一产业政策若干理论问 班国产 业论

刘南昌 蓝

著



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强国产业论



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摘 要

按照从实践中来到实践中去的指导思想,本书从对产业政策的两种截然相反的看法出发,通过对我国产业发展环境和理论的剖析,论述了继续实施产业政策和进行理论创新的必要性。通过分析产业发展的规律及其变迁的内在机理,论证了产业政策应关注的基本问题、分析方法、政策工具、传导机制、评价方法,并提出了改善我国产业政策的框架性建议。

当前,我国的产业发展环境正在发生深刻的变化。市场经济已成为全球性的经济体制,试图以计划经济的理论和思路去指导我国的产业政策研究,不仅理论上难以行得通,而且有违改革的方向。贸易的全球化,使建立在各国的供给条件、生产条件不可改变,资源、生产要素不能在国际间流动基础上的比较优势理论受到了挑战,如何在生产要素的流动中构造新

的经济体系,正是产业政策要解决的重点课题。生产体系的全球化、产业组织方式和国际分工体系的变化,投资方式的改变,使跨国界价值链条价值链的构造,成为获得竞争的关键因素。以智力资源为依托,以现代技术为核心,以高技术产业为核社,建立在知识和信息的生产、分配、使用和消费之上的知识。是新为体验,改变了过去那种以资源、资本的总量和进行运行。为发展的模式,使传统的结构转换理论、规模经济理论和产业周期实验,使有效的知识产权开发、保护、转化体系,是提升国家产业的重要基础。加入世界贸易组织,要求政策的制定更加透明、公司、政策操作工具更加符合国际准则,我国传统的产业政策出行理论值的重、数据,政策操作工具更加符合国际准则,我国传统的产业政策的模式、相应地进行调整。粗放的经济增长方式,不仅影响了经济增长质可持续发展带来了隐患。所有这些,要求我们对产业政策进行理论创新。

产业政策理论创新的基础是尊重规律、尊重实际。长期以来,探讨产 业发展的一般规律和产业结构及其质量演变规律是经济学家的一个重要课 题。笔者认为,产业的变迁是由政府、企业、消费者、社会中介机构等共 同参与, 通过资源配置和技术进步, 使产业间效率发生变化的过程。其中 起决定作用的因素有三点:一是资源配置的重点导致不同产业的兴衰,生 产因素导向 (Factor-driven) 驱动初级产业的发展,投资导向 (Investment-driven) 带动产业的快速成长,创新导向(Innovation-driven)是产业 保持长久竞争力的根本动力,一个产业的确立和能否实现竞争优势,最根 本的影响因素也来自于技术进步。二是资源配置的主体不同导致产业效率 的差异。政府依托控制资源分配、产权制度安排、社会救济制度的建设, 可以成为指导繁荣、带动结构变迁和产业升级的力量, 但如果干预过多, 也会减缓甚至破坏生产力的提升。企业是资源配置的主体,企业为追求垄 断利润而开展的重大创新活动,为经济结构的形成和变迁提供了动力源 泉、企业对经济前景的预测直接影响到生产规模和就业、企业的竞争战略 促进产业的演变。三是资源配置地点影响产业的协同效应。有效实施资源 和产业转移, 有助于改变生产要素的禀赋差异, 带动产业的梯度升级。此 外、供求规模、产业集群也对产业发展有较大影响。

如何计量各种因素对产业发展的影响,理论界运用最为广泛的是参数方法,但直接使用实际要素投入和产出数据进行常规拟合,所得到的生产函数反映的只是一定投入要素组合与平均产出量之间的关系,无法描述最优状态下的组合。针对这种情况,笔者借鉴20世纪70年代以后开始兴起

的前沿生产函数或边界生产函数 (Frontier Production Function),以产业的基本生产过程为基础,运用非参数方法,从投入和产出两方面提出了优化的方法,并从动态的角度,对技术进步状态下的生产指数及其分解,建立了测度的基本模型。

运用这一方法, 对我国三次产业的生产效率变化尤其是资源配置的合 理程度进行了测算和实证分析。测算的结果是, 我国农业领域多数年份产 出规模效率和产出纯技术效率都与最优状态存在一定的差距, 表明我国农 业在大多数年份资源配置并不合理。制约农业资源有效配置的主要障碍是 制度约束、政策以及环境和基础设施限制。在工业领域,我国的总体效率 呈上升趋势,但多数地区的资源配置效率不仅没有得到改善,而且是退化 的。 阳碍我 国 资 源 配 置 效 率 提 高 的 主 要 原 因 是 产 业 结 构 " 同 构 化" 和 "低度化",产业集中度低,优势产业"走出去"的步伐进展比较缓慢, 产权制度不完善。与资源配置效率总体上下降不同的是,我国工业领域技 术进步呈现出持续改进和总体大幅度上升的趋势,表明我国技术引进、消 化、吸收的政策和鼓励自主研发的技术创新政策是成功的, 这也是我国 工业竞争力持续提高的根本原因所在。我国第三产业的资源配置效率总 体上呈逐年优化的趋势,无论是产出规模效率还是产出纯技术效率,都 有明显的改善、尤其是2001年以后、基本处于最优状态、说明近年来 通过推进电信、交通、商业等领域的改革,我国第三产业的发展取得了 较好的成绩。

