

孙 健 著

网络经济学导论

INTERNET ECONOMICS



电子工业出版社

PUBLISHING HOUSE OF ELECTRONICS INDUSTRY

<http://www.phei.com.cn>

网络经济学导论

INTERNET ECONOMICS

孙健 著

電子工業出版社

PUBLISHING HOUSE OF ELECTRONICS INDUSTRY

北京 · BeiJing

未经许可,不得以任何方式复制或抄袭本书之部分或全部内容。
版权所有,翻版必究。

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

网络经济学导论/孙健著. —北京:电子工业出版社,2001.10
ISBN 7-5053-7066-9

I. 网… II. 孙… III. 网络经济—概论 IV. F062.5

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2001)第 071985 号

书 名:网络经济学导论

著 者:孙 健

责任编辑:刘宪兰

排版制作:电子工业出版社计算机排版室

印 刷 者:北京天宇星印刷厂

装 订 者:河北省涿州桃园装订厂

出版发行:电子工业出版社 <http://www.phei.com.cn>

北京市海淀区万寿路 173 信箱 邮编 100036

经 销:各地新华书店

开 本:787×980 1/16 印张:20.875 字数:364 千字

版 次:2001 年 10 月第 1 版 2001 年 10 月第 1 次印刷

书 号:ISBN 7-5053-7066-9
F·198

印 数:5 100 册 定价:29.00 元(平装) 43.90 元(精装)

凡购买电子工业出版社的图书,如有缺页、倒页、脱页、所附磁盘或光盘有问题者,请向购买书店调换;若书店售缺,请与本社发行部联系调换。电话 68279077

前 言

11/23/08

求时名易，求史名难。每一门新科学的探索都是如此。对网络经济的探索更是如此。特别是网络经济在 2000 年经历了如此惊心动魄的大起大落、大喜大悲之后，我们不仅没有大彻大悟，反而陷入更深的迷茫之中。尽管如此，专家学者们还是在许多方面达成了共识。现在几乎所有的人都承认，网络经济是一场前所未有的革命。然而，任何人都别想对这场革命的未来做出准确的预测，因为它的发展肯定会超出人们最富有想像力的预言。正如一个处在“文化大革命中”的人，不可能想像中国会有今天的改革开放一样。我们现在所能看到的仅仅是网络经济这个巨大金山的微不足道的小角而已。常言道，管中窥豹，可见一斑。但是，区区一孔，又怎能窥得全豹？

首先，网络经济是一场真正意义上的产业革命。它所创造的社会财富将超过近 200 年来人类财富的总和，将会使 18 世纪产业革命以来的全部世界经济史为之黯然失色。我们不妨来看看两个具有划时代意义的案例：其一是汽车工业。它是 20 世纪最具代表性的支柱产业之一，然而，因特网经济仅用了 17 年时间就创造了约 5070 亿美元的产值，超过汽车工业 100 年的总和；其二是某种产品（或服务）达到 5000 万用户的时间。这是一个产品是否存在着巨大世界市场的重要指标。达到这一规模的时间，电话机用了 58 年，收音机用了 38 年，PC 机用了 16 年，电视机用了 13 年，而因特网仅用了 4 年。

其次，网络经济不仅使经济发生了革命性的变革，而且还引发了一场社会、





政治、文化领域的深刻变革。顺之者昌，逆之者亡。1848年两个德国青年——卡尔·马克思和弗里德里希·恩格斯，发表了震惊世界的《共产党宣言》。那一年，马克思才30岁，恩格斯还不到30岁。正当资本主义蓬勃发展的时候——“资产阶级在它的不到一百年的阶级统治中所创造的生产力，比过去一切时代创造的全部生产力还要多，还要大……过去哪一个世纪能够料想到有这样的生产力潜伏在社会劳动里呢？”^①马克思和恩格斯就大胆地预言了资本主义的灭亡，他们指出：“资产阶级的灭亡和无产阶级的胜利是同样不可避免的。”^②然而，在此后的150多年里，资本主义的丧钟并没有敲响，而且资本主义的生产关系对生产力的发展仍然表现出很大的容量空间。网络经济的出现，可能真的要敲响资本主义的丧钟了。但是，战胜资本家阶级的不是无产阶级而是知本家阶级。知本家阶级在其成为百万富翁之前，他们有类似无产阶级的特点，除了知识外，他们也“一无所有”。知本家阶级同样是“先进阶级”的代表，他们受过高等教育，具有较高的学历和较深的科学文化背景。

