

认知中国系列



A Concise History  
of Chinese Economy

# 中国经济

周 顺 丁桢杰 王 瑶 丁常昕 编著



复旦大学出版社

认知中国系列

# 中国经济

周 顺 丁桢杰 王 瑶 丁常昕 编著

A Concise History  
of Chinese Economy

 复旦大学出版社

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

中国经济/周顺等编著. —上海:复旦大学出版社,2016. 11

(认知中国系列)

ISBN 978-7-309-12355-5

I. 中… II. 周… III. 中国经济-英文 IV. F12

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2016)第 136701 号

中国经济

周 顺 丁桢杰 王 瑶 丁常昕 编著

责任编辑/庄彩云

复旦大学出版社有限公司出版发行

上海市国权路 579 号 邮编:200433

网址:fupnet@fudanpress.com <http://www.fudanpress.com>

门市零售:86-21-65642857 团体订购:86-21-65118853

外埠邮购:86-21-65109143

江苏省句容市排印厂

开本 787×960 1/16 印张 18.75 字数 339 千

2016 年 11 月第 1 版第 1 次印刷

ISBN 978-7-309-12355-5/F·2280

定价:39.00 元

---

如有印装质量问题,请向复旦大学出版社有限公司发行部调换。

版权所有 侵权必究

# 前言

中国是一个历史悠久、幅员广大的国家。与世界上各大古文明相比，中国是唯一一个经历了数千年之久，而历史与文化未曾中断的国家。现代中国尽管在科学技术上有很大进步，但人们依然用筷子吃饭，饮食的形式与内容也与祖先一致。中国人的文字与语言历经变迁，保留了传统的样式，这使得人们可以阅读几千年前的文献。这种历史与文化的延续性深深影响着今日中国人生活中的每一个方面。

就经济而言，也是如此。中国人目前对于财富的看法、对资源的态度、消费的观念、市场的实践，无不深受过去历史的浸淫。尽管当代的中国人穿着与世界上其他地方人一样的衣服鞋子、开着一样的车子、使用着一样的移动电话与笔记本电脑，但是在大脑层的最深处，总是有一些流传了数千年之久的经济基因，不时迸发出中国式的想法。这些留存在中国人深层意识中的经济思想对于当代中国人的行为依然有着积极的指导作用。

我们希望本书能够让阅读者理解今天中国人的经济行为的原始动因以及深层理由。仅仅通过一本书要将中国几千年的经济演变讲清楚、说明白是一件“不可能的任务”！但是，我们还是希望穿透历史的迷雾、通过具体的数据、可视的图片，让阅读者能够身临其境。

在章节的安排上，第一章，我们先从疆域、自然地理、统一的市场、人口的融合等客观历史条件方面来说明中国的特殊性，以及这些特殊性质对于中国经济的巨大影响。其次，时间轴也是探索这一问题的重要线索；第二章，我们从中国历史上“游牧民族与农业民族”入手，试图阐释地理环境的差异对于人类经济行为乃至历史演进所产生的巨大影响；第三章，一种更具有“中国特色”的历史分析被引入本书，即从“中华帝国”的角度来理解一个伟大的国家，透过“众志成城”的力量，寻找经济发展上的伟大成绩；第四章，我们把目光从中国自身转向周边，探寻在工业革命之前的那个世界，中国在全球化进程中扮演的重要角色，以及通过对外贸易对世界的影响。

近代资本主义与帝国主义的扩张，给中国这一“远方的帝国”留下了惨痛与沉重的回忆，这些回忆仍然时时刻刻刺激着当代中国人敏感而脆弱的自尊心，我们将在第五章从经济的角度来追寻这一段历史的印记；自1911年开始，至1953年朝鲜战争结束，中国没有一年不在战火中求生，战争不仅扭曲了政治，也对于中国经济产生了深刻的影响，本书在第六章回顾了这一段痛苦的历史；自中华人民共和国