通过以上影响产业发展的关键因素进行的理论和实证分析,我们可以得出这样的结论,即产业政策的基本取向是改善和提高生产效率,其中资源配置效率和技术进步率又是最为关键的环节。但政策要取得预期的效果,产业政策工具的选择,可以说是政策成功的关键。根据我国产业发展环境的变化,在政策工具的选择上,既要重视财政税收、货币信贷等传统工具,但从立足于提高生产效率的角度,有些政策还有待检验,一些往往不被重视的工具也需要重新认识,尤其是一些软政策工具,如政府采购、并购引导、知识产权保护、技术标准等,更应受到重视,关注并运用好这些非传统政策工具,应成为改善产业政策的努力方向。

从某种意义上讲,产业政策的实施效果,是由传导机制的状况、性质及完善程度决定的。传导机制是否顺畅,首先取决于政策主体内部各利益集团目标的一致性,在利益不一致时,博弈是不可避免的。要实现有效的传导,需要完整的执行链、统一的执行保障措施、畅通的信息沟通体系和

有效的监督评价机制。其次,要使企业复归到市场运行主体的位置,增强企业的资金流量或财务约束,提高企业对政府的议价能力。第三,发挥好行业协会等中介组织的作用,维护其自身的独立性、公正性。由于以上因素的欠缺,我国产业政策的执行大打折扣。

我国对产业政策效果的评估还几乎是一项空白。笔者在借鉴国外绩效管理理论的基础上,从事前评估和过程评估两个方面,提出了开展产业政策效果评估的标准方法体系。产业政策的事前评估是针对政策的目标效益、支撑条件和实施环境等进行的评估,其重点是探讨政府实施产业政策的正当性、设定产业政策的目标参数,设计产业政策介入和作用的领域,探讨规制方法和与之相适应的工具。其评估手段可以通过模拟预期收益(社会净收益)和社会成本,计算出相应的净产出,我们将其称之为社会增加值。将社会增加值运用于产业政策的事前评估,可以引导政策制定部门以宏观经济基本目标为基础,重视资本效率,优化资源配置。

政策是否有效,过程评估的作用更为关键。衡量产业政策是否成功,至少有两个标志:一个是资源配置是否合理;一个是科技是否取得进步。进而言之,就是综合生产率是否得到提高。因此,我们认为,运用生产前沿面理论和非参数方法对资源配置效率和劳动生产率的研究方法,也是产业政策过程评估的基本方法。运用这一方法,我们对1993~2003年的汽车行业发展情况进行了测算,从计算结果看,汽车产业政策在2001年前基本是失败的,尤其是在资源配置方面,存在明显的失效。

通过理论的反思和实证研究,我认为,完善我国的产业政策,首先,政府要正确定位,其基本立足点是让市场更好地发挥对产业发展的调节作用,创造有利于产业发展的体制、机制环境。其次是完善创新政策,改善战略技术的筛选与产业导入机制,建立顺应市场的投入机制。第三是把最大限度地发挥各种资源的作用作为产业政策的优先目标,着力提高劳动力利用水平,更好地利用土地、资源和保护环境。第四是确立地区之间合理分工、地区内部产业适度聚集的地区产业政策,促进产业梯度转移,优化地区布局。第五是发挥好中介组织的作用。

Abstract

According to the principle of "from the practice and back to the practice" and starting from the two contradictory viewpoints on the industrial policies, this book discussed the necessity of the continuous application of industrial policies and theory innovation through the analysis of China industrial development circumstances. Based on the analysis of the rules of the industrial development and the potential working mechanism, the book presented what the industrial policies should focus on, such as the basic issues, methodologies, policy tools, conducting mechanism, assessment methods, etc., and brought forward the framework proposal on how to improve China's industrial policies.

