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Roles and Functions of Governments in the Revitalization of
Traditional Industrial Regions: The Experiences of the European
Union and the Choice of China

赵儒煜 杨振凯 / 著



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摘 要

欧洲是世界工业革命的发源地和摇篮，欧洲工业在世界经济发展的过去和现在都扮演了十分重要的角色。伴随着第一、二次工业革命在欧洲的兴起和迅速传播，在欧洲的资源产地形成了许多工业集聚区，如德国的鲁尔、法国的洛林、英国的中部地区以及意大利的西北工业三角区等等。这些地区曾蜚声全球，在欧洲工业化发展过程中发挥了积极的作用，为欧洲资本主义的发展积累了大量的资本和物质基础。但是，进入 20 世纪 50 年代前后，随着新产业革命的兴起，电子、信息技术的不断普及与应用以及世界能源消费结构的变化，这些地区变得无法适应时代发展，经济开始下滑，并逐渐退出国家经济的主导位置，逐步边缘化为欧盟的问题区和衰退区。在这些老工业区，传统产业不断衰退，失业急速上升，经济增长停步不前，产品竞争力不断下降，环境污染日趋严重，人口流失不断增加。严重的社会问题引起了欧盟和各国的高度重视，自 20 世纪 60 年代起，欧盟各国加快了对这些老工业基地的整治与改造，纷纷采取措施对老工业区进行转型与重振。经过一系列的整治与改造，这些地区发生了巨大的变化，至 20 世纪 70 年代和 80 年代，一些老工业基地又重新焕发新的活力，重新成为国家经济的重要依靠。

欧盟老工业基地改造所取得的成效得益于采取了有效措施，其中包括：对传统产业的大面积调整与改造、对新兴产业的植入与扶持、对中小企业发展的鼎力支持、对环境的有效治理等等；但是，不容忽视的是，在老工业基地的改造过程中，欧盟各国政府发挥了巨大的作用。在老工业基地改造过程中，欧盟各国政府不仅做好老工业基地职工的社会保障、投资改善环境、投资建设基础设施、投资兴建学校等

工作，还成立专门机构为老工业基地制定长期发展规划，此外还投入巨额资金对传统产业进行补贴和技术改造，提供优惠的政策促进中小企业发展和吸引外来投资。可以说，在老工业基地改造过程中，欧盟各国政府发挥了不可替代的作用。

中国东北老工业基地与欧盟老工业基地有许多相同之处，工业是依托资源产业发展起来的，以煤炭、钢铁、重型机械加工等为主体的产业在地区高度聚集，经济一度曾占据国家的重要位置；但是，自改革开放以来，由于传统技术的落后、南部经济的迅速崛起，以及资源的日益枯竭，中国东北老工业基地主要依靠资源类重化工业为主体的经济结构，积重难返，逐渐失去活力，大面积资源类传统产业严重衰退，引发普遍的工业危机。突出表现在：区域经济增长缓慢；失业率不断上升；产品竞争力下滑；社会保障压力增大；环境恶化严重；社会问题十分突出。种种迹象表明，中国东北老工业基地在形成原因、表现特征等方面与欧盟老工业基地十分相似，这就意味着欧盟老工业基地所采取的有效政策，政府发挥的职能作用，都值得中国东北老工业基地学习和借鉴；但是，中国东北老工业基地与欧盟老工业基地又不尽相同。中国东北老工业基地与欧盟老工业基地相比，形成的时期晚，鼎盛时期短，所处的发展阶段低，特别是东北老工业基地是计划经济时期国家集中投资的产物，国有经济在所有制成份中占有很大比重，因而东北老工业基地的经济体制和政府干预经济的做法与欧盟国家有很大差别。这表明，我们在借鉴欧盟老工业基地改造经验的同时，还必须因地制宜。

自 2003 年开始，中国中央政府对东北老工业基地实施了全面振兴的发展战略，加快了改造和振兴的步伐。近三年来，老工业基地改造取得了一定成效，主要有：经济增长速度加快；对外开放进程明显加快；国有企业改组、民营经济发展势头良好；工业结构调整收效显著，优势产业发展进一步得到增强；基础设施建设加快；社会保障工作不断完善；环境治理工作收效明显。然而，许多长期禁锢老工业基地发展的深层次矛盾和影响长远发展的一些问题依然存在。突出表现

在：老工业基地的经济总量不断上升，但在全国的份额却在不断下滑；结构调整进展不大，比例失调问题依然突出；失业率居高不下，失业问题依然突出；环境治理困难重重，压力和挑战依然巨大。这表明，目前所采取的政策和措施大多还停留在治标阶段，没有触及老工业基地衰退的本质症结。