国建立,苏联的影响就深深植入新生共和国的脊髓中,“计划经济”、“斯大林模式”一连串社会主义模式的经济政策为中华人民共和国的现代化奠定了重要的基础,我们将在第七章回顾这一段历史;当然,我们也不能忘记1980年以来的这三十多年,在改革开放的春风下,中国的经济政策又一次发生巨大的转向,中国开始富裕了,但也存在着许多的问题,我们将在第八章做一梳理与检讨。

本书由周顺、丁桢杰、王瑶、丁常昕共同完成。成书过程中,大家分工合作,协调无间,如果本书还有任何小小的学术价值,当归功于上述的诸位女士和先生。当然,这样一部历史跨度巨大的著作,任何的错误或偏差将在所难免,期待方家指教。

作者 谨识

2016年5月于上海青浦



# Contents

## Part One: Chinese Economy in Ancient Times

### Chapter One Geographic Environment and Its Influences on the Chinese Economy ..... 2

- Section 1 Territory, Natural Environment and Geographic Features ..... 4
- Section 2 Climate, History and Culture ..... 12
- Section 3 Population and Market ..... 21

### Chapter Two Rivalry Between the Agricultural Community and the Nomadic Tribes ..... 33

- Section 1 The Great Wall: a Division Between the Agricultural Area and the Nomadic Area ..... 35
- Section 2 The Imperial China, Controlled Alternately by the Nomadic and Agricultural Nationalities ..... 43
- Section 3 Frontier Trades, Tributes, Wars and Plunders ..... 53

### Chapter Three A Vital Artery of the Empire :The Grand Canal ..... 66

- Section 1 The Separation of Political Center and Economic Center ..... 67
- Section 2 How Southern Agriculture Supported Northern Economy ..... 71
- Section 3 Water Projects ..... 75

### Chapter Four The Once Neglected Marine Trade ..... 104

- Section 1 The Pro-agriculture Culture ..... 106
- Section 2 State Monopoly, Businessmen and Bandits ..... 117
- Section 3 Marine Silk Road, Spread of Chinese Civilization, and Tributary System ..... 135

## Part Two: From Qing Dynasty to Republic of China

<b>Chapter Five</b>	<b>Colonial Chinese Economy</b>	148
Section 1	The Clash Between the Tribute System and Colonization	151
Section 2	Opium, Foreign Capital Inflow and Military Invasions	157
Section 3	Foreign Concessions and Foreign Goods	171
Section 4	Chinese National Capitalists	178
<b>Chapter Six</b>	<b>Influence of Wars on the Economy</b>	188
Section 1	Struggle Among Warlords and Its Influence on the Chinese Economy	189
Section 2	World War I and the Great Depression	199
Section 3	World War II and Its Devastation for China	209
Section 4	The Chinese Civil War and Its Influence on the Chinese Economy	217

## Part Three: Economy of the People's Republic of China

<b>Chapter Seven</b>	<b>Planned Economy and a Painful Transition</b>	224
Section 1	The Soviet Model and Socialist Transformation	225
Section 2	The "Great Leap Forward" and the "Cultural Revolution"	237
Section 3	From Dual System to Special Economic Zones	248
<b>Chapter Eight</b>	<b>Rapid Development and Future Challenges</b>	258
Section 1	The Stock and the Housing Markets	259
Section 2	The Shadow of Economic Crisis	267
Section 3	Population and Aging	273
Section 4	The Wealth Gap and Urbanization	282
<b>References</b>		290

## **Part One: Chinese Economy in Ancient Times**

- Chapter One Geographic Environment and Its Influences on the Chinese Economy
  - Chapter Two Rivalry Between the Agricultural Community and the Nomadic Tribes
  - Chapter Three A Vital Artery of the Empire: The Grand Canal
  - Chapter Four The Once Neglected Marine Trade
-