Though market has a basic effect on resources allocation, market failure is still common. The optimization of resources allocation and the upgrade of industrial structure cannot be assured if only the function of market is relied on. In the same way, the expectation cannot be reached if the government makes the wrong position, chooses the improper policy tools, or cannot get the balance in the game of market and government control. Nowadays, a tendency exists in the theoretical circle and enterprises that denies the effect of government intervention. The error of such view is that, it puts the market and government in two completely contradictory positions, and considers the government policy as the dissimilar factors of the market. In fact, the market economy, on one hand, requires competition; on the other hand, it is in need of the harmonization among the competitions. The reason of government failure is not because it makes up the weakness of market, but because it takes the place of the market mechanism. Besides, such contradictory relationship doesn't exist if the government policy is defined to be closely affiliated with the market mechanism. Thus, to deny the necessity and rationality of industrial policy based on government failure is a

wrong and unilateral mistake on the respect of methodology in that it ignores the essential nature of industrial policy issues. Hence, not only some Asian countries such as Japan, Korea, etc., but also countries in America and Europe with relatively matured market economy, all emphasize the macroeconomic policy like financial policy, monetary policy, etc., while applying the industrial policies to some extent in certain areas, and the result has reached the expectation. In short, both the theory and the practice prove that it is a long-term task for the government to improve the industrial policy according to the missions and goals of development during the different phases.

Currently, the industrial development environment is changing profoundly in China. Market economy has become the global economic mechanism. To guide the research of industrial policy with the theory and thoughts of planned economy is not only impassable in theory but also contradictory to our overwhelming reform orientation. The globalization of trading challenges the comparative advantage theory whose basic assumptions are as the following: the supply and production conditions in each country are unchangeable; and resources and production factors cannot flow among countries. How to construct a new economic system for the flowing of the production factors is the key topic that the industrial policy needs to work out. The globalization of production system, the change of the organization modes and the system of international labor division, and the change of investment types keep enhancing the position of cross-boundary value chain in the international cycle. The industry choice and structure of value chain become the key factors to obtain the competitive advantages. As a new economy modality, the knowledge economy is dependent on intellectual resources, based on the modern technology, supported by high-tech industry, and established on the production, allocation, usage and consumption of knowledge and information. It changes the original economic development model which was dependent on the gross and increment volume of resource and capital, and impacts the traditional structure transformation theory, economic scale theory and industrial cycle theory. Thus, it builds up an efficient and effective system to develop, protect and transform the intellectual property rights, and such system is the important foundation to promote the value of the country. After joining the World Trade Organization, it is required that the policies setting should be more transparent, fair and just, and the political tools should be more matching to the international standards. Thus, our traditional industrial policy model should be adjusted accordingly. The extensive economic growth type not only affects the quality of economic growth, but also brings potential trouble to the sustainable growth. All above require the theory innovation in industrial policy.

The basis of innovation in the industrial policy theory is to respect the rules and practice. To discuss the general rules of industrial development, structure and its quality evolvement rules is an important topic among economists since long time ago. The author believes that, the industrial change is involved by governments, enterprises, consumers, social intermediary agencies, etc., and the process of such efficiency change among industries is realized by resources allocation and technology development. There are three crucial factors as the following: (1) the focus of resources allocation could result in prosperity or decline of different industries. Factor-driven impulses the development of primary industries, investment-driven can bring the rapid growth of industries, and innovation-driven is the fundamental power to maintain industries competitive edges for a long time. The fundamental influential factor to judge whether the establishment of an industry could realize its competitive advantage comes from technology development; (2) the different principle parties of resources allocation result in the difference in industrial efficiency. The government could become the force to guide prosperity and drive the structure transformation and industrial upgrade by controlling resources allocation, setting up property right regulations, and constructing the social relief system. However, excessive intervention would slow down or even break the enhancement of productivity. The enterprise is the principal party of resources allocation. Enterprises engage in important innovative activities in pursuit of profit, and such activities offer resource of power to the development and transformation of economic structure. The economic forecasts made by the enterprises directly influence the production scale and employment. And the enterprises' competition strategies boost the evolvement of industry; and (3) the location of resources allocation influences the industrial synergy effect. The Efficient implementation of resources and industries transfer could help the change of natural differences of production factors and promote the grade upgrade of industries. Moreover, the scale of supply and demand and industrial cluster also have a great effect on the industrial development.

The parameter method is most widely used in theoretical circle to measure the effects of various factors on industrial development. But the production function, which is got from the general simulation by directly using actual data of inputs and outputs, could only reflect the relationship between certain portfolio of inputs and average of outputs, but cannot describe the optimum portfolio. Under such situation, the author referred to the frontier production function which was brought up after 1970's. And on the basis of basic production process of industry and applying the non-parameter method, the author put forward the optimization method from the perspectives of both input and output sides. Besides, from the dynamic point of view, the author established a basic measurement model to measure and decompose the production index under the situation of technology development.

