of 1999. Although my views aligned closely with those of the Chinese government, Joe maintained an open-minded attitude, allowing me to speak freely. Additionally, during my time as a teaching assistant (TA) while pursuing my doctorate, I had a dispute with the political science department over my office telephone bill. Joe intervened and helped me secure my rightful benefits. As an older student, Joe adopted a "hands-off" approach with me, giving me ample freedom to explore and develop. After I returned to China to work, Joe and I each became busy with our own lives, only exchanging greetings during holidays. Joe visited China frequently, and whenever he came to Beijing, we made sure to meet. I also traveled to the United States quite often, though most of my trips were to Washington, D.C. Only in January 2018, while delivering a keynote speech on the Korean Peninsula at a winter camp for students at Wellesley College, did I make a side trip to Boston University. Unfortunately, Joe was in China at the time, and we missed each other. Although our interactions became less frequent, I occasionally sought his help in reviewing my English papers. Joe was exceptionally meticulous and offered four candid suggestions with utmost honesty. The revised paper was eventually published in the *Journal of Cold War Studies*, hosted by the London School of Economics. During this period, the mentor-student relationship between Joe and me evolved into something new. Joe was older than me—too young to be my father, yet too old to be my brother. In my eyes, he was like a blend of both—half father, half brother.

Since September 2019, Joe never visited China again, and I never returned to the United States. The pandemic and the strategic competition between China and the United States have transformed the world, turning my hope of reuniting with my mentor into an unfulfilled wish forever.

Although Joe and I hailed from different countries, our educational and professional journeys shared remarkable similarities: both of us had worked in core government departments; both began our doctoral studies later in life; both pursued teaching careers at universities after earning our doctorates; and despite our considerable experience, both started as lecturers and only became professors at a relatively advanced age. These shared experiences fostered a mutual respect and understanding between us.

Joe was a man of humor, yet rigorous in his scholarship. Diligent and prolific, he authored ten monographs on China, establishing himself as a leading authority on Chinese elite politics. When

in China, he was equally at home in think tanks and universities as he was in villages and marketplaces. He leveraged every opportunity during his visits to China, using his proficiency in Chinese to conduct extensive and sustained fieldwork, personally witnessing the changes unfolding across the country from south to north and east to west. This stood in stark contrast to my own research trips to the United States, which were confined to universities and think tanks in major cities. Joe's works were never products of armchair theorizing—they were richly informed by firsthand experiential material.

Joe's fieldwork in China was often guided by curiosity. When visiting Lingshui Village in Mentougou, he earnestly explored why such a remote village had produced over twenty imperial scholars and officials. During his visit to Cuandixia Village, he pondered why such an isolated village would use the character "爨" (cuàn), with its thirty strokes, and what exactly this character meant.

Joe was a wise thinker and explorer, an expert who truly embodied the ideals of "reading ten thousand books and traveling ten thousand miles." His passing is a significant loss to the field of Chinese elite politics. It also marks the loss of a respected and beloved mentor for me, leaving me feeling as though I have lost a foundational pillar of support in the United States.

May Joe's legacy endure for eternity!

(In Chinese)

27

斯人已去，空谷足音

王开元

哈佛大学费正清中心研究员

今年是大学沙龙十周岁。从大学沙龙两周岁起，傅士卓老师就开始支持大学沙龙。在过去的八年时间里，傅老师曾在大学沙龙的五场讲座中出任评议嘉宾。这五场讲座是：

1. 范世涛教授主讲的《1988 年中国货币幻觉下的价格闯关决策及其后果》；

2. 刘亚伟教授主讲的《中美对抗的内部动力》；

3. 韩钢教授主讲的《弱势领袖政治与 1970 年代后期的中国转型》；

4. 任剑涛教授主讲的《去乌托邦、再乌托邦与当代中国政治思想》；

5. 燕继荣教授主讲的《解析中国治理》。

由此可见，傅老师是大学沙龙的积极参与者与有力支持者。受傅老师的委托，今年 6 月 11 号我们在大学沙龙的注册地——麻省剑桥市剑桥路 1709 为傅老师举办了退休晚宴。这是傅老师对大学沙龙的信任。

今年 9 月 17 号，在庆祝哈佛费正清中心成立 70 周年的晚餐会上，傅老师坐在我的左手边，他低声跟我讲：“美国的‘文革’来了。”他还说以前比较忙，现在退休了，想约我深谈几次。他住的比较远，问我能不能约在中间的火车站见面。我说：“当然可以！您定火车站，我定火车站附近的餐厅。我们边吃边聊。”他用力握了握我的手说：“好！”没想到他爽约了。我一直缓不过劲来。他是那样的生动！我老是觉得他还会约我，只是，这次约的地方可能有点远了。好遗憾啊。

为纪念傅士卓教授，大学沙龙联合卡特中心于美东时间 11 月 29 日晚 8 点举办了线上追思会。百余位学者齐聚云端，其中 30 多位学者发言，在两个半小时的追思中深切缅怀傅教授。我以大学沙龙的创始人和终身志愿者身份在会上发言。

去年，费正清中心失去了一位资深研究员；今年又有两位去世。作为剩下的四位中的一员，我意识到肩上的重任。我将更加主动地承担起应有的工作，努力填补他们留下的空白。我想这才是对傅教授最好的纪念。

(In English)

27

The Departed is Gone, but Their Footsteps Still Echo

Wang Kaiyuan

Research Associate, Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies, Harvard University

The year 2025 marks the tenth anniversary of University Salon. Professor Joseph Fewsmith began supporting us when we were only two years old. Over the past eight years, Professor Fewsmith has served as a commentator for five of our lectures:

- Prof. Fan Shitao: *The 1988 Price Reform Decision under Monetary Illusion and Its Consequences*
- Prof. Liu Yawei: *Internal Dynamics of U.S.-China Confrontation*
- Prof. Han Gang: *Weak-Leader Politics and China's Transformation in the Late 1970s*
- Prof. Ren Jiantao: *De-utopianism, Re-utopianism, and Contemporary Chinese Political Thought*
- Prof. Yan Jirong: *Analyzing Chinese Governance*

Clearly, Professor Fewsmith was an active participant and a strong supporter of the University Salon. At his request, we hosted a retirement dinner for him on June 11th of this year at 1709 Cambridge Street, Cambridge, MA—the registered home of the University Salon. This was a gesture of his immense trust in us.

On September 17th, during the dinner celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Fairbank Center, Professor Fewsmith sat to my left. He whispered to me, "The 'Cultural Revolution' has arrived in America." He mentioned that while he had been busy in the past, he was now retired and wanted to meet for a series of deep conversations. Since he lived quite far away, he asked if we could meet at a train station halfway between us. I replied, "Of course! You pick the station, and I'll find a restaurant nearby. We can chat over a meal." He shook my hand firmly and said, "Great!"

I never expected he would break that date. I still haven't quite processed it. He was so full of life! I constantly feel like he will still reach out to schedule that meeting—it's just that this time, the location might be a bit too far away. It is such a profound regret.

To honor Professor Fewsmith, the University Salon and the Carter Center co-hosted an online memorial on November 29th at 8:00 PM EST. Over a hundred scholars gathered virtually, with more than thirty speaking to share their memories of him during a two-and-a-half-hour tribute. I spoke at the meeting in my capacity as the founder and lifelong volunteer of the University Salon. Last year, the Fairbank Center lost one senior research associate; this year, two more have passed away. As one of the four remaining, I realize the heavy responsibility on my shoulders. I will take more initiative in my work and strive to fill the void they have left behind. I believe this is the best way to truly honor Professor Fewsmith's memory.