网络时代，是知识分子真正扬眉吐气的时代，他们不仅独立成了一个阶级——知本家阶级，再也不用担心“皮之不存，毛将焉附？”也不用为被列入工人阶级的一部分而沾沾自喜。知本家阶级是独立的阶级，是代表先进生产力的阶级，是一批以知识为本的人。知识作为一种生产要素，在新经济中甚至比资本要素更重要，或者更确切地说，知本与资本的强劲组合并产生巨大效益是新经济的一个重要特征。知本家之所以称为知本家，是因为它的经济意义。他们不仅创造精神财富，而且创造物质财富；他们不仅是科学家，而且是企业家人。过去产生一个亿万富翁往往需要经过几代人的努力才能实现，现在一个知本家在30多岁或者几年时间就可以很潇洒地做到。时代在变化，西门子、克虏伯等需要几代人完成的事，新企业家几乎一蹴而就。比尔·盖茨只用了12年就集聚了他的第一个10亿美元，而杨致远和戴维·菲洛完成这一伟业的时间只有3年，可是他们的速度还是慢了点，电子海湾公司的皮埃尔·奥米戴尔聚敛他的第一个10亿美元，只用了5个星期的时间，第二个10亿美元，只需要两个星期就能完成。不是他们成功得太容易了，而是网络时代知本的作用简直是“法力无边”。知本主义的作用第一次超过了资本主义的作用，知本比资本更金贵，资本易得，知本难得，千金易求，一知难求。封建社会之所以能战胜奴隶制社会，

①② 马克思、恩格斯《共产党宣言》，《马克思、恩格斯选集》第256页、263页。人民出版社，1972年5月。

是因为封建社会有比奴隶制社会更先进的生产力；资本主义制度之所以能够战胜封建制度，是因为它有比封建制度更先进的生产力，而且有更先进的制度。从奴隶社会、封建社会到资本主义社会的演进，还有一个特点就是政治专制越来越弱化，经济自由越来越强化，一个社会比另一个社会更加民主，这是人类历史发展的规律。

网络经济时代，知本战胜资本，知本家阶级战胜资本家阶级，不是采取一个阶级推翻一个阶级的“暴力行动”，而是知本和资本的高度融合和强劲组合。战胜的意义是指知本的作用日益重要，并成为第一生产要素，但不是取代资本的作用。无论我们愿意与否，实际上已经被卷入到网络革命的洪流之中。网络经济将成为新经济的主流，成为影响我们的社会生活甚至政治文化生活主流的不可抗拒的力量。尽管它还处于萌芽状态，但已经显示出其巨大的生命力、渗透力、扩张力和冲击力。正如毛泽东在形容 20 世纪 20 年代的中国大革命时所说的“它是站在海岸遥望海中已经看得见桅杆尖头了的一只航船，它是立于高山之巅远看东方已见光芒四射喷薄欲出的一轮朝日，它是躁动于母腹之中的快要成熟了的一个婴儿。”^①

再次，网络经济还引起了一场经济学的革命。1776 年亚当·斯密发表了他的划时代著作《国富论》，同一年托马斯·杰弗逊起草的《自由宣言》也在美国人反对英国殖民统治的斗争中诞生了。按照萨缪尔逊的说法，两者不是偶然的巧合，在其背后隐藏着深刻的内在联系——“从君主专制下得到政治自由”，必然要求经济上的民主自由。亚当·斯密的理论是如此简单而深刻，他发现了几千年来人们天天在做却忽视了的真理：“每个人都在力图应用他的资本，来使其产品能得到最大的价值。一般地说，他并不企图增进公共福利，也不知道他所增进的公共福利是多少。在这样做时，有一只看不见的手引导他去促进一种目标，而这种目标决不是他所追求的东西。由于追逐他自己的利益，他经常促进了社会利益，其效果比他真正想促进社会利益所得到的效果更大。”^②从利己的目的出发，最后达到全社会利他的结果，这就是著名的“看不见的手的原理”。亚当·斯密因发现这一原理而兴奋不已，就像阿基米德发现浮力定理一样疯狂。看不见的手的原理是经济学的牛顿定律，它是支撑西方经济学的基石。

