# 后发优势理论 与经济赶超战略

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### 内 容 提 要

世界经济史是一部发展不平衡、后进国家赶超先进国 家的历史,其理论依据是后发优势理论。较早研究后发优 势理论的是美国经济史学家格申克龙。但他的研究是在 英国以及欧洲大陆发达地区经济发展史的延长线上展开 的,研究对象仅限于比英国工业化起步时间较晚、经济发 展较为落后的欧洲国家。随着经济发展和历史变迁,尤其 是第二次世界大战(以下简称二战)后,一批发展中国家迅 速崛起并实现了工业化赶超,格申克龙"后发优势说"不能 完全解释这些现象,亟待发展和完善。本文关于后发优势 和经济赶超理论的研究,时间段截取二战后半个世纪以来 的历史, 以先进国家作为对比和参照, 目的是为当今的发 展中国家和地区,尤其是中国赶超发达国家提供理论支 持。研究对象以实现了工业化赶超的日本和"亚洲四小" 为重点,同时涉及前苏联、东欧、拉美、东盟以及中东、非 洲等发展中国家和地区。为了保证理论框架的完整性、本 文没有采用先阐释理论,再进行案例分析的论证方法,而 是将事实和案例揉进理论分析的过程中,使理论分析与案 例分析有机地结合起来。

战后发展经济学主要关注的是发展中国家贫困的原因 及其克服的办法,对发展中国家如何赶超发达国家,由 于受时代的限制,讨论得很少。经济全球化的迅速发展,为

发展中国家赶超发达国家提供了难得的历史机遇,关于经 济赶超的研究也开始增加,国内外学术界关于二战后发展 中国家和地区经济发展的国别研究不胜枚举。然而,对于 经济赶超的理论依据——后发优势的确切内涵似乎从未 给予过清楚阐释,关于后进国家实施经济赶超的一般规 律性研究也并不多见。落后国家要实现对先进国家的赶 超,首要条件是克服自身劣势,突破传统社会的束缚。早 在20世纪50年代,美国经济史学家罗斯托就提出了"起 飞"理论。起飞理论的核心内容是一国要实现经济起飞,应 主要依靠内部资源积累和自身动力。但是,在经济发展不 平衡的世界体系中,后进国家如果仅仅依靠自身内部资源 的积累而希望尽快实现经济起飞将十分困难。通过对后发 优势的概念解析以及对经济赶超一般规律的剖析,我们得 出的一个结论是:发展中国家要实现快速的经济起飞并最 终实现赶超目标、除了主要依靠自身内部积累外、还必须 借助外部动力: 而借助外力是有风险的, 只有将外部动力 转化为内部动力,才能在化解风险的同时,为经济追赶提 供持续的可靠动力。

本文前三章是关于后发优势的理论分析,通过分析构建起作为经济赶超理论依据的后发优势理论的框架,从而为进一步研究和构建经济赶超理论奠定基础。第四章到第七章是关于经济赶超规律的研究,揭示了后进国家进行经济赶超的战略性框架,是"后发优势战略"的具体应用。

第一章在后发优势的理论溯源中,着重进行了理论分析。由于后发优势理论是关于落后国家经济发展的问题,故首先从发展理论的渊源追溯了后发优势理论的渊源,比较了"后发优势理论"与"比较优势理论"的异同;由于后发优势理论还是关于后进国家加快经济增长的

问题,故在分析增长理论的演进中,还比较了"后发优势理论"与"经济趋同假说"的异同;由于本文关注的是二战后发展中国家和地区利用后发优势进行经济赶超的问题,故有必要从后发优势视角透视发展经济学的演化,从而把握发展经济学的内涵;最后,关于后发优势理论的溯源和分析聚焦于马克思主义关于社会跨越的理论,从中探求后发优势理论的精髓。

