

The Challenge of Late Development: Strategic Lessons from China

后发国家面临的挑战：
来自中国的经验

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Introduction: What in China's experience is most relevant to developing countries?

引言：在中国经验中，什么是对发展中国家最有意义的？

1. China's approach to the strategic challenges of development hold rich lessons for all lower and middle income developing countries contrary to much thinking in the West. 中国对待发展的战略挑战的方式对于所有那些与西方思维不同的中低收入发展中国家有着丰富的借鉴作用。
2. China's experience confirms many ideas in early development economics. 中国经验证实了早期发展经济学中的很多观点。

3. China holds valuable lessons for developing agriculture, manufacturing, natural resource extraction and finance. 中国在发展农业、制造业、自然资源采掘和金融方面提供了宝贵的经验。
4. Even China's approach to political organisation holds lessons for today's developing countries. 甚至连中国在政治组织方面的方式也对当下的发展中国家具有借鉴作用。

Three prominent views on why Chinese experience is not relevant

关于“中国经验没有意义”的三个著名观点

Everyone recognises that China has experienced phenomenal growth, but there are profound divergences over lessons
每个人都认识到中国经历了显著的增长，但是大家对于中国经验存在严重分歧。

1. “Perspiration not Inspiration” – China’s growth due only to increased inputs, not increased outputs per unit of inputs. “勤奋而不是灵感”——中国的增长仅仅是由于投入的增加，而不是单位投入上产出的增加

- Daron Acemoglu and his colleagues in their recent book, *Why Nations Fail*, essentially revive an old argument by Paul Krugman in his famous 1994 article, “The Myth of Asia’s Miracle” 达龙·阿塞莫格鲁和他的同事们的近期著作《为什么有的国家会失败》，使人们再次联想到保罗·克鲁格曼1994年的著名文章“亚洲奇迹的神话”。

- Krugman said the “developmental states” of East Asia were no more miraculous than the Soviet Union of 1917-1970 克鲁格曼指出，东亚的“发展型国家”并不比1917-1970年间的苏联更神奇。

- Growth was entirely dependent on a continual increase in inputs (more machinery, more infrastructure) in contrast to the West where sustained growth depended on technological advance 这些国家的增长完全是依赖投入的持续增加（更多机械、更多基础设施），而不是像西方国家那样通过技术进步实现持续增长。

- Krugman argued: in East Asia not only more machinery, more infrastructure, but also more workers, with more education. 克鲁格曼认为，在东亚不止是有更多机械、更多基础设施，还有更多拥有更高教育水平的工人。

- In Asia in general and China in particular, Krugman and Acemoglu and his colleagues argue: 克鲁格曼和阿塞莫格鲁及其同事们认为，在整个亚洲特别是中国：
 - * No increase in efficiency (in output per unit of input) and 没有效率（单位投入的产出）的增加；
 - * no reason to put in question *laissez faire* economics or to promote selective industrial policy: 没有理由质疑自由放任经济学或是推动选择性的工业政策；
 - * the Western model has the advantage because it is more innovative and technological innovation is not on the cards for China, especially because of the suppression of individual rights and creativity. 西方模式是有优势的，因为它更具创新性，而对于中国来说则没有实现技术创新，特别是由于中国对个人权利和创造力的压制。

2. Absence of liberal democratic institutions makes China vulnerable to crises: 自由民主制度的缺失使中国易遭遇危机:

- Acemoglu and his colleagues make this argument 阿塞莫格鲁及其同事们持上述观点;
- So too does Paul Collier, *The Bottom Billion* (where he argues the Chinese revolution was an unnecessary episode of violence) 保罗·科利尔在《最底层的10亿人》一书中也持此观点（他认为中国的革命是一场不必要的暴力）;
- So too, though in a slightly more modest way, does Dani Rodrik who says that India's institutions (rules), as they are liberal democratic, are more resilient than China's 丹尼·罗德里克也持这样的观点，尽管他的表述略为温和，他认为印度的制度比中国的适应力更强，因为它是自由民主的。

3. **China's civilisational legacy and demographics make it unique** 中国的文明传统与人口特征使其具有特殊性

- There is no point in trying to reproduce what China has accomplished 试图将中国取得的成就加以复制是毫无意义的。