# Chapter One

## Geographic Environment and Its Influences on the Chinese Economy

中国经济的发展与国家的自然地理、气候人口等因素密不可分。中国的地形基本呈西高东低之势。东面大海,向西递增式攀升,最终连接到世界屋脊喜马拉雅山脉。主要河流,如黄河、长江都呈现东西流向,将中国的疆域由南向北划分成若干区域。为了解决南北交通的问题,中国在不同时代修筑了多条贯通南北的运河,借由水运的方式解决南北货物运输的困难,同时也支持了对于南方与北方的军事行动。

地理环境限制着中原汉民族的迁徙与流动,阻断了北方游牧民族的南下,也限制了中国人迈向世界的步伐。航海的高风险使得汉民族止步于太平洋之滨。可以说,在很早之前,中国就将自身扩展到政治学意义上的“自然疆界”的边缘之地,奠定了现代国界的基础。

中国的经济发展受到气候的制约非常明显。地球的纬度、地势的高低、距离大海的距离、季风的风向、地球周期性的温度变化等等因素都会导致气候的剧烈变化。以地形来说,中国东南方的高原与峡谷,在谷底为热带气候,随着高度渐渐上升,温度渐渐降低,则变成亚热带气候。再往上则为温带气候,更高的地方则为寒带气候。不同的气候区域带来不同的自然景观,与之相关的也带来了农业、牧业、人种等等的不同变化。生活在特定气候区域的人们受限于环境的制约,从事着与之相应的经济活动。其中,农业就是最显著的例子。中国早期的农耕时代,常见的农作物被称为五谷——“麻、黍、稷、麦、菽”——也就是常见的芝麻、黄米、小米、小麦、大豆。受限于气候的制约,越往东、往南就越温暖、越潮湿,前述的五种作物已经不能充分适应气候的变化。因而产量更高的稻米就成为长江以南区域的主要粮食作物。中国人种植水稻也有悠久的历史。从

浙江河姆渡、湖南罗家角、河南贾湖出土的炭化稻谷证实,远从新石器时代以来,中国的稻作栽培至少已有 7000 年以上的历史,是世界栽培稻起源地之一。

在其他少数民族地区,人们经营生活的方式则不尽相同。青藏高原的藏族,由于高原地区的自然环境与平原地区有很大的差异,他们也因此过着半农半牧的生活,同时信仰着与汉人不同的佛教分支——喇嘛教。内蒙古地区的蒙古族,由于生活的地区处于草原地带,缺乏足够的灌溉水源无法农耕,因此只能过着放牧牛羊的畜牧生活,他们信仰的喇嘛教也与西藏的喇嘛教有所差异,并且拥有自己的活佛。

随着民族国家的建立,以及交通的便捷与政治性移民等因素,中国民族融合的速度加剧进行。汉族文化一方面逐渐吸收了其他民族的文化内容,同时也代表了中国这个国家的主流文化,并以“中华文化”的名义将中国各个少数民族融合在一起。我们可以想象,在一个比目前欧洲面积大百分之四十的地方,人口大约是欧洲两倍的情况下,这里的人们使用相同的语言,受过基本相同的教育,拥有着大致接近的国家认同,会形成一个多么巨大的市场。而这个市场只有一个名称——“中国”!

尽管中国与世界的贸易有着非常悠久的历史,但中国对外贸易的发展却与我们的想象不同,主要是由周边陆上的游牧民族与海上的帆船贸易倒逼形成。在更多的时候,中国对于周边的贸易与安抚少数民族政策混合在一起,采取“羁縻”政策,即所谓的“厚往迎来”。后代的学者将这种上对下的交往关系称为“朝贡体系”。与官方的保守态度截然相反,民间的贸易却是屡禁不绝。民间的贸易主要来源于几个不同方向,即向西的陆上骆驼贸易与向东的海上帆船贸易以及向西南的马背贸易。前两条被称为“丝绸之路”与“海上丝绸之路”,后一条被称为“茶马古道”。