第二章通过将后发优势物化到生产要素中,将其具体化为后进国家所拥有的"资源优化"、"技术跨越"和"制度捷径"的有利形势,后发优势内涵得以扩展和精确化,使我们能够全方位、多元化地构建和发掘后发优势,更重要的是,使我们在经济追赶过程中能够始终把握最为本质和根本的赶超途径和手段。

第三章通过进一步抽象出各生产要素后发优势的共同特征,进一步分析后发优势作为一种客观存在,具有哪些性质;作为一种动态优势,其演化规律是什么;作为一种系统优势,其作用(实现)机制和构建(构筑)机制是什么。

第四章通过构造"飞船模型"模拟和阐释后进国家利用后发优势实施经济赶超的过程。由于赶超概念的基本内涵是"追赶"和"超越",追赶建立在构筑和利用后发优势的基础上,超越则有赖于不断提升原有的后发优势并创造出新的后发优势;就赶超的基本规律而言,赶超过程也就是后发优势构筑、实现和提升的过程。

第五章通过对经济赶超的行为分析揭示后进国家构筑 后发优势的特征。后发优势的构筑过程实质是资本积累 的过程。社会资本积累是经济赶超的基础,人力资本积累 是经济赶超的前提,物质资本积累是经济赶超的工具和途 径。可见、物质资本积累的过程是经济赶超本身、经济赶 超能否得以实现的关键是人力资本和社会资本的积累,尤其是作为基础性的社会资本的积累。

第六章通过对经济赶超的制度分析例证实现后发优势的制度保障。重点剖析"前苏联模式"的衰退性特征以及"日本模式"的追赶性特征,并对拉美、东亚以及苏东国家和地区的市场化过程进行比较分析。案例分析证明,实现后发优势的制度保障是市场经济体制,要通过经济市场化实现后发优势,必须使后发型市场化具有如下特征:首先,经济市场化必须以保持自身主体性为前提;其次,经济市场化必须在开放经济条件下进行;第三,经济市场化必须以技术升级为目标;最后,经济市场化必须克服"政府作用悖论"。

第七章通过对经济赶超的可持续性分析阐释提升后发 优势的必要性、可能性及其途径。关于经济赶超持续性的 分析,实质是关于后进国家经济增长(经济追赶)动力可持 续性的分析,即关于后发优势的可持续性分析。本章着重 分析了在经济全球化和新经济条件下,东亚地区提升后发 优势和实现经济可持续发展的途径。分析表明,后进国家 必须将技术模仿型后发优势提升为技术创新型后发优势,并将经济发展模式从"追赶型"转变为"赶超型",在 经济追赶过程中,只有以"超越"为目标,才能实现可持 续发展。

本书最后一章对具有中国特色的经济赶超战略和实践进行较为系统的总结和分析。可以将中国的赶超实践分为两个阶段:第一阶段是后发优势战略的非均衡发展阶段;第二阶段是后发优势战略的协调发展阶段,科学发展观是这一阶段实施后发优势战略的指针。

#### **Abstract**

The world economic history is about unbalanced development and the latecomers catching up with and surpassing the first comers. The academic gist of "catching up with and surpassing" is the theory of "advantage of backwardness". The American economic historian Alexander Gerchenkron did theoretic research on the topic at an earlier time, but his research was developed on the extended line of economic development history of Great Britain and developed areas of Europe continent, the research objects were limited only to the European countries. With economic development and histrionic fluxing, especially after the World War Two, some developing countries rapidly grew up and realized industrialization. Gerchenkron's theory of "advantage of backwardness" can't explain completely the phenomena, being desiderated to be developed and completed. In this discourse, the research on the theories of "advantage of backwardness" and "catching up with and surpassing" focuses on the history of the half century after World War Two, with the developed countries as comparison, aiming to provide the theoretic support for the developing countries and areas, especially China to catch up the developed countries. In the case analysis, the dissertation takes Japan and "Asia four litter dragons" as emphases, at the same time, involving developing countries and areas such as former Soviet Russia, East Europe, Latin

America, East Alliance, Middle East, Africa and so on. In order to ensure the integrality of the theoretic framework, the author massages the facts and cases into the theoretic analyzing instead of exploring the theories firstly, then analyzing cases, making theory and case analyzing organized altogether in an order of logic in accord with history.