Answering these arguments 对这些观点的回应

- 1. Mobilising resources on such a scale is itself a lesson to learn:** Even if Acemoglu et al and Krugman are right, for Joe Stiglitz, the mere capacity to mobilise resources on such a scale as in the Asian Tigers and China represents an achievement that merits emulation in other parts of the developing world. **如此大规模地调动和组织资源，这本身就是一个值得学习的经验：约瑟夫·斯蒂格利茨认为，即便阿塞莫格鲁和克鲁格曼等人的观点是正确的，亚洲四小龙国家和中国如此大规模地调动和组织资源，仅这一能力就是一种成就，值得其他发展中国家和地区去效仿学习。**
- 2. East Asia and China have survived crises:** There is little basis to conclude that India's liberal democratic rules *without social transformation* are more robust than the institutions of the Asian Tigers or China **东亚和中国已经成功渡过危机：认为未经社会转型的印度自由民主制度比亚洲四小龙或中国的制度更加稳健，这一结论几乎是站不住脚的。**

3. **Civilisational legacies were once used to explain the *backwardness* of Korea and China:** The KMT presided over a rent-seeking and disintegrating economy when it ruled on the mainland in China, as did Syngman Rhee in South Korea. **文明传统也曾经被用来解释韩国和中国的落后：国民党在中国大陆的统治期间出现了寻租和经济崩溃，李承晚在南朝鲜的统治也是如此。**

4. **Finally, China is making strong technological advances** in every domain of economic activity: there is already evidence of a shift from extensive growth to *intensive* growth. **另外，中国正在每一个经济活动领域实现着有力的技术进步：已经有证据表明，中国在从粗放型增长向集约型增长转变。**

An alternative view: China, like OECD countries historically, demonstrates the need to *put development first*

另一种视野：如同经合组织国家在过去一样，中国诠释了以发展为先的必要性

1. **China's strategy of state-shepherded capitalism** follows the historical experience of most countries who engaged in “catching up” development: **中国国家主导型资本主义的战略沿袭了实施“追赶”型发展的大多数国家的历史经验**
 - * Documented in the early works of Alexander Hamilton in the US and Freidrich List in Bismarck's Germany **亚历山大·汉密尔顿对美国 and 弗里德里希·李斯特对俾斯麦时期德国的早期著作中进行了描述；**
 - * Explained in the writing of Karl Polanyi (*The Great Transformation*) who showed markets are unnatural and both their formation and survival depends on states **卡尔·波兰尼的著作（《大转型》）对此进行了解释，指出市场并非自然形成的，市场的形成和发展都依赖于国家。**

* Explained by Alexander Gerschenkron (*Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective*) in every era the state must play a role in “catching up”, but WHAT the state must do is different at each point in time. 亚历山大·格申克龙（《经济落后的历史透视》）的解释是，每个时代，国家都必须在“追赶”中发挥作用，但是国家在每个历史时期必须要做的事情是有所不同的。

2. China's experience in "catching up" confirms some of the important propositions of the "development economists" of the mid to late 20th Century: 中国的“追赶”经验证实了20世纪中后期“发展经济学家”提出的一些重要假设：

* Rosenstein-Rodan (1934): Industrialisation of underdeveloped countries is not only in their own interests but those of the rest of the world; 罗森斯坦·罗丹（1934）：欠发达国家的工业化不仅关乎这些国家自身的利益，也关乎世界其他地区的利益；

* Arthur Lewis, Nobel Laureate, (1954): tapping the supply of labour in rural areas for development 诺贝尔奖获得者阿瑟·刘易斯（1954）：利用农村地区的劳动供给来实现发展；

* Albert Hirschman (1956): creating backward and forward linkages to promote *internal* economic integration 艾伯特·赫希曼（1956）：创造前向和后向联结，促进内部的经济整合。

3. China has addressed the *strategic problems of development*, offering an alternative approach from the OECD in relation to agriculture, manufacturing, natural resource extraction and political organisation of the state, from which developing countries *can learn*. 中国已经解决了发展面临的战略问题，在农业、制造业、自然资源采掘和国家政治组织等方面提供了一个不同于经合组织国家的另类模式，这种模式是发展中国家可以学习的。

