

# 新兴经济体蓝皮书

BLUE BOOK OF EMERGING ECONOMY

## 金砖国家发展报告

(2016)

全球治理变革与新兴国家角色

主编/林跃勤 周文 副主编/刘文革 蔡春林

**ANNUAL REPORT ON BRICS DEVELOPMENT (2016)** 





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林跃勤 湖南人,经济学博士,研究员,毕业于俄罗斯国立圣彼得堡大学。现任中国社会科学杂志社国际二部主任,中国社会科学院研究生院硕士生导师,MBA 导师。主要学术兼职有:中国社会科学院经济研究所经济发展与转型研究中心副秘书长、新兴经济体研究会常务理事兼副秘书长、中国发展战略学研究会经济发展专业委员会副主任、拉丁美洲研究会常务理事。近年,主持完成国家社会科学基金项目、中国社会科学院国情调研项目、中纪委委托课题、人社部委托课题等多项,同时参与国家社会科学基金重大招标课题等多项。在国内外学术期刊上发表论文数十篇,出版译著、编著多部。主要研究方向国际经济、转型经济等。

周 文 重庆人,现任复旦大学中国研究院常务副院长,兼任世界政治经济学会常务理事,中国新兴经济体研究会常务理事,中国经济规律研究会常务理事,中国社会科学院全球治理研究中心研究员、经济转型与发展研究中心副理事长。2012年在墨西哥荣获"世界政治经济学杰出成果奖",主要从事政治经济学、发展经济学、金砖国家经济发展、中国经济发展与转型研究,先后发表学术论文100多篇,出版有《分工、信任与企业成长》等著作。

一 刘文革 黑龙江人,博士,教授,博士生导师。2008 年入选教育部新世纪优秀人才、北京市宣传系统"四个一批"人才。2000 年在吉林大学获得世界经济博士学位,其后又在辽宁大学、中央财经大学从事博士后科研工作,现为浙江工商大学特聘教授。长期致力于转型经济、经济体制的比较制度分析、中国宏观经济等领域的研究,尤其对转型国家改革与发展模式比

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较、金砖国家经济发展与经贸合作等方面长期进行理论跟踪和研究,取得了丰硕成果。主要学术兼职:中国经济发展研究会常务理事、中国世界经济学会团体会员负责人、中国数量经济学会理事等。出版专著3部,在《经济研究》等期刊上发表多篇论文。主持国家社会科学基金、国家自然科学基金、教育部社会科学基金等课题多项,获3项省部级科研奖项。

·**蔡春林** 经济学博士,现为广东工业大学经济与贸易学院教授、硕士生导师,新兴经济体研究所所长,金砖国家研究中心主任,国际贸易与区域经济研究室主任,广东省新兴经济体研究会会长,致公党广东省委会经济委员会副主任,致公党广东工业大学总支副主任委员,广州市天河区人大代表。兼任中国新兴经济体研究会常务理事、中国拉丁美洲学会常务理事、中国世界经济学会理事、中国国际贸易学会理事、对外经济贸易大学中国 WTO 研究院研究员等。近年发表论文 45 篇,出版著作 17 部,主持国家社会科学基金一般项目 2 项、教育部人文社科研究项目 3 项、广东省哲学社会科学研究项目和软科学项目 3 项以及其他课题 30 多项,荣获安子介国际贸易研究奖1 项、商务部全国商务发展研究成果奖 2 项(三等奖、优秀奖各 1 项)、商务部中国贸易救济与产业安全研究奖 1 项(一等奖)、中国外经贸发展与改革征文奖 1 项(二等奖)等。

随着全球化的深入推进,国家之间的交流和融合也在不断深化,发展中的各种问题更加多元化、交融化、发散化,如环境污染、疾病传染、粮食危机、资源危机、金融危机、恐怖袭击、网络攻击等可能迅速越过国界,在全球传播,给全球带来挑战与威胁,因此,急切需要全球合作应对,这对全球治理的范畴、结构、机制、路径、方法和效率等提出了更为迫切的、更高的要求。当今的全球治理体系由"二战"后主要大国倡导建立并发展演变而来,冷战结束两超霸权后,美国独霸特征突出,而且,现有治理机制运行不够顺畅、效率低下,但又变革滞后。在新兴大国群体崛起的语境下,一超独霸以及机制固化和老化不利于全球治理民主化、合理化、和谐化和效率化。优化治理结构,推动机制创新,十分迫切和重要。