The development economics after World War Two was focused on the problem of poverty, confined by the era, discussed little on the problem that how developing countries catch up with and surpass the developed countries. With the rapid development of globalization, it provides uncommon chance for developing countries to catch up. Since then, the research on economic catching up with and surpassing have began to increase. The domestic and international academic researches on how one or several special developing countries to catch up are too numerous to be mentioned one by one. However, the exact connotation of "advantage of backwardness", which is the theoretic gist of economic catching up with and surpassing, seems never to be explained clearly; and the research of the general law of catching up with and surpassing is very few. To realize to catch up with and surpass first comers for latecomes all-important condition is to overcome disadvantages and to break the chain to traditional society. As early as 1950's, the American scholar Rostow put forward the theory of "flying-off". The core content is that a country should depend on inner accumulation of resource and self-generating power to realize economic flying-off. However, in the unbalanced world system of economic development, it is very difficult to realize economic flying-off for the latecomers if only depends on self accumulating. A conclusion is drawn from parsing the concept of "advantage of backwardness" and probing into the law of economic catching up with and surpassing that the developing countries and areas should depend on not only self inner accumulation but also external power; while it would be hazard to utilize external power. Only turn external power into inner power, could developing countries and areas realize rapid economic flying-off and eliminate risk.

The first three chapters of the discourse are about theoretic analysis of "advantage of backwardness". In four chapters from 4 to 7, are about theoretic analysis and demonstration on the law of economic catching up with and surpassing. The research of the law demonstrates the strategic framework, being the application of theory of advantage of backwardness.

The first chapter puts stress on theoretical analysis during tracing to the source. Because the theory of "advantage of backwardness" is about economic development of latecomers, the dissertation first compares the theory of "advantage of backwardness" with the theory of "comparative advantage"; because the theory of "advantage of backwardness" is also about economic growth of latecomers, the dissertation then compares the theory of "advantage of backwardness" with the hypothesis of "economic convergence" during analyzing of the evolution of theory of economic growth; because the paper pays attention on the developing countries and areas to catch up with and surpass the developed countries after the World War Two, it is necessary to survey the evolution of development economics from the angle of

"advantage of backwardness" in order to seize the connotation of development economics; in the end, the tracing and analyzing of the theory of "advantage of backwardness" focuses on the theory of Marxist social span, in order to search the theoretic soul of "advantage of backwardness".

The second chapter embodies the "advantage of backward -ness" into product factors, the advantages is concreted into the favorable positions of "optimizing resource", "technology leapfrogging" and "institution shortcut". The connotation of "advantage of backwardness" is expanded and become accurate so that we can construct and unearth the advantage omnidirectionally and completely, and more importantly, it makes us grasp the most essentially underlying approach and means to catch up with and surpass the first comers.

The third chapter abstracts the common feature of "advantage of backwardness" from all sorts of factors, then analyze the characteristics of "advantage of backwardness" being impersonal entity, law of evolution being dynamic advantage, and mechanism being systemic advantage.

The fourth chapter simulates and expounds the process of the latecomers catching up with and surpassing the formers through constructing the "model of shuttle". Because of the basic connotation of "catching up with and surpassing" is "pursuing after" and "surpassing", it should be based on constructing and utilizing advantage of backwardness in order to pursue after, and depend on upgrading primary advantage and creating new advantage to surpass. As far as the basic law of catching up with and surpassing,

it is to construct, realize and upgrade advantage of backwardness.