China has addressed the Strategic Problems of Development

中国已经解决了发展面临的战略问题

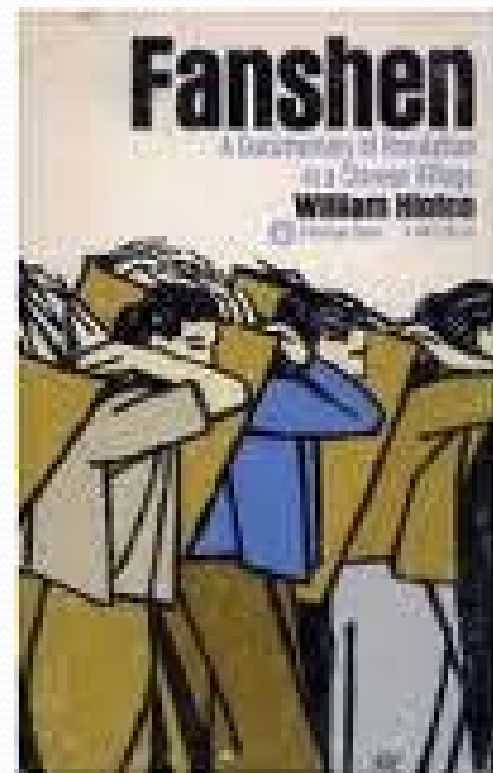
- Ensure that those who have wealth **invest it in productivity-enhancing activities** rather than in consumption; 确保财富拥有者将其财富投资于不断提高生产效率的活动中，而不是用于消费；
- Ensure that **wages do not rise faster than productivity**, BUT ensure wages **rise enough to provide a market** for expanding manufacturing; 确保工资的增长速度不超过生产率的增长，但同时也要确保工资的增长水平要足以为扩张的制造业提供消费市场；
- **Property rights** must be defined to ensure both these outcomes; 产权的界定要确保这些目标的实现；
- **Internal economic integration** – NOT AUTARKY – is central to BOTH producing competitively for international markets and for domestic growth and human development. 内部的经济整合——不是自给自足——对于确保国际市场上的竞争力和实现国内增长与人类发展都是至关重要的。

Agriculture: Property rights and raising productivity

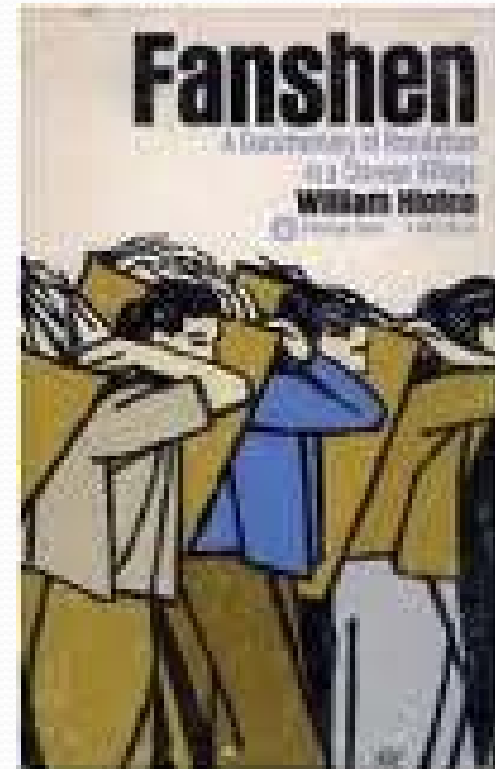
农业：产权与提高生产率

- **China has successively and successfully altered property rights** in ways that have created incentives for investment in activities and processes that have led to growth, productivity increases and poverty reduction: **中国已经接连成功地进行了产权调整，这一调整为那些致力于经济增长、生产率提高和减贫的一系列活动和过程创造了投资动力。**

* Initial land reform - *Fan Shen* (William Hinton) and cooperative movement; **最初的土地改革——《翻身》（韩丁）和合作化运动**



- * transformation of property rights and removal of moribund actors' control over land – whoever they may be: landlords, tribal leaders, state – to encourage growth and human development. 产权的转变以及消除那些保守者、不善于经营者对土地的控制——地主、宗族领袖、国家，以鼓励增长和人类发展。



China showed how to reap benefits of surplus rural labour:

中国的例子展示了怎样从农村剩余劳动力中获得利益：

1. **China mobilised advantages of what Arthur Lewis called the subsistence income level of surplus labour in agriculture**, which set a low ceiling on wages in the modern sector. 中国充分发挥了刘易斯所说的农业剩余劳动力糊口收入水平的优势，糊口收入水平成为现代部门中的工资下限。
2. **The modern (industrial sector) was therefore developed in a highly profitable manner and profits were *reinvested* to achieve high growth.** 现代部门（工业部门）因此以一种高回报率的方式得到了发展，获得的收益被重新投资来实现高增长。