(In Chinese)

28

傅士卓教授从邮件中向我们走来

刘亚伟

卡特中心

已经不记得是什么时候认识和怎么认识傅士卓教授的。

当我听说他突然离世的消息，就情不自禁去翻看我们之间的电子邮件往来。

没想到我们之间有那么多来往邮件。

我想通过分享我们之间的一些邮件寄托我的哀思。这些邮件也从一个个特别的角度反映傅教授的为人和为师。

最早的邮件

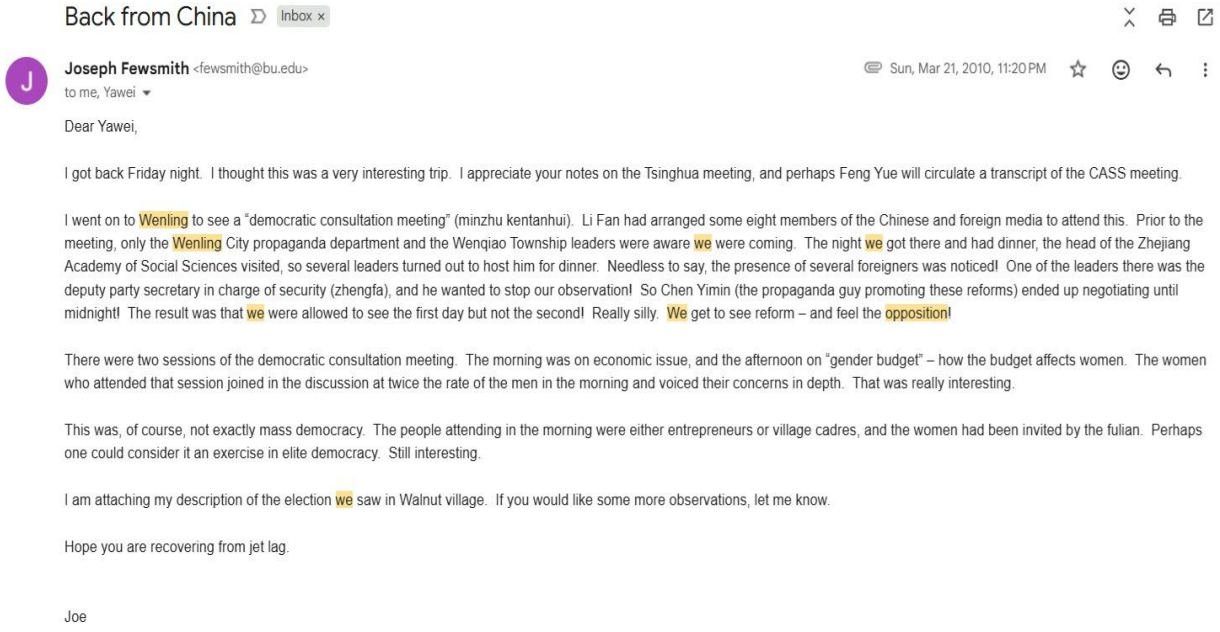
我找到的傅教授写给我的最早一封邮件的日期是 2006 年 7 月 24 日。

那个时候我在编辑中国选举与治理网，每周给读者寄送一份简报。在这封邮件里，傅教授说，请把所有与西山会议和刘国光有关的文章链接都发给他。2006 年一篇关于高尚全的文章里的一段话最能说明所谓“刘国光事件”的来龙去脉并解释为什么傅士卓教授对这件事这么感兴趣：“如果要说势均力敌的争论，倒是发生在刘国光和刘吉之间。 ‘二刘’同为中国社科院前副院长，但现在观点对立。在一份内部刊物上，双方的用语都动了肝火。刘国光说要 ‘清理经济学教学科研的领导队伍’, ‘试看今日域内，究竟谁家天下？’，而刘吉反击说， ‘有的人一辈子就知道打棍子’。”

最有意思的邮件

这封邮件的时间是 2010 年 3 月 21 日。这封邮件是傅教授参加我们组织的中国村委员会选举观摩之后回到波士顿后发来的。他并随邮件寄来一份十分详细的观摩报告。他在邮件中说，观摩选举之后，他应邀去了浙江温岭，因为那里的协商民主正搞得轰轰烈烈，海内海外的政治学研究学者和媒体都到那里调研。他没想到的是，到了温岭，当地的官员坚决反对他这个老外观摩民主协商过程。经过各种交涉和谈判，傅教授被允许观摩第一天的民

主协商。他在邮件里说，“我看到了改革，也感受到反改革的势力。”“我看到的过程不能说是来自基层的民主，而是一种精英民主。”



Back from China Inbox ×

Joseph Fewsmith <fewsmith@bu.edu> Sun, Mar 21, 2010, 11:20 PM

to me, Yawei

Dear Yawei,

I got back Friday night. I thought this was a very interesting trip. I appreciate your notes on the Tsinghua meeting, and perhaps Feng Yue will circulate a transcript of the CASS meeting.

I went on to Wenling to see a "democratic consultation meeting" (minzhu kentanhui). Li Fan had arranged some eight members of the Chinese and foreign media to attend this. Prior to the meeting, only the Wenling City propaganda department and the Wenqiao Township leaders were aware we were coming. The night we got there and had dinner, the head of the Zhejiang Academy of Social Sciences visited, so several leaders turned out to host him for dinner. Needless to say, the presence of several foreigners was noticed! One of the leaders there was the deputy party secretary in charge of security (zhengfa), and he wanted to stop our observation! So Chen Yimin (the propaganda guy promoting these reforms) ended up negotiating until midnight! The result was that we were allowed to see the first day but not the second! Really silly. We get to see reform – and feel the opposition!

There were two sessions of the democratic consultation meeting. The morning was on economic issue, and the afternoon on "gender budget" – how the budget affects women. The women who attended that session joined in the discussion at twice the rate of the men in the morning and voiced their concerns in depth. That was really interesting.

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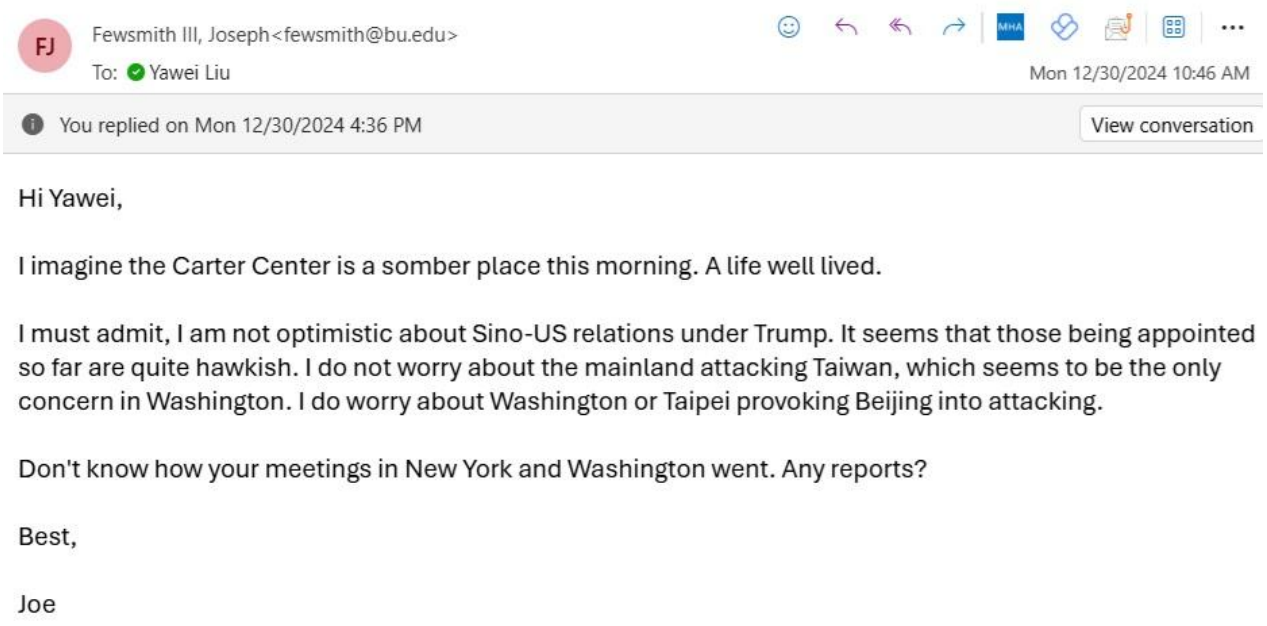
I am attaching my description of the election we saw in Walnut village. If you would like some more observations, let me know.

Hope you are recovering from jet lag.

