

Historical
Experience of
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中国工业化 历史经验研究

宋 正◎著

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前言

按照党中央的部署，到2020年的战略机遇期内要实现全面建成小康社会的目标，与此同时，要基本实现工业化。从1949年中华人民共和国成立到2020年，在一个拥有十几亿人口的发展中大国，用70年左右的时间基本实现工业化，这将是载入世界史册的伟大事业。中华人民共和国成立以来，特别是改革开放以来的工业化不仅使中国富强起来，而且全世界也把目光投向中国，国外许多学者、政要、团体纷纷从不同的角度来研究、探讨中国工业化成功背后的原因。作为中国自己，更应当研究中国工业化的经验与教训，因为再有10年时间，中国就要基本实现工业化，在现在这样一个时间点进行工业化经验研究，不是为了歌功颂德，也不是自我陶醉，而是我们应清醒地认识到：中国工业化是基本实现，还不是完全实现；中国工业化的基本实现不是中国现代化的终点，而是一个新的起点；只有认真、科学地总结中国工业化的经验与教训，才能清醒、理性地走好下一步。

毛泽东在论述今天的中国和历史的中国的关系时，指出：“今天的中国是历史的中国的一个发展；我们是马克思主义的历史主义者，我们不应割断历史。”^①中国工业化的历史是从洋务运动开始的，从洋务运动到中华人民共和国成立前，中国工业化经历了晚清时期、北洋政府时期、南京国民政府时期三个阶段，在这长达80多年的时间里，中国工业化艰难前行，虽有成绩，但没有使中国富强起来，中国仍然在半殖民地半封建社会的深渊中挣扎，其中的原因是什么，这同样需要我们科学、理性地思考，总结其经验与教训。

以史为鉴，可以知兴替，人类毕竟是通过不断地总结历史的经验教训来面对现在和创造未来的。

本书正是在这种背景下，运用经济理论和分析方法，对中国150多年的工业化进行较为系统的研究。通过理论上和史实上的梳理，总

^① 毛泽东：《毛泽东选集》，第2卷，534页，北京，人民出版社，1991。

结了旧中国工业化、中华人民共和国成立后前 30 年的中国工业化、改革开放后的中国工业化的经验与教训，在此基础上，提出了中国工业化应遵循的原则。全书共分为 6 章，主要内容和观点如下：

第 1 章，导论。本章主要阐述了本书的主旨和大体脉络，提出了总领全书的基本概念。第 1 节指出了同为第三世界的拉美国家、东亚国家和中国的工业化，在 20 世纪末却出现了截然不同的结果——拉美国家、东亚国家深陷危机之中，而中国经济则高速增长——是国外特别是西方国家关注中国的重要原因之一。进而提出，面对国外对中国的关注、研究、报道而出现的“中国热”，我们需要冷静思考，认真总结中国 150 多年的工业化经验、教训，绝不能自我陶醉。第 2 节界定了中国工业化的起点并区分了几个容易混淆的概念。第 3 节说明了本书的研究思路、研究方法、研究框架和创新之处。

第 2 章，工业化理论综述。本章主要是围绕中国工业化经验这一主题，选择与其相关的文献进行回顾。首先概述了二元经济增长理论，分析了促使经济增长的诸因素以及各个因素促使经济增长的机制和过程。其次介绍了经济增长阶段理论，指出工业化的不同阶段促使经济增长的各因素的贡献率是不同的，根据已完成工业化国家的发展经验，在工业化的前期，劳动、资本、资源对经济发展的贡献率大；而在工业化的后期，技术进步、人力资本对工业化的贡献率大。最后通过对经济增长因素分析理论的回顾，认为对于那些正在进行工业化的发展中国家而言，制度创新尤为重要，因为这些国家经济增长的主要障碍是现行的经济制度。这些国家要想较快地实现工业化，必须对经济制度进行改革，通过改革解除束缚要素发展的制度障碍，从根本上实现经济增长。

第 3 章，旧中国的工业化。本章主要研究和分析了 1861—1949 年中国工业化的经验与教训。第 1 节概括了近代中国人探索中国工业化道路的思想轨迹。第 2 节梳理和分析了旧中国工业化的进程及特点。首先概括分析了晚清时期中国工业化的特点，然后具体分析了晚清时期工业化的两个阶段——1861—1895 年的工业化和 1895—1911 年的工业化——各自的特点。其次分析了北洋政府时期中国工业化的

特点。最后分析了南京国民政府时期工业化的特点。第3节分析阐释了旧中国工业化的成就与水平。本节指出,旧中国的工业化尽管取得了一定的成就,但是与西方发达国家相比,仍然存在着相当大的差距。第4节总结旧中国工业化的经验与教训,提出没有依靠社会力量、限制私人资本;实行专制统治;工业化与农业发展相脱离;缺乏一个推动工业化的强政府,是旧中国工业化没有成功的重要原因,这也是我们应吸取的经验与教训。