China has a long history and vast expanse of land. Compared to other ancient civilizations of the world, China is the only one with an uninterrupted history and culture. The history of culture made current China uniquely different from other countries. In this globalized world where the popular cultures of the world develop so rapidly and transcend all boundaries, one still cannot overlook the profound impact of the deep-rooted historical and cultural factors on modern Chinese economy. Those intangible factors greatly influenced the belief, value systems, ways of life or even every single action of Chinese people. Nowadays, Chinese people are wearing the

same clothes, driving the same cars and using the same cell phones and laptops as the rest of the world are, yet deep down inside their hearts, there are certain distinctive heritages that have been passed on from generation to generation for thousands of years. Many Chinese ways of thinking that arise from those heritages can only be comprehended by the Chinese themselves.

Compared to the ancient Chinese, those modern people enjoy much progress of science and technology, suffer from much aggravated pollutions, dress and live in much different ways. On the other hand, Chinese still dine with chopsticks and their recipes have not changed much from those of their ancestors. The same phenomenon is even more eminent in terms of culture. Chinese people communicate in a similar language to their ancestors' thousands of years ago, which makes it quite easy for them to understand ancient documents and records. Traces of the long lasting ways of thinking can be found in almost every aspect of Chinese people's lives. From an economic perspective, Chinese people's understandings of wealth, resource, consumption and practices of market are also results of history. The development of a country's history is closely related to its geographic environment. The following chapters will discuss China's territory, natural environment and geographic features, unified market, and fusion of population as well as their influences on Chinese economy.

## Section 1 Territory, Natural Environment and Geographic Features

China has over 3,000 years of recorded history. Due to the long history, China's territory varied a lot in different stages. China expanded when it was strong and shrank when it was weak. China was not vast at the beginning, yet it grew over time and has become significantly big long ago. When the Qin Dynasty unified China for the first time in history, China's territory was 3.54 million square kilometers. The historical peak was during the Mongolia Empire, in which China's territory covers much of both Asia and Europe, reaching an astounding 21.22 million square kilometers. Currently, China's territory is 14.7 million square kilometers (including sea area, land area is around 9.6 million square kilometers). To give you a more solid impression, let's compare China with Europe. When China was unified first time in history by Qin Dynasty, its territory was 3.54 million square kilometers, or



six times that of France (0.55 million square kilometers). In 683 AD, when the Tang Dynasty was at its prime, China was bigger than the entire Europe (10.16 million square kilometers). Besides vast territory, China also boasts a huge population. During the Song Dynasty, which was over 1,000 years ago, China's population had already exceeded 100 million. The population of current China is 1.35 billion while that of Europe is only 728 million, which means there are twice as many Chinese as Europeans. Considering the complicatedness of Europe, one can imagine that it is very hard to depict current China, which is 40% bigger in terms of territory.

The current territory of China was mainly determined gradually during the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912 AD). From the 17th century on, the concept of sovereign states came into being in Europe. The concept defined clearly determined territory an essential part of nation states. Therefore, national boundaries became an integral part of territorial consolidation. Many countries started setting national borders and drafting treaties to clearly state the rights and obligations of countries on either side of the borders. Unfortunately, China's border became clear as a result of foreign aggressions and land concessions as compensation of wars during the late Qing Dynasty. However, the determining of borderlines also brought with itself a series of problems. Before the Qing Dynasty, China's border was mainly dependant on boundaries between the realms of the agricultural people and the nomads. This boundary was unstable, often strongly influenced by global climate changes, as well as the military strength of the agricultural people and the nomads. When the agricultural people living on the Central Plains are stronger, the boundary would move towards the nomadic areas. Otherwise, the boundary would move towards the agricultural areas. The historical changes of national boundaries during the Han Dynasty and the Ming Dynasty were telling examples of such rules. However, there were extreme occasions, when the nomads were on their primes, they would become the masters of the Central Plains and establish dynasties of great strength. On those occasions, the border of China was no longer the boundary between the agricultural people and the nomads. Rather, it became the farthest the nomads in power could reach. The Sui Dynasty, Tang Dynasty, Yuan Dynasty and Qing Dynasty in China's history were all unified empires established by nomads who conquered the Central Plains. Because of the broader visions and vast territories of the nomads, the traffic systems in their empires were usually highly developed. If we focus on land traffic, we may find that the Silk Roads linking the east and the west were most traveled during the Tang and Yuan Dynasties. The grottos of Dunhuang, as well

as Marco Polo's travelogues manifested the positive influences of unified empires on commerce.