Joe

最令人遗憾的邮件

这封邮件的日期是 2024 年 7 月 11 日。我在之前给他邮件，邀请他到纽约参加一个我参与组织的中国政治发展走向的闭门会议。之前曾多次邀请傅教授参加各种会议，他每次答复都是，只要是你组织的会，我都争取参加。但在封邮件里，傅教授说，真对不起，我马上要做胯骨更换手术，虽然不是什么大手术，但我已经不年轻了，8 月 5 日的会肯定参加不了了。我之后没有问候傅教授术后恢复情况，让我遗憾不已。



最后一封邮件

邮件的时间是 2024 年 12 月 30 日。傅教授肯定是看到了卡特总统去世的消息之后写这封邮件的。他在信里说，我必须承认，特朗普当政，我对美中关系不乐观。我并不担心大陆攻打台湾，这似乎是华盛顿的唯一担心。我更担心华盛顿或台北激怒北京引发战争。2025 年 10 月 26 日，我在一个邮件群里看到傅教授的一个评论。当时有不少中国问题专家在讨论 CCP 在 1981 年公布的《建国以来党的若干历史问题的决议》里是不是提到对毛泽东的遗产三七开。傅教授说，这个决议我读过很多遍，从来没有看到三七开的说法。要是有谁看到这段文字，请不吝告知。10 天之后，傅教授撒手人寰。

每读这些邮件，不仅傅教授的音容笑貌浮现在眼前，他的关注，他的担心，他的研究，他的认真，他的幽默，他的热忱都透过电脑撞击着我。我想，他大概跟自己接触的所有人都有很多邮件。要是我们把这些邮件整理出来，它们就能堆砌成一座高大的傅士卓教授的纪念碑。

(In English)

28

Professor Joseph Fewsmith Came to Us Through Emails

Liu Yawei

The Carter Center

I no longer remember when or how I first met Professor Joseph Fewsmith. When I heard the news of his sudden passing, I couldn't help but look back through our email correspondence. I hadn't realized there were so many emails exchanged between us. I would like to share some of these emails as a way of expressing my grief. These emails also reflect, from unique angles, Professor Fewsmith's character and his role as a scholar and a mentor.

The Earliest Email

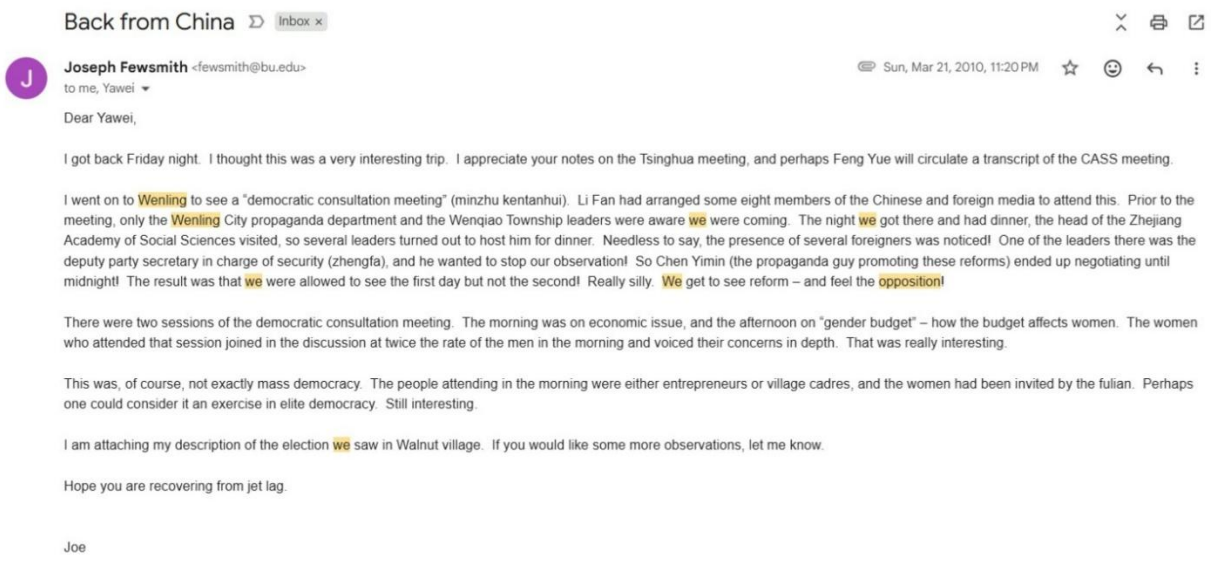
The earliest email I found from Professor Fewsmith was dated July 24, 2006. At the time, I was editing the China Elections and Governance website and sending a weekly newsletter to our readers. In this email, Professor Fewsmith asked me to send him all the article links related to the Xishan Conference and Liu Guoguang. A passage from a 2006 article about Gao Shangquan best illustrates the background of the so-called "Liu Guoguang incident" and explains why Professor Fewsmith was so interested in it:

"If there was a debate between equals, it was between Liu Guoguang and Liu Ji. Both former vice presidents of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, they held opposing views. In an internal publication, their exchanges grew heated. Liu Guoguang argued for 'removing the leadership of the teaching and research teams in Economics' and asked, 'Look at the world today—who truly holds sway?' while Liu Ji retorted, 'Some people have spent their entire lives knowing only how to wield the stick.'"

The Most Interesting Email

This email was dated March 21, 2010. It was sent by Professor Fewsmith after he returned to Boston from observing village committee elections organized by us. Along with the email, he attached a very detailed observation report. In the email, he mentioned that after observing the

elections, he was invited to Wenling, Zhejiang, where deliberative democracy was in full swing, attracting political science scholars and media from both China and abroad. What he hadn't expected was that upon arriving in Wenling, local officials firmly opposed allowing him, as a foreigner, to observe the deliberative democracy process. After various negotiations, Professor Fewsmith was permitted to observe only the first day of deliberations. In his email, he wrote, "I saw reform, but I also felt the forces opposing it. What I observed cannot be called grassroots democracy but rather a form of elite democracy."



Back from China Inbox ×

Joseph Fewsmith <fewsmith@bu.edu> Sun, Mar 21, 2010, 11:20 PM

to me, Yawei

Dear Yawei,

I got back Friday night. I thought this was a very interesting trip. I appreciate your notes on the Tsinghua meeting, and perhaps Feng Yue will circulate a transcript of the CASS meeting.

I went on to Wenling to see a "democratic consultation meeting" (minzhu kentanhui). Li Fan had arranged some eight members of the Chinese and foreign media to attend this. Prior to the meeting, only the Wenling City propaganda department and the Wenqiao Township leaders were aware we were coming. The night we got there and had dinner, the head of the Zhejiang Academy of Social Sciences visited, so several leaders turned out to host him for dinner. Needless to say, the presence of several foreigners was noticed! One of the leaders there was the deputy party secretary in charge of security (zhengfa), and he wanted to stop our observation! So Chen Yimin (the propaganda guy promoting these reforms) ended up negotiating until midnight! The result was that we were allowed to see the first day but not the second! Really silly. We get to see reform – and feel the opposition!

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Hope you are recovering from jet lag.

Joe

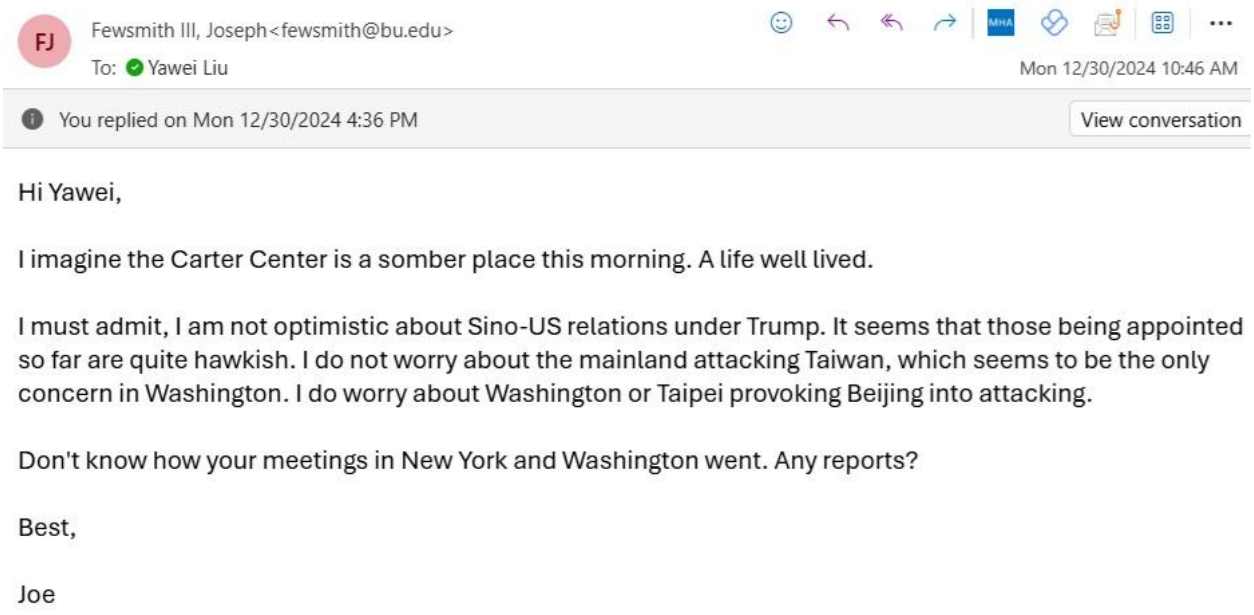
The Most Regrettable Email

This email was dated July 11, 2024. I had written to him earlier, inviting him to attend a closed-door meeting in New York on the trajectory of China's political development, which I was involved in organizing. I had invited Professor Fewsmith to events many times before, and his response was always, "If it's a meeting you're organizing, I'll do my best to attend." But in this email, Professor Fewsmith said, "I'm truly sorry, but I'm about to undergo hip replacement surgery. Though it's not a major procedure, I'm not young anymore, and I definitely won't be able to attend the meeting on August 5th."