^① 毛泽东《星星之火，可以燎原》，《毛泽东选集》第 110 页，人民出版社，1964 年。

^② 亚当·斯密《国富论》1776 年。



然而，读过亚当·斯密生平传略的人都知道他并没有什么特别之处，也不是像高斯那样的神童，他是时势创造出的天才的典型。大师天然不是斯密，斯密天然就是大师。每一个大变革的时代创造英雄人物的过程都是如此。“五百年必有王者兴，其间必有明世者。”网络时代的出现也在呼唤着斯密、马克思、凯恩斯式的重量级人物。

目前，从事网络经济学、电子商务研究的人大都是出身于自然科学背景的年轻工程师、科学家和部分 IT 业和网络公司的企业家。所以，在他们充满活力的网络经济学探索中，由于善良的进取心与实际经济学知识的差距，常常会出现一些在所难免的明显错误。比如，前不久看到一篇文章中提出“信息是一般等价物”的观点，显然缺乏经济学的基本常识。货币作为价值尺度的职能是“一般等价物”，信息作为劳动的产品，虽然也具有内在价值，但是并不能由此得出结论说它是“一般等价物”。信息的使用价值恰恰是多样性的、不同质的，不能作为抽象的价值尺度——“一般等价物”。此外，还看到过一篇《光明日报》的文章，总结出“网络经济的十条定律”，诸如“网络比机器重要”，“服务比产品重要”，“市场比利润重要”，“关系比能力重要”，“市值比实值重要”，等等不一而足。“十大定律”，乍一听，挺吓人，细一想，颇不以为然。如果在网络经济的实践中，遵循如此定律，非误人子弟不可。且不说所谓定律是放之四海皆准的客观规律。什么叫“网络比机器重要”？计算机是不是机器？路由器是不是机器？没有计算机和路由器，网络还存在吗？退一万步说，如果没有生产物质产品的机器，我们总不能靠吃信息活着吧。什么叫“服务比产品重要”？难道服务不是产品的延伸吗？既然是延伸，又怎能分得清孰轻孰重呢？什么叫“市场比利润重要”？占领市场，难道不是为了提高经济效益？没有利润谈什么效益？企业没有利润怎么能生存？看来此“定律”流毒甚广，否则，也不会有这么多网络公司“烧钱”如“烧纸”，靠风险资本输血而苟延残喘，却自以为明天肯定赚钱。结果在纳斯达克挤掉泡沫后，纷纷倒闭。什么叫“关系比能力重要”？按照此说，关系岂不成了第一生产力？如果单凭关系，没有能力——实力和管理水平，又如何在市场竞争中获胜？什么叫“市值比实值重要”？所谓市值是股票的“未来市场价值”，只不过是未来实际价值的一种说法而已，落脚点还是在实际价值上，“市值比实值重要”定律只能把人们误导到“炒作”的歧路上去。根据专家多年分析研究，美国的股票市值的涨落恰恰是围绕着一个实际价值在上下波动的。以上所说，绝不是对网络经济的年轻理论家求全责备，只是说凡

事要留有余地，不可绝对化。网络经济不会因为这点儿瑕疵而就此“破灭”。同样的“低级错误”也常常落在经济学家头上，比如 1998 年大水灾时，就有知名学者提出“水灾就是机遇”的著名论断，而大报小报连篇累牍。我们也只能姑妄言之，姑妄听之。依此推论，火灾、地震、台风岂不都成了机遇？那还有什么不是机遇？最让人搞不明白的是所谓“破窗理论”，修理破窗拉动的需求即便再有效，又如何冲销这 1666 亿元的水灾净损失？