改造老工业基地最关键的问题是找到形成老工业基地衰退的根本机制，以便对症下药。本书通过对欧盟老工业基地衰退机制的研究，探讨老工业基地衰退的共性机制，提出：老工业基地整个产业技术体系的老化，是老工业基地衰退的根本原因。产业技术体系是指在工业生产部门各个产业领域所使用的各种产业技术，因其生产过程中的必然联系而构成的统一的有机整体。产业技术体系是工业部门所有产业技术的集合，这些产业技术因其在工业部门生产过程中的影响范围和程度的不同而分为源技术、主干技术、旁支技术三个层次。在产业技术体系中，源技术具有决定整个产业技术体系本质特征的作用，处于最核心的地位。主干技术则是第二层次的，是源技术在工业部门各产业领域的扩展和延伸。而旁支技术则是第三层次的，它是主干技术的具体化，是具体的物质生产过程中的各种技术的集合。

实际上，历次产业革命变革的都是产业技术体系。所谓产业技术体系变革，是指由于人类认知自然能力的提高、科学研究的进步而引致新的源技术产生，并在新的源技术影响下，主干技术、旁支技术不断出现，逐步构成一个较为完整的产业技术体系的过程。这也就是产业革命的过程。正是由于新的源技术不断涌现，产业技术体系不断变革，形成了产业技术体系的不同周期。当一种源技术由初创、成长到成熟，再到没落，完成一个生命周期的时候，产业技术体系也同时形成了一个轮回。产业技术体系的没落不仅仅是个别产业的衰退和没落，而是一系列产业的连锁反应。

欧盟及世界其他地区老工业基地的衰退正是由于 20 世纪 50 年代至 60 年代第三次工业革命的蓬勃发展，以微电子、新材料、新能源、生物工程、海洋工程为源技术的产业技术体系完全淘汰了以蒸汽机技

术为源技术的产业技术体系所导致的。廉价的新能源彻底摧毁了煤炭产业的工业基础，引发以煤炭产业为基础的整体产业链条的断裂。所以，20 世纪 50 年代后期产业技术体系的变革才是欧盟及世界其他地区老工业基地迅速由辉煌步入衰退的根本原因。因此，改造老工业基地必须变革老工业基地的产业技术体系。

本书以产业技术体系变革的规律为主线，通过分析欧盟老工业基地衰退的原因和机制、改造的方法与措施、政府的角色与作用等问题，从中汲取欧盟老工业基地改造与振兴的成功经验与做法。在此基础上，通过分析中国东北老工业基地与欧盟老工业基地的共性与差异，结合中国东北老工业基地的实际情况，提出中国东北老工业基地改造与振兴应有的发展方向，政府在此战略方向下应如何确定自己的角色与定位，应发挥怎样的功能。

关键词：产业技术体系变革；欧盟老工业基地；改造与振兴；政府作用；中国东北老工业基地；异同比较；政府角色与定位。

Abstract

Europe is the birthplace and the cradle of industrial revolutions. European industries have played a very important role in the development of the world economy. Along with the rising and rapid spreading of the first and second industrial revolutions in the Europe, many industrial agglomerative regions were formed at places where there were rich resources, such as Germany's Ruhr, France's Lorraine, Britain's central region and northwest industrial triangle of Italy. These areas had been renowned worldwide, had played an active role in the industrialization of Europe, and had accumulated rich capital, laid solid material foundation for the development of capitalism in Europe. However, around the 1950's, new industrial revolution appeared. New industries such as electronics and information technology emerged and got popularized. World energy consumption structure changed too. As these industrial regions could not adapt to the new changes, their economy declined gradually. They lost the leading position in their national economies, and became problem regions and recession regions. In those old industrial regions, traditional industries decayed, unemployment hovered up, economic growth stagnated, product competitiveness went down, environmental pollution got serious, population migration continued. Those problems attracted the attention of countries in the European Union. Since the 1960's, countries in the European Union accelerated the renovation and transformation of the old industrial regions. They took measures to revitalize those regions. Great chan-

ges took place after the reforms. In the 1970's and 1980's, some of those regions recovered from the recession and regained dominant positions in the national economies.

The revitalization of the old industrial regions should be contributed to the effective policy measures which include: the reconstructuring and transformation of traditional industries, the implantation of and support to new industries; the development of SMEs, and the improvement of the environment, etc. However, it should not be overlooked that governments had played important roles in the transformation of the old industrial bases. They improved social security systems, investment environment, and social infrastructure; invested in the construction of schools; set up special agencies to make out long-term development planning; invested huge sums of money to give subsidy to and transform technologically traditional industries; provided preferential policies to promote the development of SMEs and attract foreign investment. It can be said that in the transformation of the old industrial regions in EU, governments have played irreplaceable roles.