依据全球化新趋势以及全球性问题的新特点,推动全球治理体系改革, 让快速崛起的新兴大国群体从边缘走进中心,更多参与治理及机制创新,可 以使现有不合理的主体结构更加合理化,也有助于治理制度改革获得新的活 力和动力,建构更具包容性、效率性、稳定性和可持续性的治理体系。

但是,要推动庞大、复杂、僵化的全球治理体系的变革并非易事,现有体系内的主导者、既得利益集团不可能成为变革的倡导者和驱动引擎,甚至对触及其切身权益的改革必然抵制、反对,因而,全球治理体系的改革与创新必然是一场艰难的博弈甚至革命。作为全球治理头号权威的美国,对于变革由其主宰的全球治理体系心有不甘,不会拱手相让。奥巴马 2010 年 10 月 22 日在南加州大学(USC)为民主党参议员鲍克瑟(Babara Boxer)等民主党候选人的竞选站台时就说:"不做第二,美国永远第一!"在 2015 年 1 月 20 日发表第六次国情咨文时他又指出,"中国希望定下贸易规则,这将会影

响美国的出口以及工人和商人的处境。我们不能让这种情况发生,我们应该 自己来制定规则"。2015年10月5日在TPP达成协议后奥巴马发表声明表 示,美国不能让中国等国家书写全球贸易规则。美国应该在坚持保护劳工与 环境的最高原则下,为美国商品开发新市场而制定这些规则。美国国会对 IMF 2010 年的份额改革方案拖延 5 年才通过,发展中国家以及欧洲国家要 求美国率先让渡世界银行行长独享位置的建议也被美国断然拒绝,种种事实 表明、美国不会轻易让出全球规则制定权、裁决权。占有优势地位的其他欧 洲国家也不会主动、自愿让渡其业已享有的地位和权益。2010年4月世界 银行改革时,尽管经过数月的艰苦谈判,有些国家还是不愿让出投票权重或 者竭力争取保持投票权重不变。佐利克当时表示,尽管所有国家均同意改变 投票权重, 但那些被迫放弃部分投票权重的国家很明显不愿这样做。最终方 案也是欧洲国家在讨价还价之后妥协的结果,没有完全按照新兴大国的意愿 让渡权力、发达国家还是少转让了3个百分点。2014年5月18日,在青岛 举行的 2014 年 APEC (亚太经合组织) 贸易部长会议上,中国倡导启动建 立更大范围、APEC 所有成员均可参与的包容性比 TPP 更为广泛的亚太自由 贸易区的可行性研究和进程, 但这一进程受到美国等国家的抵制。所以, 全 球治理权力结构调整与机制创新的动力不能指望发达国家,只能来自新兴国 家自身。新兴国家特别是新兴大国应该在未来的全球治理变革中扮演倡导 者、主力军的角色。

新兴大国综合实力正在快速壮大,其参与全球事务的愿景和诉求也不断增强,一方面,是为自身谋求更加稳定可期的良好外部发展环境,体现自身大国抱负和价值;另一方面,也是为世界秩序承担更多责任和做出更多贡献创造前提条件。此外,随着新兴大国参与全球事务的实践不断增多、深化,其治理经验、智慧也逐渐丰富、充实。

但要将愿景转变为现实,新兴大国为争取更大的全球公域治理权力和话语权,依然需要付出艰辛的努力,包括加快创新转型,挖掘增长动力,保持快速增长势头,为全球持续发展做出积极贡献,为增强自身综合实力、承担更大责任奠定坚实基础。要在推进贸易自由化、投资便利化及营造良好营商

环境等方面加强国际合作,特别是团结和动员广大发展中国家,为全球公域问题的解决做出包括智力、物力和人力等多种资源在内的更大战略投入和贡献,为全球治理机制提供更多合理倡议等,带头树立负责任大国形象,赢得国际社会广泛支持,为最终获得相应的大国治理权力铺平道路。所有这些,均是需要认真深入研究的现实和理论命题,需要新兴大国仔细分析总结,探索 21 世纪有利于推进全球治理改善的新规律及更适合自身参与全球治理的有效路径。