The fifth chapter expounds the characteristic of constructing of advantage of backwardness through analyzing behavior of catching up and surpassing. The substance of advantage construction is the capital accumulation. The accumulation of social capital is the essential of catching up and surpass; the accumulation of human capital is the presupposition; and the accumulation of physical capital is the vehicle or approach. It is obvious that the process of accumulation of physical capital is the process to catch up and surpass, so the key to catch up are the accumulation of human and social capital, especially the accumulation of social capital.

The sixth chapter illustrates the institutional support to realize advantage of backwardness through institution analysis. The chapter anatomies the decadent characteristic of "USSR model" and the pursuant characteristic of "Japanese model"; and analyzes the process of turning to market economy with comparing Latin America to East Asia and Russia to East Europe countries. It demonstrates that the institutional safeguard to catch up is market economic system; the characteristic of latecomers turning to market in order to catch up with and surpass first comers must be as following: keeping continuity; opening market; upgrading technology; overcoming "paradox of governance".

The seventh chapter expounds the necessity, feasibility and the approaches of upgrading advantage of backwardness through analyzing durative of advantage of backwardness. The essential of durative of catching up and surpass is durative of drive of economic growth, i. e. the durative of advantage of backwardness. This chapter

analyzes the approach of upgrading of advantage of backwardness and realizing continuable development. It demonstrates that the latecomers must upgrade advantage of backwardness from imitational type to innovative type, and turn the economic developmental model from pursuant type to surpass type. During the process of catching up, the latecomers will realize continable development no other than with a goal of "surpassing".

The last chapter summarizes and analyzes the stratagem and practice with Chinese characteristics. The practice of catching up can be divided into two phrases: the first phrase adopted an unbalanced development strategy; the second phrase should adopted concert development strategy, the scientific development strategy will be the pointer.

我曾经有过一个梦想。

那是 1982 年底和 1985 年初, 受教育部委派, 我在法国 巴黎第一大学(索邦大学)和合作学院进修发展经济学和非洲 经济。在浩瀚的知识海洋里,我像海绵一样吸收着在当时被 认为发展经济学前沿的研究成果,时时被大师们所创建的"宏 论"和观点所感动和激动。我崇拜他们、下定决心要在发展 经济学的研究中有所建树。然而,无数事实证明,当将发展 经济学大师的研究成果运用于许多发展中国家时,不仅没有 为这些国家带来经济繁荣,相反却使不少国家的经济发展陷 入停滯不前的泥潭, 甚至跌入无底的深渊。究其原因, 从根 本上来说,发展经济学大师们是站在发达国家立场上来研究 发展中国家经济问题的,按照发达国家的历史经验来指导发 展中国家经济发展. 这种脱离实际的理论在实践中处处碰壁就 不足为怪了。当时,许多发展中国家也正在反思并寻求发展经 济学发展的新方向。我陷入了痛苦的思考, 经过无数不眠之夜 的煎熬,终于认识到只有从立场、观点、方法上进行根本改 造,才是发展经济学发展的惟一出路。于是,一个梦想在我 脑海中产生:运用马克思主义的立场、观点、方法,根据发

展中国家的实际,参考中国经济发展的经验和教训,形成由中国人创建的发展经济学,即马克思主义发展经济学。

回国后不久,我为此在《世界经济》上发表了创建马克 思主义发展经济学的倡议,得到了时任中国社会科学院世界 经济与政治研究所所长浦山同志的好评和鼓励。在他和王怀 宁同志(副所长)的建议和推荐下,我申请了七·五计划国家重 点项目——《发展中国家经济理论和实践》, 带领发展中国家 经济研究室的全体成员对发展经济学进行了深入的剖析●,全面 评价了它的历史贡献和存在的根本缺陷,目的是为马克思主 义发展经济学的建立打好理论基础。不久, 组织上将我调入 中国社会科学院西亚非洲研究所任副所长, 主管非洲问题的 科研管理和外事工作,由此中断了我的发展经济学的研究,但我 仍时时关心着国内外发展经济学研究的新动向。1995年我又 调回世界经济与政治研究所任副所长,先后从事讨外事、科 研、行政等管理工作,但主要从事重大项目的组织工作,并 撰写一些内部报告,完成中央及有关部门的任务。这时,国 内对"赶超发展战略"的争论引起了我的关注●。凑巧的是,侯 高岚成为我的博士生,征得她的同意,将赶超发展战略的研 究作为其博士论文的题目,尝试着将马克思主义发展经济学 的研究引向深入,其任务是在总结发展中国家赶超战略的历 史经验和教训的基础上, 运用马克思主义的立场、观点和方