第4章,中华人民共和国前30年的工业化。本章主要论述1949—1978年中国工业化的经验与教训。首先,本章阐述了马克思主义的工业化理论及其在中国的发展。其次,分析了1949—1978年中国工业化的历程与特征。再次,从实践成果、理论成果和存在的失误等三个方面,客观地评价了1949—1978年中国工业化的成就。最后,总结了1949—1978年中国工业化的经验与教训。中国共产党的政策是实现工业化的关键;民族精神是实现工业化的精神动力;必须坚持从国情出发,保持较快的发展速度;必须解决好“三农”问题;慎防政治斗争冲击工业化,是本书对这一阶段的工业化的经验与教训的总结。

第5章,改革开放后的中国工业化。本章总结了改革开放后的中国工业化的经验与教训。第1节论述了马克思主义工业化理论在中国的创新。第2节分析了改革开放后中国工业化的历程与特点。第3节通过纵向和横向比较,归纳分析了改革开放以来中国工业化取得的成就。第4节总结了改革开放后中国工业化的经验,认为构建和谐稳定的社会环境、创造良好的创新环境,推动了中国工业化持续前行;调整产业结构、推动技术创新,实现了工业化又好又快的发展;市场化改革、对外开放使工业增长成为经济发展的强大引擎;城市化推动工业化。第5节分析了中国工业化存在的问题。改革开放后,中国工业化取得的成绩已载入史册,但存在的问题亦不容回避,正视并下决心解决存在的问题,才是正确的选择。第6节总结了中华人民共和国成立以来中国工业化的特点。大国的工业化、和平发展的工业化、以五年计划(规划)为手段组织实施的工业化是中华人民共和国成立以

来中国工业化的显著特征。

第6章，结束语。本章概括了中国工业化应遵循的原则，即人民主权国家原则；人民利益至上原则；集中力量办大事的制度优势与科学、民主的决策和纠错机制相结合的原则。

本书在现有研究成果的基础上，第一次系统地总结了中国自1861年至今150多年的工业化的经验与教训；对旧中国工业化做了大量历史资料的收集和整理，并运用工业化的理论框架进行分析，得出较为客观、公正的结论；本书最后提出中国工业化应遵循的三个原则，并认为其中之一的“集中力量办大事的制度优势与科学、民主的决策和纠错机制相结合的原则”，对中国至为重要。

宋 正

2012年10月

PREFACE

According to the strategic plan made by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), China's industrialization will be basically accomplished when the goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all aspects is attained in the period of strategic opportunities by 2020. The great cause will be passed into world history with glory for the People's Republic of China (PRC), a developing country with a population of more than a billion, to realize industrialization basically in 70 years approximately from her founding in 1949 to the year of 2020. Since the founding of the PRC, especially the introduction of the Reform and Opening-up policy, the industrialization has not only resulted in a prosperous China, but also attracted world attention to it. Many foreign scholars, politicians, and organizations study and discuss from different perspectives the reasons behind China's industrialization success.

So, it is much needed for Chinese scholars to do more in-depth research on the experience and lessons of China's industrialization aiming at maintaining a sober mind of the scenario in 2020 rather than eulogizing somebody or encouraging narcissism, especially on the critical juncture before China would complete its industrialization in the coming decade. And that will be in 2020; China realizes its industrialization basically rather than completely; the realization turns to be a new start point, rather than the finish line. Only a serious and scientific summary on the gains and losses of China's industrialization could guide us go further rationally.

On the relation between "contemporary China" and "the China of the past", Mao Zedong pointed out that: "Contemporary China has grown out of the China of the past; we are Marxist in our historical approach and must not lop off our history." Initiated from the Westernization Movement, China's industrialization has experienced three stages before the founding of

the PRC, i. e. , the stage of the late Qing Dynasty, of the Northern Warlords' Government and of the Nanking National Government. During this period of more than 80 years, China's industrialization has developed with great difficulties and ended up with little achievements. As a result of the process, China was mired, more and more, in the abyss of a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society rather than becoming a prosperous power. Why? A scientific and rational thinking over it is also quite necessary in order to summarize the experience and lessons herein.

Learning from history, one can know the rise and fall. After all, by and only by summarizing the past constantly, could people conduct today's business appropriately and create the future fruitfully.

In the above - mentioned context, this Book studies the China's industrialization history of the past 150 years in a comparatively systematical manner with economic theories and analysis methods. By theoretical and historical review, this Book analyses the experience and lessons of industrialization, respectively, in the Old China, in the first 30 years since the founding of the PRC, and from the introduction of the Reform and Opening-up policy to date. On the basis of these explorations, this Book puts forward the principles that should be followed in China's industrialization process. From the research perspective, the Book is composed of six chapters as follows:

Chapter 1, *Introduction*, which presents the main purpose and general structure of this Book, and defines some key concepts which goes through the full text. Section 1 points out the industrialization of Latin American countries, of East Asian countries and of China resulted in complete difference at the end of the 20th century, even though all of them belong to the Third World. The two formers were trapped in crisis while the latter scored rapid economic growth. This is one of the important reasons for China to be focused on from abroad, in particular, by the Western countries. And this section further points out that we need to think about

PREFACE

calmly and sum up the experience and lessons of industrialization in China nearly 150 years. Section 2 defines and differentiates several confusing concepts. Section 3 states the train of thought, method, framework of this Book and some innovations achieved with it.