科学的变革与宗教的变革不同，宗教的每一次改革几乎都是从古老的原教旨中寻找精神支柱和思想源泉，而科学的变革却要突破已有的理论和观念的束缚，因此它是跳跃式的。传统经济学经过 220 多年不断完善和发展，已经建立起了在社会科学中最完整和复杂的体系。每一次经济学的进步几乎都是在前人的基础上积累而成的，因此只要你站在前人肩膀上，理应比他们看得更远。然而，从亚当·斯密的《国富论》到马克思的《资本论》经过了 90 多年，从《资本论》到凯恩斯的《就业、利息和货币通论》又经过了近 70 年，战后过了 55 年，再没有出现一位像亚当·斯密、马克思、凯恩斯式的经济学大师。科学越来越发达，开一代宗风的祖师级的人物却越来越少了。网络经济学是传统经济学的又一次变革，是传统经济学跳跃式的、革命性的延伸。从这个意义上说，也许没有前人的肩膀可站，那些站在网络经济浪潮风口浪尖上的年轻人就是权威，就是大师。说网络经济学未来肯定是属于年轻人的，其原因就在于此。

网络经济骤然而至，使我们无暇细想。人们在网络经济面前，或迷茫，或振奋，或感到恐惧和不安，或看到希望与机遇，但是现实不允许我们有更多的时间去思考，我们必须马上作出选择。在网络经济的入口处，“正像在地狱的入口处一样，必须提出这样的要求：这里必须根绝一切犹豫，这里任何怯懦都无济于事。”^①

孙 健

2000 年 9 月于北京

^① 马克思《政治经济学批判》序言，《马克思、恩格斯选集》第二卷，第 85 页。



PREFACE

It is easy to obtain fame; the hard part is to make it last. This holds true to the exploratory journey of every discipline, the progress of internet economics is of no exception. Not settling into the afterward clarity we would expect after the wild roller-coaster ride of the internet economy in the year 2000, we are somehow slipping into a deeper confusing state. Still, several aspects of agreement have been hammered out. The revolutionary forces of internet economy have transformed everything they touched, but the final outcome and fallout would be beyond everyone's wildest dream. An analogy would be a person couldn't picture modern China's openness and prosperity when he was right in the middle of the "Cultural Revolution". What we see is only the tip of an iceberg.

First, internet economy is truly a productivity revolution. The wealth it has generated exceeds the total of the previous two hundred years' accumulation, through which the human history has achieved unmatched prosperity. It outshines previous every period of economic progress. The following two exemplary cases





would collaborate on the claim. Auto industry, one of the paragons in the 20th century economy, has churned out 507 billions in its hundred years' history, it only takes 17 years for the internet economy to match it up. A good index to assess the potential of a product or service is the time it takes to reach fifty million households. For telephone, it is 58 years; radio, 38 years; PC, 16 years; Television, 13 years; while internet, merely 4 years.

Second, internet economy has ushered in fundamental changes at every scale and scope, not only in the economic arena, but in the political and social spheres as well. In 1848, two young Germans —— Karl Mark and Fredric Engels —— published monumental treatise *The Communist Manifesto*. Right in the days while Capitalism were enjoying robust growth, “*The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. ... What earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labor?*” Marx and Engels pictured the eventual demise of the Capitalism. They pointed it out that “*What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.*” Since then a hundred fifty years have passed, the tree of Capitalism still alive and displays even more ferocious growth potential. Modern bourgeois society, with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, has proved to be able to provide enough space for the advancement of its modern productive forces. Along with the arrival of internet economy, the knell for capitalism is more likely to be tolled. But the “grave-diggers” are the class of knowledge workers instead of the proletariat. Before they strive their way into becoming millionaires, the knowledge workers are pretty