3. **Scarcity of labour in China today is a testament to China's successful mobilisation of surpluses in the past**, providing a clear confirmation of Lewis' ideas and an important lesson for economies in Africa marked by subsistence production in the countryside. **当前中国劳动力的稀缺现象是过去中国成功动员剩余劳动力的一个例证，既对刘易斯的观点进行了清晰的验证，也为以农村糊口型生产为特征的非洲经济提供了重要经验。**
- In the future China has to increase wages and domestic demand and invest in technical progress to avoid a Latin American style “middle income trap” (World Bank, *China 2030* cited in Martin Wolf, *Financial Times* 21-03-2012) **将来，中国必须提高工资水平、扩大内需，并对技术进步进行投资，以避免拉丁美洲那样的“中等收入陷阱”（马丁·沃尔夫，2012年3月21日英国《金融时报》，引自世界银行《2030年的中国》）**

Manufacturing: Industrial policy for the 21st Century

制造业：面向21世纪的工业政策



1. China has demonstrated the advantages of an active industrial policy that creates incentives for investment in activities with increasing returns and forward and backward linkages. 中国已经展示了积极工业政策的优势，这种政策为工业活动投资创造了动力，并带来了不断增加的收益和前向、后向联结。



2. Example of Spanish wind turbine company Gamesa that was required to train local businesses to provide inputs. China's own firms now dominate, but Gamesa is happy for profits from a smaller share of the Chinese market. 西班牙风电公司歌美飒的例子，它需要吸引当地企业为其提供生产投入。现在中国自己的企业占据了主导地位，但是歌美飒仍然乐于从中国市场的较小份额中获得利润。

3. **Most developing countries do not have the leverage that China has to compel foreign investors to source inputs locally, but the lesson can be adapted to local possibilities.** 大多数发展中国家并不具备像中国这样迫使国外投资者利用中国本土生产投入的影响力，但是这个经验可以因地制宜加以调整。

4. **Contrast Malaysia to the Philippines 对比马来西亚与菲律宾**

* Malaysia has pursued an active industrial policy in conditions less favourable than China while the Philippines has shunned industrial policy under World Bank advice: Malaysia is industrialising and the Philippines is deindustrialising. 马来西亚在不及中国的优惠条件下推行了积极的工业政策，而菲律宾则在世界银行的建议下避开了工业政策——马来西亚在进行工业化，而菲律宾则是在去工业化。

5. **As Gerschenkron argued, there is always a place to START industrialisation** and that place is different in each era; 如格申克龙所说，工业化总有一个滥觞之处，且在每个时代都有所不同。

* it is clear that industrialisation must be put back on the agenda of the poorest countries in SSA. 显然，在最穷困的撒哈拉以南非洲地区国家，工业化必须回归到这些国家的发展议程中。

Natural Resources: Capturing value-added and rents

自然资源：获取附加值与租金

1. China shows the way in managing natural resources, capturing the value-added by promoting processing and productive processes domestically. 中国展示了通过推动加工和国内生产过程来管理自然资源、获得附加值的方式。

* “Rare earths” policy (severely restricting exports of unprocessed valuable minerals) has raised the ire of OECD countries, but is strategic to China’s climb up the value-chain. “稀土”政策（严格限制未经加工的贵重矿产的出口）激怒了经合组织国家，但是这对于中国向价值链顶端攀升具有重要战略意义。

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2. While many developing countries do not have the leverage that China has now, they can incrementally capture increasing value-added from the minerals in their soils. 尽管很多发展中国家并不具备中国现在所拥有的影响力，但是它们还是可以从自己的矿产资源中逐步获得更多的附加值。

Contrast Zambia and Botswana: Rents to buy peace v.s
political organisation to implement industrial policy

对比赞比亚与博茨瓦纳：以租金换和平与 通过政治
组织来实施工业政策

Zambia 赞比亚 (Di John, 2010)

The ruling party, UNIP, under pressure from elites took over direct management of copper mines despite lack of management capacity; 在精英阶层的压力下，执政党——联合民族独立党，接手了对铜矿资源的直接管理，尽管它缺乏管理能力

Proceeds used in patronage that maintained peace but led to sharp decline in mining production. 将收益用于庇护关系来维持和平，但是导致了矿业生产的急剧衰退

Botswana 博茨瓦纳 (Di John and Putzel, 2009)

The ruling party, BDP, forged an elite bargain initially among cattle ranchers that promoted state economic management capacity (*before diamonds were exploited*). 执政党——博茨瓦纳民主党，最初在大牧场主中间达成了精英约定，促进了国家的经济管理能力和（在钻石开采之前）