Since the Ming Dynasty of China (16th Century), because of the rise of Muslims in the near east, the vast Arab Empire blocked the land traffic between Europe and Asia. Therefore, sea routes greatly developed. With the emergence of spice trades (spices were mainly produced on islands around the Indian Ocean), a new trade route also appeared on the sea, which led to many geographic new findings and the expansion of sea trades between the east and the west. Guangzhou and Quanzhou became the busiest sea ports of China from which China's specialties (tea, chinaware) were exported overseas. At the same time, because of pressures caused by population growths, lots of Chinese (mainly of the Han people) started emigrations. During that stage, Taiwan, Southeast Asia (Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand and Vietnam) became popular destinations. Also, increase of sea trades inevitably caused issues around development of and sovereignty over islands. China's development of neighboring islands (such as Taiwan, Diaoyu Islands and Ryukyu Islands) as well as expansion of China's sea territory (such as the South China Sea) started around that period.

In spite of China's vast territory, the understanding of territory by ancient Chinese, compared to that of Chinese nowadays, was very much different. The ancient Chinese used to believe that territories could expand and shrink rather easily. For long, the Chinese were open to sacrificing parts of their territory and offering them to neighboring smaller countries that were willing to hail China as their protector and leader so as to achieve its political goal, which is to maintain regional peace and to claim itself as "recognized leader of the world." For China, recognition from neighboring smaller countries was a greater national interest, worth sacrificing parts of its territory for. This notion affects China so profoundly that during the Sino-Indian Border Conflicts, China compromised on borderline issues so as to achieve peace with its neighboring country. Still, this notion of territory cannot keep up with the age of sovereign nation states. During the Qing Dynasty, because of lacking in modern notion of territory, China frequently ceded vast pieces of land to overseas powers in the form of unequal treaties. Lacking in modern notion of territory also caused unclear borderline with many neighboring countries. Determination of borderlines was often based on actual occupation and historical customs. China's borderline around uninhabited areas and areas with complicated geographic features were usually very



vague. China only started determining its borderline and measurement of its territory during the 20th Century, after the modern notion of territory was imported. Till now, there are still lots of territorial disputes between China and its neighboring countries, which frequently influence their relationships. The political territorial disputes also have much impact on the economy. The dispute over Diaoyu Islands between China and Japan greatly affects the sales of Japanese imported goods and authorized Japanese-brand goods produced in China.

Vast territory and huge population means an immense market, as well as great diversity of goods. Meanwhile, in order to ensure smooth flow of commodities in the market, the strong, powerful empire became the most important protector of its market. For thousands of years, people living in China were able to enjoy year round supply of goods and products from all over the empire. Rice produced in southern China could be transported to northern China through canals with much ease. Wheat produced in northern China could be delivered to southern China through similar means. Seafood harvested in the eastern coastal areas preserved with salt could be sent to the west and people from the east could also dress themselves in leathers of cattle and sheep raised in the west. As early as in the Tang Dynasty (over 1,200 years ago), the emperor would order lychee produced in Guangdong and Sichuan to be delivered all the way to the then capital Chang'an (nowadays known as Xi'an), so as to please his concubine. A telling record can be found in the poem written by a poet named Du Mu. It goes, the scene of Chang'an resembled embroiders piled up. Palace gates open one after another. As the rider hustled, stirring up the red dust, the concubine smiled. Who would know that it was because the lychee that she ordered just arrived. Over 1,000 years ago, people could already travel long distances within just a few days, whether it was the 1,700 kilometers between Guangzhou and Xi'an, or the 600 kilometers between Chongqing and Xi'an. The transportation system of the Chinese Empire greatly contributed to its economy.