I never followed up to ask about his recovery after the surgery, which fills me with regret.

The Last Email

The email was dated December 30, 2024. Professor Fewsmith must have written it after seeing the news of President Carter's passing. In the letter, he said: "I must admit, with Trump in power, I am not optimistic about U.S.-China relations. I am not worried about the mainland attacking Taiwan, which seems to be Washington's sole concern. I am more concerned that Washington or Taipei might provoke Beijing and trigger a war."



FJ Fewsmith III, Joseph<fewsmith@bu.edu>

To: Yawei Liu

Mon 12/30/2024 10:46 AM

You replied on Mon 12/30/2024 4:36 PM View conversation

Hi Yawei,

I imagine the Carter Center is a somber place this morning. A life well lived.

I must admit, I am not optimistic about Sino-US relations under Trump. It seems that those being appointed so far are quite hawkish. I do not worry about the mainland attacking Taiwan, which seems to be the only concern in Washington. I do worry about Washington or Taipei provoking Beijing into attacking.

Don't know how your meetings in New York and Washington went. Any reports?

Best,

Joe

On October 26, 2025, I saw a comment from Professor Fewsmith in an email group. At the time, many China experts were discussing whether the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," released by the CCP in 1981, mentioned a "70% good, 30% bad" (70/30) assessment of Mao Zedong's legacy. Professor Fewsmith said: "I have read this resolution many times and have never seen the '70/30' phrasing. If anyone has seen this text, please do not hesitate to let me know."

Ten days later, Professor Fewsmith passed away.

Every time I read these emails, it is not just his voice and smile that come to mind; his concerns, his worries, his research, his conscientiousness, his humor, and his passion all strike me through the computer screen. I imagine he probably exchanged many emails with everyone he came into contact with. If we were to compile these emails, they would form a towering monument to the memory of Professor Joseph Fewsmith.

(In Chinese)

29

缅怀傅士卓老师

高翔

浙江大学公共管理学院教授

不知不觉，傅老师（Joseph Fewsmith）教授去世已经一个多月了。直到此刻，我还清楚记得那天从电视台返回紫金港，我接到朋友发来消息，得知傅老师因中风离世。震惊之余，是不敢相信、拒绝相信。反复刷新波士顿大学官方网站，甚至给傅老师也写了邮件，希望收到他幽默的回信，告诉我这是重要会议之后的以讹传讹。一个多月过去，我已经接受傅老师离我们而去的事实。他不会再来杭州、再来中国，下次去美国、去波士顿时，也不会再有机会和他一起吃饭。在即将到来的节日，也不会再收到他的邮件。

傅老师是我攻读博士项目期间赴美联合培养期间的指导老师。在此之前，我 2007 年第一次听了傅老师在浙江大学的学术演讲。2009 年申请国家留学基金委项目期间，傅老师慷慨答应接收我赴美学习。2010 年 9 月开始，我到美国波士顿大学开展为期一年的访学。访学期间，我听了两门傅老师主讲的课程，在他的鼓励下用磕磕绊绊的英语去听了研究方法、国际关系、政治经济的多门课程。说来有趣，我生在中国、长在中国，读书、思考也算用功。也许是年龄的关系，也许是学习阶段的关系，那一年在美国的联合培养，却是我认识中国、理解中国的关键阶段。

在这个开悟的过程中，傅老师毫无疑问是启发我认识当代中国地方治理，引导我深入理解中国改革开放伟大实践的重要引路人。我还记得旁听他的课程，讲到上世纪八十年代的改革历程，涉及到一些重要的人、关键的事，他就会问我是不是知道。大部分时候，我都只能摇摇头，诚实地表示我并不知道。他会故作夸张的说，啊哈，你对中国了解的太少了！于是在课后，我就有了更大兴趣去读更多的东西、去更好认识自己的祖国，慢慢了解那些教科书上看似平常的记录背后，原来是经历了那么激烈的争论。他也带我认识了美国的中国政治研究领域，如数家珍地介绍每一位学者的工作，时不时赞赏几句谁的研究做得好、见解独到，偶尔也会叹气，一些研究形式漂亮，但“胡说八道”。傅老师在介绍、评论这些研究工作时，有一种奇妙的客观性、开放性，他应该是在不断对照、检视这些工作与他关

于中国的理解和认识。换句话说，他讲述他人的研究，更像是专业的学术品鉴，与他讨论本身就是在澄清事实、增进理解，而不是给出某种过于简化的论断。

一年的联合培养期间，我向傅老师学了许多认识中国的技艺。比如怎么读《人民日报》和各类官方文件。和许多其他受过傅老师帮助、始终惦记着他的同行、朋友相似，傅老师教我，大多数时候并不刻意，往往是在吃饭的时候、在研讨会上、在讨论某个具体问题的时候，他说到一个问题，就很自然地讲起。现在回想起来，他随时能够自然讲述，大概是因为一直在读《人民日报》等材料，读研究中国的许多中英文作品。2010 年感恩节期间，闫健和我一起去他家吃饭。餐前参观他家，我印象最深刻就是他阁楼的书房，朝南有一扇窗户，书架上、书桌上、地上，全部都是书籍、纸张。认识中国、理解中国，是他的工作，也是自然而然的生活。我是十分向往这样的状态，也很想成为这样纯粹、专注的学者。

傅老师还是一位极好的老师。太一组织大家追思，我看到、听到许多师长、朋友的分享。记忆中那个幽默、风趣，对待学生宽容、平等、鼓励的傅老师，与大家叙事中的形象重合。傅老师和我合作过一篇关于中国地方治理的论文。当时正是我博士项目快结束，刚刚接触英文论文写作。我还记得他改稿子，大概是因为改动太多，怕我有压力，专门备注“不是你写的不好，而是每个人写作都有自己的风格”。

在 2013 年我入职浙江大学以后，因浙大开设了海外教师主导全英文课程的项目，郁老师建议我邀请傅老师来主讲一门《比较政府与政治》。傅老师欣然同意。此后几年，傅老师每到夏天就来杭州待一两个月。当时，公共管理学院设置了一个名为“亚洲未来领袖”的研究生项目，招收来自东亚各国的学生来认识中国、理解中国。我那时候满腔热血，认为中国的国际化不仅应该只是让老师、学生走出去，也到了考虑在地国际化的时候，也就是在中国本土营造一种开放、包容的国际交流环境。傅老师来教课，我就做青年老师旁听。在课堂上，傅老师还是延续了他一贯对待学生的那种平等、鼓励又专业、深度的教学和交流方式。傅老师好像没有专门讲过他的教学理念，但我仔细回想，他示范了一种把学生当有独立思考能力对话伙伴的研讨会方法。

也是在那几年，我意识到傅老师确实是难得的中国通。除去上课，他总喜欢到各地走走。当时，他的兴趣应该就转到了党史，喜欢去各个革命根据地转转。有一回，他还问我，认不认识一位杭州师范大学研究党史的青年老师，认为他的文章写的很好。我一看，是中文期刊上的论文。傅老师的中文阅读能力应该比他的中文口语要更好（因郁老师一直要求我

用英文跟傅老师交流，我其实并不十分清楚傅老师的中文口语水平）。而且，傅老师的学术眼光也相当可以，当时还是名不见经传的青年老师，现在已经是华东师范大学的教授，在党史研究中得到了学术界的广泛认可。