When diamond mining began proceeds were reinvested in infrastructure (Not a “resource curse” but a “blessing”.) 当钻石开采开始的时候，获得的收益被重新投资于基础设施（不是“资源诅咒”，而是一种“祈福”）

- 1. Restricted access to China's financial system** has been pivotal to insulate the economy from the vagaries of short-term capital flows: **中国金融体系准入权的限制对于避免经济遭受短期资本流动的异常冲击具有关键作用：**
 - * South Korea and Taiwan: state played an important role in directing credit to increasing returns activities; **韩国和台湾：国家在将信贷引向高回报率活动中发挥着重要作用；**
 - * Malaysia, Chile, India confirm the importance of controls over finance, even for incremental developmental progress. **马来西亚、智利、印度的例子也证实了金融管制的重要性，即便是为了不断的增长和发展也是如此。**

- 2. Whatever the wisdom of China's incremental moves towards financial liberalisation today, its successful maintenance of strict capital controls during its formative development experience was essential to avoiding the pitfalls of short-term foreign capital in other developing countries. 无论中国今天朝向金融自由化的渐进式步伐具有怎样的智慧，它在发展的形成时期成功地保持了严格的资本控制，这一点对于其他发展中国家避免短期国外资本的陷阱也是非常必要的。**

Politics and the state: A powerful but limited executive authority within the state

政治与国家：国家内部一个有力的、同时又受到制约的执政权威

1. Most OECD countries have actively promoted swift moves to **competitive party elections** and formal democratic rules in developing countries. 大多数经合组织国家在发展中国家积极推进竞争性的政党选举和正式的民主统治。
2. **Chinese experience shows that more important is creating an executive authority in the state** that is powerful enough to enforce elite and non-elite compliance with state rules, but limited enough to prevent abuses of that power: 中国的经验表明，更重要的是在国家中建立一个执政权威，它拥有足够的权力能使精英和非精英阶层顺从于国家统治，但是又受到充分的制约以避免权力滥用。

* Executive authority ensured that: 执政权威确保：

(a) wealthy people invested in productive processes to safeguard and expand their wealth and 财富阶层能够投资于生产过程来保障和扩大自己的财富；

(b) wages in line with productivity increases and social claims on the state in line with state resources 工资水平与生产率增长相符合，社会诉求与国家资源相符合。

- * Executive authority was limited, or kept from abusing its power: **执政权威是受到制约的，或者是被防止权力滥用的：**
- **China was surrounded by a hostile international community** and needed to deliver success or see its government lose legitimacy among peasants, workers and professionals. **在国际社会上，中国处于不利的国际环境中，它需要获得成功，否则就会在农民、工人和专业人员中失去政府合法性。**
 - **Inclusiveness of the Chinese ruling party** has ensured that dissenting voices could react to the worst abuses of executive power when they threatened the future of development. **中国执政党的包容性确保了当执政权力的滥用威胁到发展时，反对的声音能够对最恶劣的权力滥用做出回应。**

- **Lower level and middle level cadres of the CCP** have played a central role as interlocutors between the state and the people and vital channels of information from the grassroots to the pinnacle of power in the state. 中国共产党的中层干部和基层干部作为国家与人民之间的对话者和信息上传下达的重要渠道而发挥着关键作用。

- What has been decisive is **not the particular form of political organisation**, but the way organisation has built effective but limited power within the state. 起决定性作用的不是政治组织的特定形式，而是组织在国家中建立起有效的但权力又受到制约的方式。

Conclusion: Does China provide a model for LDCs?

结论：中国能为欠发达国家提供一个范本吗？

1. Chinese experience does not provide a “template” for the Least Developed Countries to apply, but its experience provides many lessons for addressing the strategic issues of development. 中国的经验并没有为最不发达国家提供一个可以应用的“模板”，但是它的经历为解决发展面临的许多战略问题提供了很多经验。
2. China provides vital lessons for the management of agriculture, manufacturing, natural resources and finance in ways that promote economic growth and human development. 在对农业、制造业、自然资源和金融业进行管理、以促进经济增长和人类发展方面，中国提供了重要的经验。

3. China's experience shows how important it is to create effective but limited executive authority within the state. 中国的经验展现了在国家中建立一个有效的、同时又受到制约的执政权威的重要性。
4. China's experience suggests that focusing on developing production is more promising than focusing on MDGs limited to social welfare programmes. 中国的经验表明，发展生产要比关注千年发展目标所要求的社会福利项目前景更美好。