There are many similarities between the old industrial base of Northeastern China and the old industrial regions in the EU, for example, the industries were developed on the basis of natural resources; coal, iron and steel, heavy machinery industries which are the main industries in the region highly agglomerated; the economy of the region had ever occupied an important position in the national economy. However, since the reform and opening up, as traditional technology drops behind, the economy of the south rises rapidly, and the resources in Northeastern China are exhausting day by day; the old industrial base of Northeast China whose industries are mainly heavy industries that rely highly on natural resources falls into recession, and loses livingness. The large-scale recession of resource-based indus-

tries triggered industrial crisis. Regional economy grows very slowly; unemployment moves up; product competitiveness declines; social security faces heavy pressure; environmental degradation becomes serious; social problems tend to get severe. This shows that the causes and characters of the old industrial bases of Northeast China are very similar to those of the old industrial regions of the EU, which means that the effective policies adopted by the EU old industrial bases and the roles played by the governments are worthy to be studied by the old industrial base of Northeast China. However, there are many differences between the old industrial bases in Northeast China and the old industrial bases in EU. The old industrial base of Northeast China formed later; its peak period lasted shorter; and its level of economic development is lower compared to the old industrial regions in EU. In addition, the old industrial base of Northeast China is the product of concentrated national investment in the period of planned economy. State-owned enterprises takes up a large proportion in the whole regional economy. As a result, the economic system as well as the policy measures of the old industrial base of Northeast China differ from that of the old industrial regions in EU. So when we refer to the experiences of the transformation of the old industrial regions in EU, we should pay attention to our own conditions.

Since 2003, China's central government has established strategies for the comprehensive revitalization of the old industrial base of Northeast China. This speed up the pace of the transformation of Northeast China. In the past three years, the transformation of the old industrial base of Northeast China has achieved certain results. The economic growth has been accelerated; the level of opening up to the outside world has been upgraded; the restructuring of state-owned enterprises has processed favorably; non-state-owned economy has developed

quickly; the reconstruction of industrial structure has yielded effects; the development of advantage industries has been strengthened; the construction of infrastructure has been quickened, social security system has been improved; environmental governance has been fruitful. However, many long-term problems and deep-seated contradictions that set back the development of the old industrial base still exist. For example, although the economic output of the region is rising, its share in the national economy declines continuously; the structural adjustment has made little progress; unemployment rate keeps high; environmental governance is difficult to be carried out. This indicates that the currently adopted policies and measures are only temporary solutions, they cannot make the old industrial base go out from recession and regain prosperity.

The key to the revitalization of the old industrial base is to find out the mechanism that causes the economic recession of the old industrial base. This book discusses the common depression mechanism for old industrial bases through studying the recession processes of the old industrial bases in EU. The book brings forward that the aging of the industrial technology system is the root cause of the recession of old industrial bases. Industrial technology system refers to the unified organic whole that integrates various industrial technologies adopted in different industrial fields through their interrelated connections in the production process. Industrial technology system aggregates all the industrial technologies in industrial sectors. Those technologies can be divided into three levels according to the scope and extent of their influence in industrial production process: source technology, backbone technology and offset technology. Source technology decides the essential features of the industrial technology system, and plays the very key role in industrial technology system. Backbone technology is on

the second level, and is the expansion and extension of source technology in every industrial field. Offset technology is on the third level. It is a concrete manifestation of backbone technology as well as a collection of various technologies in specific production processes.

In fact, industrial revolution is the radical change of industrial technology system. Industrial technology system revolution is the process in which new source technology is produced as the result of the upgrade of people's ability to understand nature and the progress of scientific research. Under the influence of source technology, backbone technology and offset technology emerge continuously and form gradually a complete industrial technology system. This is also the process of industrial revolution. The emergence of new source technology and the revolution of industrial technology system form a life cycle for industrial technology system. When a source technology is born, grows, matures, dies out to complete a life cycle, industrial technology system also finishes a reincarnation. The falldown of industrial technology system is not the recession of individual industries but the chained reaction of a series of industries.

The recession of old industrial regions in EU as well as the whole world is just the result of the flourishing of the third industrial revolution in the 1950's to 1960's. The new industrial technology system whose source technologies are microelectronics, new materials, new energies, bio-engineering, marine engineering took the place of the old industrial technology system whose source technology is steam engine technology. The cheap new energy completely destroys the base of coal industry, breaks the whole industry chain of coal industry. So it is the revolution of industrial technology system that causes the recession of the old industrial regions in EU and other parts of the world in the late 1950's. Therefore, if we want to successfully transform old in-

dustrial bases, we must change their industrial technology system.

Taking the principle of industry technical system revolutions as the main line, the book analyzes the causes and mechanisms of the recession of the old industrial regions in EU, the methods and measures, and the roles and functions of governments in the transformation of the old industrial regions of EU so as to draw lessons from the transformation. Based on this, the book discusses the similarities and differences between the old industrial base in Northeast China and those in EU, then brings forward suggestions on the transformation and revitalization of the old industrial base of Northeast China, and on the roles and functions of the governments, by taking Northeast China's own conditions into consideration.

Key Words: The revolution of industrial technology system; the old industrial regions of EU; transformation and revitalization; the functions of governments; the old industrial base of Northeastern China; similarities and differences; roles and functions of governments.

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