2020 年以后，因全球疫情，国际交往骤减。到了 2023 年暑期，我又开始国际出访，访美的第一站就选在波士顿，约傅老师见面。见面后，他先拿出两本最新的著作给我，又讨论了许久关于中国的最新情况。当时也巧，北京大学的张长东、哥伦比亚大学的蒋俊彦也都在波士顿，傅老师就请我们在新开的一家蜀大侠涮火锅。火锅很地道，但涮了什么菜，我是全部不记得了。因为火锅对话更像是一场轻松、有趣的学术研讨。这种引人入胜的学术对话，一直延续到了今年春天。我去美东开会时，傅老师又请我吃了地道的美国上海菜，和即将毕业的冯博一起喝了餐后咖啡。当时还约定，今年冬天在杭州见。这个约定，傅老师没有遵守。

仔细回想起来，和傅老师的讨论，八成以上都是关于研究，尤其是中国治理的议题。还有两成，则是一些美国政治、国际政治的观察，以及他的家庭、孩子。特朗普第一次竞选胜出时，我给他写邮件，他答复说“it literally hurts”。但这伤痛，怎么也比不上 Stephanie 去世。他讲述过女儿与病魔的抗争，当时以为已经赢了。Stephanie 去世后，傅老师很久都缓不过来，到今年上半年，他才写邮件叙述当时的感受——很长一段时间什么都不想做。在他五月份荣休以后，他还制定了许多计划，丝毫没有停下来的意思。在 10 月下旬我和 Jessica 讨论，她还专门告诉我 “下周要去 DC 和 Joe 一起开会” 。那似乎是傅老师参加的最后一场学术对话。

傅老师在和我们讨论时，经常会用的一个开场是“so，tell me～”傅老师一直鼓励我们表达，讲述我们的观察、思考和判断。写下这些关于傅老师的回忆，我意识到，傅老师对我们的鼓励，言行各占一半。在这个世界上，我们努力学习做自己，除去经常倾听内心的声音，也常常会观察、模仿身边的人。我很幸运，认识傅老师，听他说话、与他交流。他是一个好的榜样。

这几年，我总希望能够多见傅老师几次，因他 1949 年生，已经年逾古稀。今年春天在火车站等他时，先远远看到一个步履蹒跚、垂垂老矣的长者从火车站出来，已经心生酸楚，以为傅老师已经老去。好在是眼花。当时傅老师精神矍铄，熟练操作智能手机，召唤

Uber。临别时，东北的早春，已有明媚的阳光、吹出温暖的风。那是和傅老师的最后一次见面，其人、其情、其景，永难忘怀。

(In English)

29

In Memory of Professor Joseph Fewsmith

Gao Xiang

Professor, School of Public Affairs, Zhejiang University

More than a month has passed since the passing of Professor Joseph Fewsmith. Even now, I vividly remember the day when I returned to campus from the television station and received a message from a friend informing me of Professor Fewsmith's passing due to a stroke. Beyond the shock, I felt refusal to accept the news. I repeatedly refreshed the official website of Boston University and even wrote an email to Professor Fewsmith, hoping for his humorous reply to tell me that this was merely a rumor spreading.

Now, more than a month later, I have come to accept the fact that Professor Fewsmith has left us. He will no longer visit Hangzhou or China, and the next time I travel to the United States or Boston, I will no longer have the chance to share a meal with him. In the upcoming holidays, I will no longer receive emails from him.

Professor Fewsmith was my supervisor during my joint doctoral training program in the United States. Before that, I first attended his academic lecture at Zhejiang University in 2007. In 2009, when I applied for the China Scholarship Council program, Professor Fewsmith generously agreed to host me for study in the United States. Starting in September 2010, I spent a year as a visiting scholar at Boston University. During this time, I attended two courses taught by Professor Fewsmith and, encouraged by him, took multiple courses in research methods, international relations, and political economy—albeit with hesitant English. Interestingly, although I was born and raised in China and have always been diligent in my studies and reflections, perhaps due to my age or the stage of my education, that year of joint training in the United States became a crucial period for me to understand and comprehend China.

In this enlightening process, Professor Fewsmith was undoubtedly a key mentor who inspired me to understand contemporary local governance in China and deepened my comprehension of the great practice of China's reform and opening up. I still remember attending his lectures on the reform process of the 1980s. When discussing significant figures and pivotal events, he would

often ask if I knew about them. Most of the time, I could only shake my head and honestly admit that I did not. He would then exaggeratedly exclaim, "Ah, you know too little about China!" After class, this spurred me to read more and better understand my own country, gradually realizing that what seemed like ordinary records in textbooks actually stemmed from intense debates. He also introduced me to the field of Chinese political studies in the United States, knowledgeably discussing the work of each scholar—sometimes praising those who conducted excellent or insightful research, and occasionally sighing over studies that were well-presented but "nonsense." When introducing and critiquing these works, Professor Fewsmith displayed a remarkable objectivity and openness, constantly comparing and examining them against his own understanding of China. In other words, his discussions of others' research resembled professional academic appreciation, and engaging with him in conversation was a way to clarify facts and deepen understanding, rather than offering oversimplified conclusions.

During the year of joint training, I learned many skills from Professor Fewsmith on how to understand China, such as how to read *People's Daily* and various official documents. Like many other peers and friends who received his help and always cherished his guidance, Professor Fewsmith taught me not in a deliberate manner but often during meals, seminars, or discussions on specific topics. Looking back, his ability to speak naturally at any time likely stemmed from his constant reading of materials like *People's Daily* and numerous Chinese and English works on China. During Thanksgiving in 2010, Yan Jian and I went to his home for dinner. Before the meal, while touring his house, what impressed me the most was his attic study, with a south-facing window and bookshelves, desks, and floors all filled with books and papers. Understanding and comprehending China was both his work and a natural part of his life. I deeply admire such a state and aspire to become such a pure and dedicated scholar.

Professor Fewsmith was also an exceptional teacher. When Taiyi organized the memorial gathering, I saw and heard the heartfelt sharing of many others. The image of Professor Fewsmith in my memory—humorous, witty, tolerant, egalitarian, and encouraging toward students—overlapped with the portrayals in everyone's narratives. Professor Fewsmith once co-authored a paper with me on local governance in China. At the time, I was nearing the end of my doctoral program and had just begun writing in English. I remember his revisions to the draft. Perhaps because there were so many changes, he specifically noted, "It's not that you wrote poorly, but everyone has their own writing style," to avoid putting pressure on me.

After joining Zhejiang University in 2013, since the university offered a program where overseas faculty taught full English courses, Professor Yu suggested that I invite Professor Fewsmith to teach a course titled *Comparative Government and Politics*. Professor Fewsmith readily agreed. For several years thereafter, he would spend one or two months in Hangzhou every summer. At the time, the School of Public Affairs had established a graduate program called "Asian Future Leaders," enrolling students from various East Asian countries to learn about and understand China. I was filled with enthusiasm, believing that China's internationalization should not only involve sending teachers and students abroad but also focus on local internationalization—creating an open and inclusive international exchange environment within China itself. While Professor Fewsmith taught, I attended the classes as a junior faculty member. In the classroom, he continued his consistent approach of treating students with equality, encouragement, professionalism, and depth. Professor Fewsmith never explicitly explained his teaching philosophy, but upon reflection, he demonstrated a seminar-style method that treated students as dialogue partners capable of independent thinking.

It was during those years that I realized Professor Fewsmith was truly a rare "China expert." Beyond teaching, he always enjoyed traveling to various places. At the time, his interest had shifted to Party history, and he liked visiting revolutionary base areas. Once, he even asked me if I knew a young faculty member from Hangzhou Normal University who studied Party history, praising his well-written articles. I realized it was a paper published in a Chinese academic journal. Professor Fewsmith's Chinese reading ability was likely even better than his spoken Chinese (as Professor Yu always insisted that I communicate with Professor Fewsmith in English, I was not entirely sure of his spoken Chinese proficiency). Moreover, Professor Fewsmith had an impressive spotting eye for excellent scholars. That young faculty member he mentioned, then relatively unknown, is now a professor at East China Normal University and has gained widespread recognition in the field of Party history research.