By using that method, the paper made an empirical analysis on the change in the industry, especially measured the rationality of resources allocation. The result of measurement shows that: (1) Agriculture: there is a certain gap between our output efficiency, that is, output scale efficiency and output pure technology efficiency, and the data under optimum situation in the field of agriculture. And it indicates that the agricultural resources allocation is not rational in most years, and the major barriers which restrict the rationality agricultural resources allocation are system constraint, policy limitation, and environment and infrastructure restriction; (2) Industry: the general trend of efficiency is upward, while the efficiency of resources allocation in most areas is backward rather than upward in the field of industry. The main reasons to hold back the improvement of our resources allocation are: the industrial "structural similitude" and "low degree", low industrial concentration, relatively slow pace of the preponderant industry "going out", and the imperfect in property rights system. Different from the lowing of the efficiency of resources allocation as a whole, the technology in the industrial field shows the tendency of continuous improvement and general enhancement, indicating that our technology innovation policies are succeeded in technology introduction, digestion, absorption, and encouragement of doing research and development by ourselves. And that is the ultimate reason why our industrial competition could keep improving; and

(3) Tertiary industry: the efficiency of our resources allocation in the tertiary industry tends to be better as a whole year by year. Both the output scale efficiency and output pure technology efficiency have obtained obvious improvement. Especially since 2001, it is basically in the optimum situation. All above shows that the tertiary industry has developed quite well in the recent years through practicing reformation in the fields such as telecommunication, transportation, commerce, etc..

Through above theoretical and empirical analysis of key factors influencing industry development, we could conclude that the basic orientation of industrial policy is to improve and enhance the productive efficiency, in which the efficiency of resources allocation and technology improvement are the most important points. However, in order to achieve the expected result, the appropriate choice of industrial policy tools is the key to decide the success of the policy. In line with the changes of our industrial development environment, when making choice among policy tools, we need to emphasize on the traditional tools such as fiscal taxation and monetary credit. However, from the view to enhance the productivity efficiency, some policies are still open to discuss, and some tools which were not given enough attention before need re-understanding, especially for such soft policy tools as government procurement, merger and acquisition guide, intellectual property rights protection, technology standard, etc. Thus, to pay attention on and properly apply those non-traditional tools should become the orientation of our efforts to improve industrial policy.

In a sense, the effect of industrial policy implementation is determined by condition, nature and completeness of conducting mechanism. And its smoothness, first, relies on the consistency of the goals of each individual interest party within the principle body of the policy. With inconsistent interests, game is inevitable. Complete executive chain, uniform actions to guarantee the execution, unblocked information system, and efficient supervision and evaluation mechanism are all necessary for effective conducting. Secondly, individual enterprise should regain the position of the main player in the market, and its capital liquidity or fiscal constraints should be enhanced. Besides, enterprise's bargaining power with the government needs further strengthening. Thirdly, intermediary organizations, such as guild, should be given full play of and maintain

their own independence and justness. Lacking of the above factors, the practice of our industrial policy is negatively discounted.

The assessment of the effect of our industrial policy hardly exists. Based on the reference of overseas practices on performance assessment theory, the author advanced the standard method system to assess the effect of industrial policy from two aspects—preliminary evaluation and process assessment. The preliminary assessment focuses on the evaluation of target benefit, supporting conditions and executive environment of the policy. The focuses of it are to discuss the properness of government's practice of industrial policies, set the target parameters for the industrial policies, design the field in which the industrial policies would be introduced and used, and discuss the regulation approach and the corresponding tools. By simulating the expected income (net society income) and society cost, we could calculate the corresponding net output, which is called society-value-added. To use the society-value-added in the preliminary assessment could lead the policy-maker to base on the basic goals of macro economy, pay attention on capital efficiency, and optimize the resources allocation.

Process assessment plays a more important role to judge the efficiency of the policy. There are at least 2 indicators to assess the success of industrial policy—rationality of resources allocation, and progress of science and technology, in a word, the enhancement of overall productivity. Thus, we believe that, the way to use frontiers production function and non-parametric method to study the efficiency of resources allocation and productivity is also a basic approach for process assessment of industrial policy. Applying such approach, we assessed the development of auto industry from 1993 to 2003, and based on the calculating result, we found out that the auto industry policies before 2001 is a failure, especially the obvious inefficiency on the respect of resources allocation.

By theoretical reflection and empirical research, the author believes that, in order to improve our industrial policy, first of all, the government should position itself correctly, so that its standpoint is to give full play to the market to adjust the development of industry, and create system and mechanism environment to help the development of industry. Second, innovation policy should be completed, and the system of strategic technology and industry introduction should be improved, in order to match the inputting mechanism of the market.

Third, the top priority should be given to the maximization of the effect of various kinds of resources, putting efforts to raise the level of labor utilization, and making better use of the land and environment resources. Forth, the regional industrial policy should be set to define the rational labor division among regions and assure the moderate concentration of industry within the region, in order to promote the industry grade transfer and optimize the regional layout. Fifth, the intermediary agents should be given full play.