Table 1.1 Changes in China's Territory

China's Territory in Different Historical Periods		
Dynasty	Time	Area(10,000 square kilometers)
Shang	BC. 1700-1100	Not available
Zhou	BC. 1100-256	Not available

China's Territory in Different Historical Periods		
Dynasty	Time	Area(10,000 square kilometers)
Qin	BC. 221-206	354.69
Western Han	BC. 202-AD. 9	666.37
Eastern Han	AD. 25-220	654.62
Western Jin	AD. 256-316	615.5
Tang(during the reign of Emperor Gao Zong)	AD. 649-683	1,251.19
Tang (during the reign of Emperor Xuan Zong)	AD. 712-756	889.59
Northern Song	AD. 960-1127	450.56
Yuan	AD. 1271-1368	2,122.74
Ming	AD. 1368-1644	1,233.38
Qing	AD. 1644-1912	1,284.65
Republic of China	AD. 1912-1949	1,141.8174

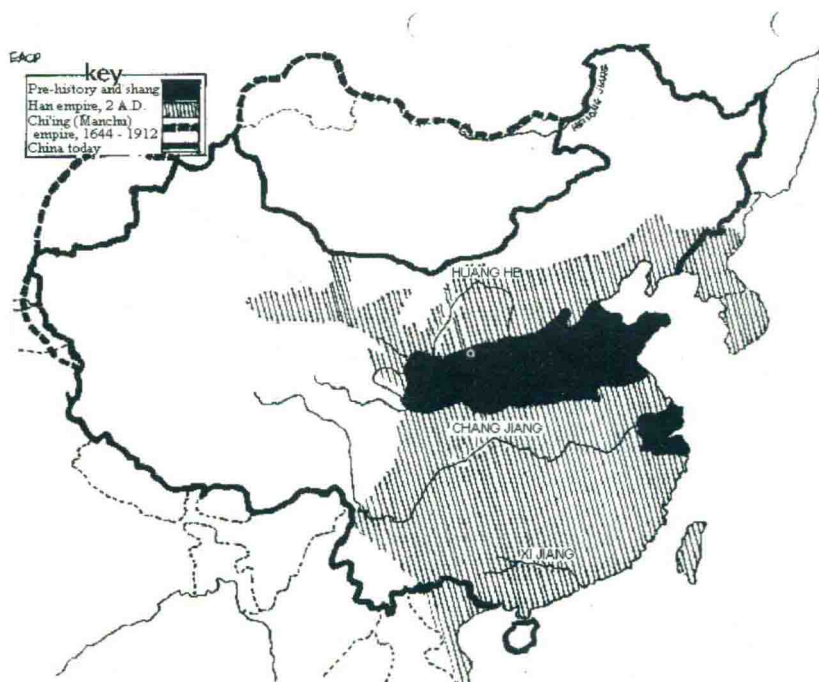


Figure 1.1 Historical Borders of China in Four Periods

In terms of geographic features, China's vast territory displays much variation. Basically, the western part of China is more mountainous, while the eastern part costal and mostly plains. The southwestern part of China is characterized by the world's highest plateau as well as the Himalayas. As a result, most of China's rivers flow from the west to the east. From the north to the east, China is divided into several distinctive areas. The cold northeast China featured low population density and massive forests. It was not developed until quite recently. Massive immigration did not start until around 300 years ago. Nowadays, this area is known for being the habitat of many wild animals, as well as being a highly productive area of grains. North China, or the area to the north of the Yellow River, is characterized by comparatively barren land. Low humidity and desertification are the two features of the western part of this area. Although North China was the major place of origin for the Chinese, after thousands of years of human influence and vegetation deterioration, the upstream of the Yellow River is surrounded by a plateau of yellow sands. Xi'an, a city of thousands of years of history is almost covered by sand. The situation is comparatively better in Beijing and Hebei Province. every year, sandstorms from the Mongolian Plateau attack these areas, covering China's capital with heavy haze. These sandstorms have been mainly caused by overgrazing in these areas since the 20th Century, which cause drastic desertification. Central China, or the area south to the Yellow River and north to the Yangtze River, is mainly plains. This area is also characterized by mild climate, making