After 2020, due to the global pandemic, international exchanges sharply declined. By the summer of 2023, I resumed international travel, choosing Boston as my first stop in the United States and arranging to meet Professor Fewsmith. During our meeting, he first gave me two of his latest books, and we spent a long time discussing the latest developments in China. Coincidentally, Zhang Changdong from Peking University and Jiang Junyan from Columbia University were also in Boston at the time, so Professor Fewsmith treated us to a hotpot meal at a newly opened Shuda

Xia restaurant. The hotpot was authentic, but I cannot remember what we cooked in it because the conversation over the hotpot felt more like a relaxed and engaging academic seminar. This captivating academic dialogue continued into the spring of this year. When I attended a conference on the east coast of the United States, Professor Fewsmith treated me to authentic American Shanghainese cuisine and shared post-meal coffee with Feng Bo, who was about to graduate. We even made plans to meet in Hangzhou this winter. This is a promise Professor Fewsmith did not keep.

Upon careful reflection, over 80% of my discussions with Professor Fewsmith revolved around research, particularly topics related to Chinese governance. The remaining 20% covered observations on American politics and international politics, as well as his family and children. When Trump won his first presidential election, I wrote to him, and he replied, “It literally hurts.” Yet this pain could not compare to the loss of Stephanie. He once shared his daughter’s struggle with illness, believing at the time that she had won the battle. After Stephanie’s passing, it took Professor Fewsmith a long time to recover. It was only in the first half of this year that he wrote an email describing his feelings during that period—for a long time, he did not feel like doing anything. After his retirement in May, he still made many plans, showing no intention of slowing down. In late October, when I discussed with Jessica, she specifically told me, “I’ll be attending a meeting with Joe in D.C. next week.” That seems to have been Professor Fewsmith’s final academic dialogue.

In our discussions, Professor Fewsmith often began with, “So, tell me—” He always encouraged us to express our observations, reflections, and judgments. Writing these memories of Professor Fewsmith, I realize that his encouragement to us came equally through his words and actions. In this world, as we strive to be ourselves, we not only listen to our inner voices but also observe and emulate those around us. I am fortunate to have known Professor Fewsmith, to have listened to him and engaged in conversations with him. He was an exemplary role model.

In recent years, I always hoped to meet Professor Fewsmith more often, as he was born in 1949 and was already in his seventies. This spring, while waiting for him at the train station, I first saw an elderly man walking unsteadily, and my heart ached, thinking Professor Fewsmith had aged. Fortunately, it was a case of mistaken identity. At that time, Professor Fewsmith was spirited, skillfully using his smartphone to call an Uber. As we parted, in the early spring of the Northeast,

there was bright sunshine and a warm breeze. That was my last meeting with Professor Fewsmith—the person, the sentiment, and the scene are forever etched in my memory.

(In Chinese)

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难忘吾师 温厚如光

邵梓捷

中国传媒大学 副教授

离开美国访学的岁月，已经近十年。这十年里，毕业、找工作教书、科研、换工作、晋升……总觉得工作和生活平静下来是一件幸福的事。Joe 对我来说就像是一个在美国的亲戚，如果没有疫情，他每年会如约而至，我也会找机会去“走亲戚”，让我不论身处何地都有在美国的“念想”。这个“念想”像是回到母校，回到故乡的那种休憩港湾。

我相信很多人会谈到傅士卓(Joseph Fewsmith)先生在学术界的成就，在学界的分量，不用我多言。研究中国政治的人，没人没读过他的《当代中国的精英政治》《中国改革的困境》这些著作，业界常把他和傅高义、马若德教授并称为美国研究中国精英政治的“三驾马车”。可在我眼里，他不只是“泰斗级学者”，更是个把学生当孩子的“老派”先生。

2015 年，经过我在北京大学导师的引荐，我到波士顿大学进行了为期一年的联合培养。这一年，印象里是一张张生动的图片：查尔斯河畔老楼顶楼的办公室门；从地板堆到天花板的书籍；空白处写满密密麻麻的批注；文言文书、繁体中文、简体中文的书……第一次 office hour 他就推荐我参加哈佛、麻省理工和波士顿大学三校组织的中国政治研究的工作坊。于我的学术生涯来说，这是一个重要的标记，走向国际化可能就是自那时起。

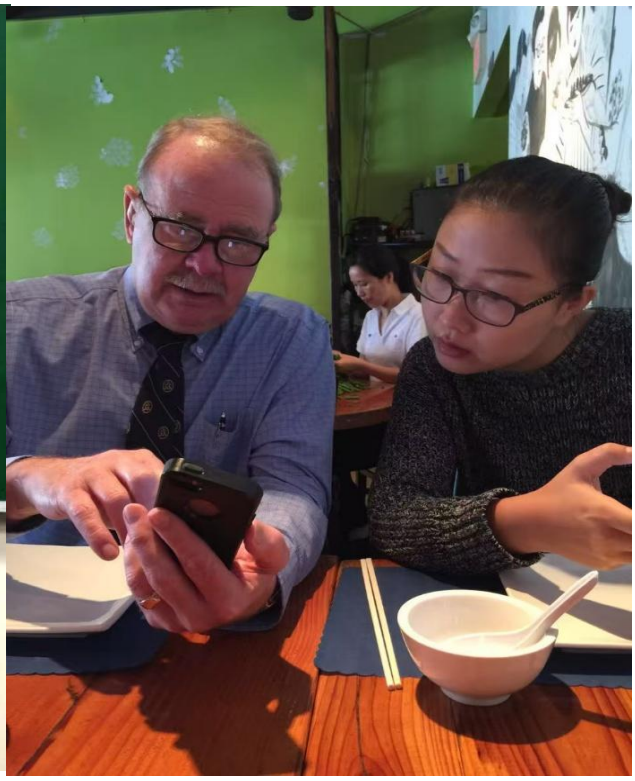
在 Joe 的推荐下，我认识了 Nancy，并在费正清图书馆自习，那里的空调是真冷啊。在那里，完成了我博士论文的重要章节，也结交了 Nancy 这个我的异国忘年交。Joe 是我和国际学术界的一个中国节点，所谓的“师父领进门”我想就是这个意思吧。

先生的生活里满是“中国味”，豪爽又讲义气。他最爱的事就是请学生吃饭，石库门餐馆、Shanghai Fresh，印象里好像还有一次吃了特别贵的西班牙菜。他抢着买单的样子特别可爱，好几次都让我本尊导师“吃醋”，问他“为什么老请我的学生吃饭”，他却乐呵呵地说：“在美国我请，到了中国你们请，反正中国饭贵”。

回国以后，Joe 每次来国内，最重要的一个工作就是跟我更新他的中文“词汇表”。有一次问我“绿茶”是什么意思。我也会定期给他更新他的手机和电脑系统，就像我给长辈和父母做的那些事。

这十多年，他就是一个稳定的、可爱的、温暖的，在我生活里的一个重要部分。他告诉我要荣休了，我还跟我的学生们说，你们的美国师爷爷要来了，介绍大家认识。我一直在等，一直在等……

我其实希望，没有得到他离开我们的这个消息。迟迟没有写这篇纪念文字，是我不想接受、也接受不了。我还是希望保留一直等下去的这种温暖期待。



(In English)

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Remembering My Mentor: Gentle as Light, Enduring in Memory

Shao Zijie

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It has been nearly a decade since I left the United States after my visiting scholarship. Over these ten years, I have graduated, found a teaching job, pursued research, changed positions, and earned promotions… Amidst the busyness, I have come to cherish the peace and stability of work and life. To me, Joe was like a relative in the United States. If not for the pandemic, he would visit China every year as planned, and I would also find opportunities to "visit the relative," making me feel connected to the United States no matter where I was. This connection felt like returning to my alma mater or hometown—a haven of rest and belonging.

I believe many will speak of Joe's academic achievements and stature in the scholarly world, so I need not elaborate further. Anyone studying Chinese politics has read his works, such as *Elite Politics in Contemporary China* and *The Perils of China's Reform*. He is often mentioned alongside Ezra Vogel and Roderick MacFarquhar as one of the "three pillars" of American scholarship on Chinese elite politics. However, in my eyes, he was not only a "revered scholar" but also an "old-fashioned" mentor who treated his students like his own children.

In 2015, through the recommendation of my doctoral advisor at Peking University, I embarked on a year-long joint training program at Boston University. That year remains vivid in my memory—images like the door to his top-floor office in an old building by the Charles River, books stacked from floor to ceiling, margins filled with meticulous annotations, and works in classical Chinese, traditional characters, and simplified characters… During our very first office hour, he recommended that I participate in a Chinese politics workshop organized by Harvard, MIT, and Boston University. For my academic journey, this was a significant milestone, marking the beginning of my international engagement.