Chapter 2, *Basic Theory Review*, which reviews related literature on the experience of China's industrialization. Firstly, this section describes the dualistic economic growth theory, and analyses the economic growth factors. Secondly, this Chapter introduces the theory of economic growth stage, and points out that the contribution rates of each economic growth factor vary in industrialization stages. According to the development experience of industrialized countries, labor, capital and resources make more contributions to economic development in the early stage of industrialization, while technical progress and human recourses record higher contribution rate to industrialization in the late stage of it. Lastly, by reviewing the theory of economic growth factors, this Chapter points out that for those developing countries struggling for industrialization, institutional innovation is particularly important because the main obstacle to the economic growth is the existing economic system practiced in these countries. These countries must reform their economic system to industrialize rapidly. This kind of reform is featured with the removal of systematic obstacles which hamper the development of various factors so as to achieve economic growth fundamentally.

Chapter 3, *The Industrialization in the Old China*, which mainly researches and analyses the experience and lessons of industrialization in China from 1861 to 1949. Section 1 introduces the thought track that modern Chinese explored China's industrialization. Section 2 researches and analyses the process and characteristics of industrialization in the Old China. Firstly, this section analyses the characteristics of industrialization in China in the stage of the late Qing Dynasty in a broad outline, then analyses specifically their respective characteristics of two parts of this period, namely, from 1861

to 1895 and from 1895 to 1911. Secondly, this section analyses the characteristics of industrialization in the stage of the Northern Warlord Government. Lastly, this section analyses the characteristics of industrialization in the stage of Nanking National Government. Section 3 describes the achievements and level of industrialization in the Old China, and points out that considerable gap still existed between China and western developed countries although certain achievements were obtained in this period. Section 4 summaries the experience and lessons of industrialization in the Old China. As a conclusion, the failure of the Old China's industrialization could be ascribed mainly to the following facts: exclusion of social forces, limitation on private capitals; authoritarian political ruling; isolated industrialization from agricultural development; and the lack of a strong government favoring industrialization. Lessons should be drawn from this period of heartbreaking history.

Chapter 4, *Industrialization of the People's Republic of China (1949–1978)*, which discusses the experience and lessons of industrialization in the PRC from 1949 to 1978. Firstly, this chapter describes the Marxism industrialization theory and its development in China. Secondly, this chapter analyses China's industrialization process and characteristics from 1949 to 1978. Thirdly, this chapter evaluates objectively the achievements of industrialization in China in this period from three aspects: practical results, theoretical achievements and existing errors. Lastly, this chapter summarizes the experience and lessons of industrialization in China of this period, including: (1) Correct policies formulated by the CPC were the subjective prerequisites to which China proceeded with its industrialization. (2) The national spirit was an important resource for industrialization. (3) Adherence to the unification of actual conditions and a comparatively high speed. (4) Proper settlement of the issues of agriculture, of rural areas and of peasants. (5) Adherence to the economic development with industrialization at its core.

Chapter 5, *China's Industrialization since China's Reform and Opening-up*, which summarizes the experience and lessons of industrialization in China after the implementation of the Reform and Opening-up policy. Section 1 discusses the innovation of Marxism industrialization theory in China. Section 2 analyses the characteristics and process of industrialization in this period. Section 3 describes the accomplishments of industrialization since China's Reform and Opening-up through vertical and horizontal comparisons. Section 4 summarizes the experience and lessons of industrialization from China's Reform and Opening-up to date: (1) A harmonious and stable social environment which encouraged innovations pushed forward China's industrialization. (2) Adjustments of industrial structure and realization of technological improvements led to the sound and fast development of industrialization. (3) Market-oriented reforms and opening-to-outside-world policy made way for industrial growth to function as a powerful engine of economic development. (4) Urbanization promoted industrialization. Section 5 analyses the problems existing in China's industrialization. The achievements of China's industrialization already have been gone down in history, but the problems in the process can not be avoided. The only proper course to take is to face them squarely and solve them thoroughly. Section 6 summarizes the characteristics of China's industrialization since the founding of the PRC: industrialization in a big country, industrialization featuring peaceful development, industrialization by carrying out the Five-Year Plan as the main means.

Chapter 6, *Conclusion*. The chapter summarizes the principles that should be followed in the process of China's industrialization: (1) The principle of the people's national sovereignty. (2) The principle of the people's interests first. (3) The principle of combination of the institutional advantages characterized by concentrating resources to accomplish large undertakings and the mechanism consisted of scientific

and democratic policymaking and error-correction.

The Book systematically summaries experience and lessons of China's industrialization since 1861 firstly. And the Book does a great deal of historical material collection on Old China's industrialization, applies analysis framework of the industrialization theory and comes to a more objective and fair conclusion. At last the Book submits three principles that should be followed in China's industrialization, and "the principle of combination of the institutional advantages characterized by concentrating resources to accomplish large undertakings and the mechanism consisted of scientific and democratic policymaking and error-correction" is essential to China's industrialization.

Song Zheng

October 2012

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