much like proletariats. They don't possess any material resource but knowledge. They are actually the paradigms of a most advanced class. They have enjoyed good education, systematic scientific training and come with broad cultural background. Along with the arrival of internet economy, they have ascended onto the main stage of history, cherishing the leading role in the spotlight. Across the business spectrum knowledge is becoming the key to prosperity. Knowledge, combined with capital, has created enormous wealth for the new economy. The knowledge workers have emerged as a new generation of entrepreneurs with scientific spirits. Wealth of a billion's worth usually requires generations' good luck, hard work and accumulation if not longer, now some knowledge works become self-made billionaires in just a short span of time while still in their thirties. The first billion dollars took Bill Gates ten years to garner, for Jerry Yang and David Filo, it was only three years. Knowledge may now be the "key resource" of the world economy. This dynamic interplay of knowledge and capital lies at the heart of the new economy — and promises to open up extraordinary new opportunities for wealth generation. The feudalism brought in the ending to the serfdom because it had more advanced productive forces; along the line, capitalism stepped in when the feudal relations of property became no longer compatible with the further developed productive forces. Accompanied with every drastic change in human social history were freer competition, wider outspread democracy and less autocracy. In the time of internet economy, intellectual capital outgrows common capital; the intellectual capitalists emerge to forming a dominant class. The essence of the forces which foster the formation of this newly dominant class — intellectual capitalists — lies deep inside of the fact that knowledge and capital have robustly interplayed. So Instead of violent overthrow of one class by another, the newly acquired power of knowledge



and capital has pushed the intellectual capitalists into the mainstream. The wave of change promises to hit with astonishing force, rippling through the global economy and transforming everything in its wake.

Third, internet economy has revolutionized the field of economics. In 1776 Adam Smith published his prodigious treatise, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. *Declare of Independence* drafted by Thomas Jefferson was published in the same year under the context of the American anti-colonization revolution. As Paul Samuelson brought it up, these historical events were not just purely coincidental; quite on the contrary, there existed underlying factors deeply interconnecting them. The intellectual spirit of *The Wealth of Nations* has much in common with the intellectual spirit existing in America at the time of the Revolution. Adam Smith's theory is simple but profound. He revealed a genuine truth in people's everyday life but constantly being overlooked. *"Every individual necessarily labours to render the annual revenue of the society as great as he can. He generally neither intends to promote the public interest, nor knows how much he is promoting it...He intends only his own gain, and he is in this, as in many other cases, led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention. Nor is it always the worse for society that it was no part of his intention. By pursuing his own interest he frequently promotes that of the society more effectually than when he really intends to promote it. I have never known much good done by those who affected to trade for the public good."* When all individuals act from self-interest, spurred on by the profit motive, then society as a whole prospers, with no apparent regulator at work, this is the famous "invisible hand" theory. Smith is often regarded as the father of economics, and his writings have been enormously





influential. The “invisible hand” theory has become the cornerstone of the western economics. But anyone who has read the biography about Smith knows that he wasn’t born a prodigy like Guass, his work and fame were the creation of the time he lived in. Numerous heroes emerged at the storms of changes in full swing, the arrival of internet economy calls for its own heavyweights, like Smith, Marx and Keynes. The majority of the internet economy proponents comprise of young engineers, scientists and IT/network entrepreneurs with natural science background. So during their course of vibrant exploration of internet economy, some inevitable mistakes have been made largely due to the fact that naïve passions not able to substitute the methodical economic training. Recently, a new theory —— “information is equivalent commodity” —— has been presented. Obviously, there is some catch-up work needed for the author about the economics. Money serves as a *universal measure of value*, and by virtue of this function, it is equivalent commodity *par excellence*. Information is the product of labor, though contains internal value, not to be mistakenly labeled as an immediate social incarnation of human labor in the abstract. On the contrary, the value of the information could be realized through different means. There is another article published in “Guang Ming Daily News” proclaimed “ten principles of internet economy”, such as “internet is more important than machinery”, “service is more important than product, ” “market is more important than profit, ” “connection is more important than ability, ” “market value is more important than real value” etc. The principles seem quite daunting at the first look, but after some thoughts, they are not that solid at all if not misleading. “Internet is more important than machinery? ” Aren’t computers some kind of machine? How about routers? Doesn’t the physical entity of Internet consist of computers and routers? Without them, where is the Internet? And who generates the material gains?