At Joe's recommendation, I met Nancy and often studied at the Fairbank Center Library, where the air conditioning was truly freezing. It was there that I completed crucial chapters of my doctoral dissertation and forged a cross-generational friendship with Nancy. Joe was my bridge to the

international academic community—truly embodying the Chinese saying, “A mentor opens the door; the journey is up to you.”

Joe’s life was infused with “Chinese flavor”—he was forthright, loyal, and always generous. One of his greatest joys was treating his students to meals. I recall dinners at Shikumen Restaurant, Shanghai Fresh, and even an exceptionally expensive Spanish meal once. His eagerness to pay the bill was particularly endearing, and it even made my primary advisor “jealous,” prompting the question, “Why do you keep treating my student to meals?” Joe would cheerfully reply, “I pay in the United States; you pay when I’m in China. After all, Chinese food is expensive.”

After returning to China, one of Joe’s most important tasks during each visit was updating his Chinese “vocabulary list.” Once, he asked me what “green tea” meant. I would also regularly help him update his phone and computer systems, much like I do for my own parents and elders.
For over a decade, he has been a stable, lovable, and warm presence in my life—an integral part of it. When he told me he was about to retire, I even told my students, “Your American academic grandfather is coming; I’ll introduce you.” I kept waiting, and waiting…

Deep down, I wish I had never received the news of his passing. I delayed writing this memorial piece because I did not want to accept it—and I still cannot.

I prefer to hold onto the warm anticipation of waiting for him, as I always have.

(In Chinese)

总结

阅读中国的方法：傅士卓教授的学术视野与启示

孙太一

美国克里斯多夫纽波特大学政治科学系副教授

我的导师傅士卓（Joseph Fewsmith）教授已经去世一月有余了。美东时间 11 月 29 日那天，我们在线上进行了追思会，有数十位傅老师生前的好友、高徒发言，百余位听众在线全程参与。其中部分师友的发言稿我们也在过去几周《海外看世界》的追思文章系列刊出。

正值节日氛围愈来愈浓之时，想到师母和儿子的感恩节餐桌边又少了一个人，想到今年圣诞、元旦他们家巨大的变化，不禁又悲从中来。因为追思文章系列以生活中的傅老师的点点滴滴为主，我在老师去世后两天草草而成的文字也主要谈及的是他的为人和我与他互动的过往。在这个系列的末尾，我想我也再补充几点关于我对傅老师学术贡献中我所吸收的那部分。在所有我的同门中我既不是研究议程与傅老师最接近，也不是修过他课最多，读过他著作最多的。这里权当抛砖引玉，从我的视角谈谈老师诸多贡献与研究特点中的一小部分，毕竟一位学者的学术贡献如果一直有传承，那也是另一种形式的“永垂不朽”。

先说说方法论。我们都知道傅老师非常重视田野调查，一直坚持亲历现场，直接与受访者交流。值得指出的是，傅老师对公开资料的重视程度不亚于对田野调查、私底下采访所得信息的关注度。傅老师会鼓励我们读《人民日报》，读《求是》等重要的刊物。很多老美都会先入为主地认为这些不就是北京用来宣传的重要平台吗，根本不值得一读。但傅老师始终认为最高层的互动、政策的走向是可以在这些重要平台初窥端倪的。系统性地看、密切追踪一些重要议题表述的变化可以迅速让学者对中国政治有更好地把握。另外，一些领导人的著作同样非常重要。这也是为什么我们在傅老师的课上需要仔细研读《湖南农民运动考察报告》《矛盾论》《实践论》《在延安文艺座谈会上的讲话》等一系列文章、报告。傅老师的另一个重要的方法论层面的特点与贡献是在研究精英政治时聚焦关键部门与岗位（critical positions）。在定量研究工具越来越丰富多元的今天，一些研究精英政治的学者会倾向于研究中国的整个官僚体系，建立庞大的数据库，哪怕不是涵盖所有省部级官员的履历，也至少要把中央委员会和候补委员都纳入样本中，然后通过他们的经历与相互之间

的关系等构建核心变量。这当中的一个重要假设是同一层级、同一体系内的官员是基本可以被视为类似的分析单位的。但傅老师却认为，哪怕是同一级别的官员、精英，处于不同的岗位，研究的价值会很不一样 – 有的时候岗位可能都不太重要，因为重要的是那个人本身。所以，与其研究大样本的精英群体，不如聚焦那些真正对决策、对人事变动和局势走向能产生深远影响的岗位以及那些岗位上的个体。傅老师有时会举例说只有 25-30%的候补委员会在下一届党代会升迁，所以对整个中央委员会尤其是候补委员群体的研究很多可能是无效的。这一点上，傅老师最关注的是政治局、中办、组织部和宣传部，第二梯队的包括中纪委、书记处、以及主要的元老。哪怕是政法委，也得看其一把手是否入常才能判断在那一届班子的重要性。

傅老师同样会常常强调对原始材料、第一手资料的重视，而且需要关注细节。比如，上世纪 70 年代末在安徽凤阳的改革，不少学者会笼统地说是“包产到户”。但事实上，傅老师根据文献考证，当时在凤阳其实是“包产到组”（而非“户”）的“大包干”，这其中还有具体的政策辩论和背景。而在 79 年之前，50 年代和 60 年代，分别已经有两次 “包产到户”的尝试了，傅老师也都做了较为详细的研究。

有的时候，同样的史料，不同的视角，也会让人得出完全不同的结论。傅老师认为在这一点上，所有学者都必须非常重视，也需要时刻保持开放的心态和批判视角。比如，在他的《中国：从革命到改革》一课的最开始，他都会问大家中国近代史到底是哪一年开始的。如果你的答案是 1840 年，那你基本已经形成了是外部冲击导致传统秩序崩解形成关键节点的结论，这就有可能忽视清政府已经面临的巨大的挑战，尤其是羸弱的官僚体系和社会动员与变化速度的不匹配早已导致政治失序的现实。所以，近代史哪一年开始看上去应该可以给出不带主观色彩和立场的答案，但事实上选择不同的年份开始会有完全不同的视角和结论。

关于中国的精英政治，傅老师也延续了他的老师邹谠的重要论点，那就是妥协虽然是可能的，派系平衡也会暂时、偶尔存在，但绝大多数时候或许是虚妄的，因为那只是一种策略性手段的暂时结果，真正存在的一以贯之的特点是对彻底胜利的追求，其他一切都是为了最终不可避免的决定性胜利做铺垫。他认为这也是为什么中国政治会一直存在“核心”的原因。“核心”会定义自己的路线，比如对邓而言，这包括经济的市场化和多元化、社会的非政治化（而非自由化）、对外开放，以及更高的经济增长率。

这就引出了关于制度化的讨论。傅老师和黎安友（Andrew Nathan）教授在此议题上的精彩论争非常值得一看。黎安友等知名学者研究中国体系的韧性时，会指出那是因为在很多方面，比如日益强化的继承规范、日益发展的精英选拔制度、派系斗争的弱化、专业化程度的提高以及向政权提供反馈的投入型机构的出现，都促使政治体制走向制度化了。但傅老师则始终认为中国政治依旧是个人化的，而非制度化的。政治路线将政策与权力联系起来，政策争端中的个人和议题会紧密关联 ，而定义政治和经济路线的努力始终是权力斗争的一部分。按照邹谠老师的话来概括，那就是“有时会出现妥协、让步、承认失败、谈判，甚至与对立势力合作的情况，但这些都是策略性措施，并没有形成永久性的，所有政治力量都必须遵循并接受最终结果的制度和基本运作机制。”所以，我们可以看到一些临时性的安排乃至妥协、平衡，但这并非制度化。所以，傅老师不认为中国体制遵循韦伯所描述的“官僚制度”而应该被描述为是具有动员性质的列宁主义制度。维系该体系的最重要原则是“党管干部”以及在“正确路线”基础上强制推行的共同意识形态。傅老师认为，列宁主义体系可以解释中国在过去半个世纪里相对稳定的政治局面。

傅老师的学术贡献横跨多个领域，内容多元而丰厚，绝非三言两语可以概括；其中许多洞见与著作，也唯有读者亲自走入他的文本世界，方能体会其思想的深度与广度。最后，我愿以追思会结束时我所做的那段发言，作为本文的收束与纪念：

“斯人虽已远行，但他的思想与学问从未离开我们。我们在幻灯片中特地呈现了傅老师生前著述的十本书，欢迎大家在未来的研究与教学中阅读、引用、继续对话。只要还有人读他的书、念及他的思考与为人，傅老师就还在我们身边，他就会以另一种方式长存于这个世界。”

愿傅教授的学术与精神，继续照亮后来者的道路。谢谢大家！

(In English)

Conclusion

How to Read China: The Academic Vision and Inspiration of Professor Joseph Fewsmith

Sun Taiyi

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It has been over a month since my mentor, Professor Joseph Fewsmith, passed away. On November 29th, 2025, we held an online memorial service where dozens of his lifelong friends and distinguished students spoke, with over a hundred attendants participating throughout. Some of those tributes have been published over the past few weeks in *Global China (海外看世界)*.