<sup>●</sup> 当时我任发展中国家经济研究室主任。

<sup>●</sup> 参阅谈世中主编:《中国金融开放的战略抉择》,社会科学文献出版社,2002年,第166~170页。

法阐述发展中国家经济赶超战略的重要性和必要性,并提出发展中国家赶超发展战略的动力机制。

侯高岚勤学、好学,抓紧一切时间收集整理了大量资料,经过创造性思维,最终撰写的博士论文《后发优势理论与赶超战略研究》受到评审小组的好评。委员们认为,论文全文结构完整、布局合理,具有较强的内在逻辑性。作者在详细解析"后发优势"的基础上,全面系统地综述了相关的发展经济学理论,特别是格申克龙的"后发优势说"等理论。同时,从后发优势的机制、经济赶超模型、经济赶超行为分析、经济赶超制度分析、经济赶超的可持续性分析等角度,对东亚、拉美、日本和前苏联等国家和地区的经济赶超进行了实证研究。论文还对中国在新一轮经济赶超中的后发优势战略进行了较为深入的分析。全文前后连贯,有一气呵成之感,文献综述较好,评论细致、深入,具体国别的分析资料丰富,无论是从理论上还是从实践上都会对后发优势理论和赶超战略方面的研究有较强的参考价值。

尤其是论文所提出的"要冲出后发优势陷阱,需从提升后发优势做起,在信息化时代赶超效应最为显著的后发优势是创新型后发优势,这意味着制度转型必须从技术模型性创新体系向技术自主性创新体系转变","要通过经济市场化实现后发优势,从而与经济赶超并进,必须使后发型市场化具有如下特征:首先,经济市场化必须以保持自身主体性为前提。其次,经济市场化必须在开放经济条件下进行。再次,经济市场化必须以技术升级为目标。最后,经济市场化必须克

服政府作用悖论", "在信息化赶超中,提升后发优势则基本上需依靠自身力量,通过制度安排、尤其是构建有效的国家创新体系提升自主性技术创新能力",等等,值得中央有关部门的参考和理论研究工作者的深思。

最值得称赞的是论文提出的"飞船模型"及发展中国家经济起飞和赶超的动力机制等,具有独创性和新意,在理论上多有建树。这不仅反映了作者可贵的理论勇气,更重要的是作者一切从实际出发,既不迷信权威又坚持以理服人的理论探讨的态度,这对于一个年轻学者来说,值得称赞和鼓励。

写到这儿,我感慨万千,庆幸有加。在激动人心的改革和开放中,我贡献了自己的青春和年华。我无愧于这个伟大的时代和党组织的教育和培养。但遗憾的是,由于种种原因,我未能亲手将创建马克思主义发展经济学的梦想变为现实。庆幸的是,现在像侯高岚这样的一代有为青年学者已经成长起来,他们的学识和能力已远远超过我们。我高兴和放心地将创建马克思主义发展经济学的接力棒交给他们,希望他们有一天将我的梦想变为现实。无数的事实已经证明,梦想是人类前进的动力。当然,这是一条漫长而艰苦的道路,也许需要几代人付出毕生的精力和智慧才能实现。只要中国大地仍然飘扬五星红旗,创建马克思主义发展经济学就有希望。让我们举手欢呼中华文明的复兴,迎接马克思主义发展经济学的诞生,这将比获得诺贝尔经济学奖更为珍贵。

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