“Service is more important than product? ” Isn’t service the natural extension of product? If it is, how do we soundly determine the importance between them? “Market is more important than profit? ” The ultimate purpose of aggressively grasping and expanding market shares boils down to two words – augment profit. Company’s survival hinges tightly on one thing, the ability to eke out a profit. Legions of startups operated at a loss with excessive high “burn rate”, living on the constant infusion of venture capital, but painted a rosy picture about the future prospects. On the heels of the NASDAQ’s shakeout, most of them went right belly up. “Connection is more important than ability? ” Following the suit, connection becomes the first productive force? How could someone compete in this ever-changing market with the only card at hand being some personal connection? “Market value is more important than real value? ” The truth about this is that the market value only stands for the expected future value, and future is becoming less predictable than ever before. In the long term, years’ work of analysis and compilation by economists has drawn the conclusion that the market value actually fluctuates along the real value of the company. The lesson would be nothing should go to the unnecessary extreme. Similar stupidity has occurred on the economists as well. In 1998, after the flood unseen in decades, some famous economist put forward the premise —— “flood is the opportunity”, and received overwhelmingly warm attention from media. So in the same token, fire, earthquake and tornado could all be the prime candidates for opportunity. Then what in the world couldn’t be called an opportunity? And the most confusing part is the “broken window theory”, no matter how much demand boosted by fixing broken windows, there is just no way to offset the net loss of 166 billion yuan exerted by the flood.





Scientific revolution differs from religious revolution. Unlike its religious counterpart which discovers fresh ideas and novel insights from existing principles and doctrines, scientific revolution has to break the barriers of dominant theories and demolish the establishment of the prevalent opinions. The course of scientific progress is more segmented and sporadic. With more than two hundred twenty years' development and progress, traditional economics has matured into one of the most well-established and comprehensive disciplines in social science arena. From Adam Smith's "*Wealth of Nations*" to Karl Marx's "*Das Kapital*", there was a ninety years gap, then another long stretch, about seventy years before John Maynard Keynes published *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*. Then there was this long intellectually barren period without any culminating figures. Maybe there are just no more giants' shoulders to stand on. Internet economics has become the play field of the youth, when the tide raises all ships, the ones sail the fastest are the leaders in the future.

With the train of new economy pulling in at full force, mixed emotions fill the atmosphere: there is confusion, excitement, fear, uncertainty, hope and optimism. We can't afford the luxury to ponder since time is not on our side, we must make our decision now. At the entrance to internet economy, as at the entrance to hell, the demand must be made: Here must all distrust be left; All cowardice must here be dead.

Jian Sun

Beijing, September 2000



内 容 简 介

本书从研究网络经济学的基本原理着手,深入浅出地分析了网络经济产生的背景、影响和发展趋势,特别分析了网络经济正反两方面的经验以及网络经济的十大瓶颈;提出了网络经济学的公理体系和一些定理。书中每章都附有提要和思考,既有较广泛的可读性,又适于较深研究的需求,文字流畅,立意新颖。

全书共分为10章,包括网络经济与网络经济学,网络经济学的几个基本原理,网络经济与传统产业的关系,电子商务,网络经济与传统银行、保险和证券业,网络经济与传媒业,网络经济与远程教育,网络经济的十大瓶颈与对策,网络经济与国家安全,网络经济与风险资本和二板市场。

本书可作为高等院校经济类专业本科生、研究生以及相关专业教材的参考书或培训教材,也可以作为科研、管理机构有关人员的培训教材或参考书,同时也可作为网络工作管理者提高网络经济理论水平的读物。

463/08

目 录

1	导言：网络经济与网络经济学	1
1.1	网络经济	3
1.1.1	什么是网络经济	3
1.1.2	网络经济的特点	5
1.1.3	网络经济革命——在最短时间创造出最不可思议的奇迹	10
1.1.4	如何看待纳斯达克指数暴跌和网络公司的倒闭	12
1.2	网络经济学与传统经济学的关系	17
1.2.1	网络经济学对传统经济学的冲击	18
1.2.2	网络经济学是传统经济学跳跃式的、革命性的延伸	20
1.2.3	网络经济学的基本理论框架构想	21
	提要和思考	22
2	网络经济学的几个基本原理	23
2.1	网络经济学与传统经济学比较之一：一致性原理	24
2.1.1	经济组织的三个基本问题	24
2.1.2	替换与选择原理	25
2.1.3	机会成本原理	25
2.1.4	比较利益原理	26
2.1.5	市场失效与政府干预原理	26
2.1.6	理性预期原理	26