As the holiday atmosphere thickens, my heart grows heavy thinking of the empty chair at his wife's and son's Thanksgiving table, and the immense void in their home this Christmas and New Year. Because the memorial series has focused primarily on snippets of Professor Fewsmith's personal life, and my own initial tribute—written hurriedly two days after his passing—also focused on his character, I would like to conclude this series by supplementing a few points regarding the academic contributions I inherited from him. Among all his students, I was neither the one whose research agenda most closely mirrored his, nor the one who took the most classes or read the most of his works. I offer these reflections merely as a starting point to discuss a small portion of his many contributions and research; after all, if a scholar's academic contribution is passed down, it is one form of "immortality."

Methodology

First, let's talk about methodology. We all know that Professor Fewsmith placed great importance on fieldwork, insisting on being present at the scene and communicating directly with participants. However, it is worth noting that he valued published documents just as much as information gained from fieldwork or private interviews.

He encouraged us to read the *People's Daily* and *Qiushi*. Many Americans might reflexively assume these are merely Beijing's mouthpieces and not worth reading. But Professor Fewsmith always believed that the interactions at the highest levels and the direction of policy could be glimpsed through these key outlets. By systematically tracking changes in the phrasing of

important issues, a scholar can quickly gain a better grasp of Chinese politics. Additionally, the writings of leaders are equally vital. This is why, in his classes, we had to meticulously study a series of articles and reports such as *Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan*, *On Contradiction*, *On Practice*, and *Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art*.

Another hallmark of his methodology was his focus on "critical positions" when studying elite politics. With increasingly diverse quantitative tools, some scholars tend to study the entire Chinese bureaucracy, building massive databases. Even if they don't cover every provincial and ministerial official, they at least include the Central Committee and alternate members in their sample, constructing core variables based on their resumes and relationships. The underlying assumption is that officials at the same level can be treated as similar units of analysis.

Professor Fewsmith, however, believed that even for officials of the same rank, the research value varies significantly depending on their position—and sometimes the position itself isn't as important as the individual holding it. Therefore, rather than studying a large sample of elites, it is better to focus on those positions (and the individuals holding them) that truly exert profound influence on decision-making, personnel changes, and the direction of the situation.

He would often point out that only 25–30% of alternate members would be promoted at the next Party Congress, suggesting that much research on the entire Central Committee—especially the alternate group—might be ineffective. Consequently, he focused most closely on:

- The Politburo
- The General Office of the CPC Central Committee
- The Organization Department
- The Propaganda Department

The "Second Tier" includes the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection, the Secretariat, and key Party elders. Even for the Political and Legal Affairs Commission, its importance in a given administration depended on whether its head was a member of the Standing Committee.

Professor Fewsmith also emphasized primary sources and the importance of detail. For example, regarding the late 1970s reforms in Fengyang, Anhui, many scholars generalize them as "household responsibility" (baochan daohu). However, through archival research, he proved that in Fengyang at that time, it was actually "contracting output to the group" (baochan daozu), a distinction that carried specific policy debates and backgrounds. He also conducted detailed research into the two previous attempts at "household responsibility" in the 1950s and 60s.

Furthermore, he believed that the same historical data can lead to completely different conclusions depending on the perspective. For instance, at the start of his course *China: From Revolution to Reform*, he would ask: "In what year did modern Chinese history begin?" If your answer is 1840 (the Opium War), you have likely concluded that external shocks caused the collapse of the traditional order. This, however, might lead one to ignore the massive internal challenges the Qing government already faced—specifically, a weak bureaucracy that could not keep pace with social mobilization and change, leading to political disorder long before 1840.

Chinese Elite Politics

Regarding Chinese elite politics, Professor Fewsmith continued the key argument of his mentor, Tsou Tang: while compromise is possible and factional balance may exist temporarily or occasionally, these are often illusory. They are merely the temporary results of tactical maneuvers. The consistent, underlying characteristic is the pursuit of complete victory; everything else is a prelude to the inevitable decisive win. He believed this explains the perpetual existence of a "core" in Chinese politics. The "core" defines its own line. For Deng Xiaoping, this included economic marketization and diversification, social depoliticization (not liberalization), opening up to the outside world, and high economic growth rates.

This leads to the discussion on institutionalization. The brilliant debate between Professor Fewsmith and Professor Andrew Nathan on this topic is well worth reading.

- **The Nathan View:** Scholars like Nathan, when studying the resilience of the Chinese system, point to institutionalization—increasing norms for succession, elite selection systems, the weakening of factional struggle, and the rise of input institutions that provide feedback to the regime.
- **The Fewsmith View:** Professor Fewsmith maintained that Chinese politics remains personalistic, not institutionalized. Political lines link policy to power; individuals and issues in policy disputes are tightly coupled; and the effort to define political and economic lines is always part of a power struggle.

To summarize in the words of Tsou Tang: "Compromises, concessions, admissions of defeat, negotiations, and even cooperation with opposing forces may occur, but these are tactical measures... they have not formed permanent institutions and basic mechanisms that all political forces must follow."

Thus, Professor Fewsmith did not believe the Chinese system followed the "bureaucracy" described by Max Weber; instead, it should be described as a mobilizational Leninist system. The most important principles sustaining this system are "the Party manages cadres" and a shared ideology enforced on the basis of the "correct line." He believed this Leninist framework explains the relative political stability China has seen over the past half-century.

Professor Fewsmith's academic contributions span multiple fields and are too rich to summarize in a few words. Many of his insights can only be truly appreciated by diving into his works. I wish to conclude with the remarks I made at the end of the memorial service:

"Though the man has traveled far, his thoughts and scholarship have never left us. We have specially displayed ten of Professor Fewsmith's books below; we welcome everyone to read, cite, and continue the dialogue in your future research and teaching. As long as there are people reading his books and remembering his thoughts and his character, Professor Fewsmith is still with us. He will live in this world in another form."

May Professor Fewsmith's scholarship and spirit continue to light the way for those who follow.

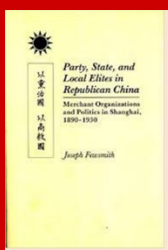
Thank you all!

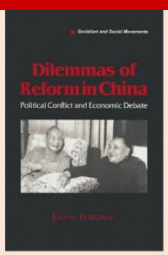
English Bio

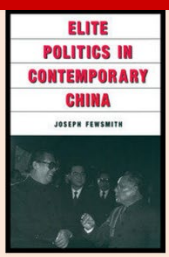
Joseph Fewsmith (1949-2025) was a Professor of International Relations and Political Science at Boston University's Pardee School and an Associate of the Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies at Harvard University. A preeminent scholar of contemporary Chinese politics, he authored ten influential books, including *Rethinking Chinese Politics*.

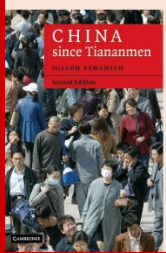
中文简介

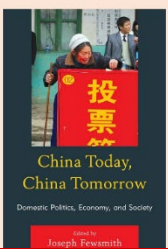
傅士卓（1949–2025）是波士顿大学帕迪全球研究学院的国际关系与政治学教授，同时兼任哈佛大学费正清中国研究中心的研究员。作为当代中国政治研究领域的泰斗，他一生著述颇丰，代表作包括《重新思考中国政治》等十部学术著作。

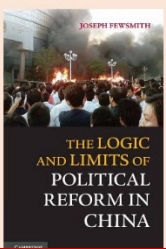


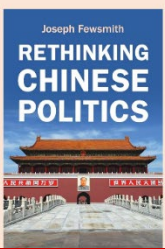


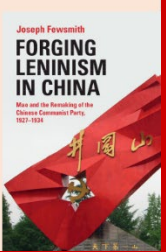












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