it the most densely populated area of China. The provinces south to the Yangtze River and facing the pacific are known as East China. The mild climate, strong features of monsoon as well as prosperous agriculture and handicraft have made this area the richest in China since the Qing Dynasty. There is a saying which goes, up in the sky there's the heaven, while down on earth there are Suzhou and Hangzhou. The Pearl River and Minjiang River Basins are known as South China. Geographically, the area is covered by hills, thus not very fit for agricultural productions. Many former residents had to migrate to Southeast Asia, or even America and Australia, making the area homeland of most Chinese emigrants. Southwest China is characterized by steep mountains and deep valleys, making transportations and communications quite hard. Most of China's ethnic minorities live in this area. West China is very far away from the seas. Without nourishment from the sea, the area is covered mostly by deserts.



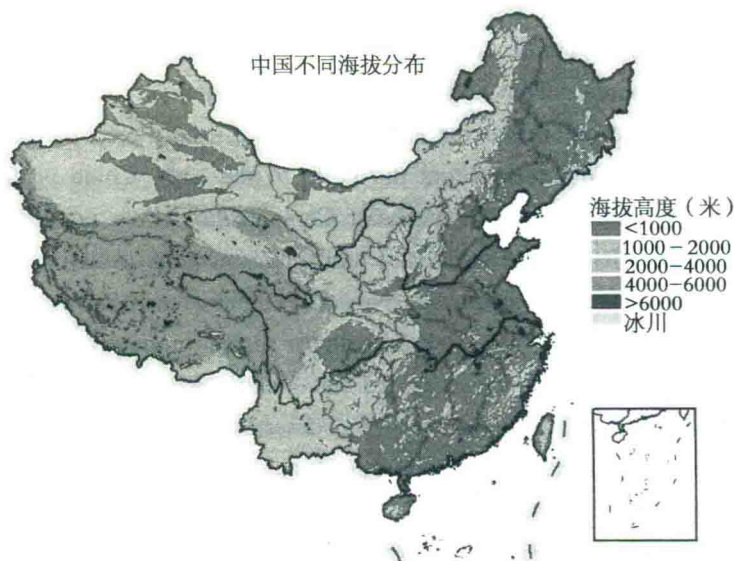


Figure 1.2 Topoline of China

At the same time, China's geographical environment limited the migration and movement of the Han ethnics. Huge rivers flowing from the west to the east make transportations between the north and the south even more difficult. It was often the rivers that prevented or hindered the nomads from moving south. Crossing points and places where rivers converge would often become important transportation hubs and commercial centers. These places have also been of significant military importance since ancient times. Examples include Xiangyang and Fancheng (river crossing points), Wuhan (consisting of Wuchang, Hankou and Hanyang), Chongqin (the Jialing River), Panzhihua City (the Ya-lung River), Yibin (the Minjiang River), Fuling (the Wujiang River), Yichang (where the 3 Gorges end), Yueyang (where the Lake of Dongting joins the Yangtze River), Nanjing (river crossing point, the Qin Huai River), Shanghai (the Huangpu River, close to the mouth of the Yangtze River), Guangzhou along the Pearl River (where 3 rivers converge), Liuzhou (the Liujiang River), Shaoguan (important juncture of both water and land transportations), Huizhou, Jiangmen, Hong Kong (the Pearl River), Macao (the Haojiang River), Dongguan (mouth of the Pearl River), Lanzhou along the Yellow River, Yinchuan (wetland along the Yellow River), Baotou (important for irrigation in the bend of the river), Sanmenxia City, Luoyang (the Luoshui River), Zhenzhou