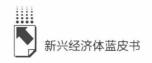
有鉴于此,本报告特以"全球治理变革与新兴国家角色"作为专题,研讨金砖国家在当前语境下如何为全球治理改革创新探讨新理念、新路径、新范式,结合改革与创新争取更大治理话语权,同时也承担更多的大国责任,以便为全球良治做出更大贡献,推动自身乃至全球的发展繁荣与和谐合作。

本报告的主要内容包括总报告(1篇)、国别报告(5篇)和专题报告(10篇),共约30万字。各部分基本内容分述如下。

总报告《全球治理创新与新兴大国责任》在考察全球治理权力与责任 关系的基础上,分析了金砖国家等新兴大国在从全球治理边缘地位走向核心 地位过程中面临的机遇和挑战,总结了近年来金砖国家等新兴大国积极参与 全球治理的事实与贡献,指出金砖国家需要依据自身实力增长,在全球事务 中勇于担当、奋发有为,以增强软实力和提高美誉度,呼应国际社会的期 待,并以此为积累治理经验及履行更大治理职责奠定坚实基础。

国别报告部分《巴西经济社会发展及在全球发展与治理体系中的角色》 认为,当前,巴西国内政治经济危机使其在全球治理中的地位和作用受限。 但是,作为金砖国家成员,巴西仍然是全球治理中的重要组成成员。在全球 经济陷入"新平庸"以及世界大宗商品繁荣周期一去不复返的大背景下, 巴西需要深化同其他金砖国家之间的合作机制,完善新开发银行和应急储备 安排等金融合作,降低成员国政局变动对合作造成的短期不利影响。

《俄罗斯参与全球治理的愿景与举措》报告认为,俄罗斯在参与全球治理的进程中,不断修正其对全球治理的观念,这其中不仅和它对与以美国为



首的西方国家之间的关系判断有关,同时还和其对整个国际形势发展走向的 认知有很大关系。俄罗斯在参与全球治理的过程中,始终强调推动国际格局 多极化发展,并主张发挥以联合国为首的国际组织的重要作用。

《印度经济社会发展及其在全球发展与治理体系中的角色》报告指出,印度在经济增长方面较具潜力,但社会发展水平较为落后,可持续发展能力有待提高,特别是恐怖主义与民族宗教问题干扰印度大国建设的进程。但较快的经济增长、显著的人口红利、全球产业转移加快、世界大国的支持以及全球性问题日益复杂,为印度经济持续增长、参与全球治理、提升国际影响力提供了许多机遇,这将对其大国建设步伐产生直接影响。

《中国经济增长分析与全球治理参与进展》报告总结回顾了 2015 年中国经济总体平稳、稳中有好的发展情况及 2016 年上半年中国经济企稳向好、结构优化的趋势,对未来中国经济前景进行了展望,提出了进一步通过供给侧结构性改革着力解决传统行业产能过剩、民间投资不振等问题的思路,还对中国参与全球治理变革取得的新进展及前景进行了评价与预测。

《南非参与全球治理的理念与实践》报告分析了种族隔离制度结束后,南非通过坚持多边主义原则谋求在不同问题领域重塑和构建中发挥领导作用以维护广大发展中国家特别是非洲国家的政治经济利益的目标,同时也分析了南非因面对严峻内部发展问题及外部挑战而在全球治理体系中所能发挥作用的局限性。报告指出,南非不仅要作为地区领导国在国际多边舞台上代表非洲发声,还需要解决国内严峻的经济社会发展问题。南非应致力于国内经济社会的可持续发展并将其作为参与全球治理并发挥作用的根本保障。

专题报告部分《全球经济治理体系创新及金砖国家的推动》从国际体系角度考察了现行全球经济治理体系随着世界经济运作模式的转型进行适应性调整和创新的基本规律,认为当前国际社会急需立足世界经济运作模式改变的现实,加快全球经济治理体系创新,有效推进世界经济可持续发展。金砖国家要率先垂范,加强国际合作,做国际市场增量开拓的好榜样,对冲全球经济治理体系创新中可能遇到的风险,推动全球经济治理体系体制机制不断完善。

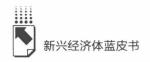
《金砖国家崛起推动全球治理体系转变》报告在描述金砖国家经济发展过程的基础上分析其在参与全球治理的进程中与 G20 集团、G7 集团之间的协作、磋商机制,有助于明晰金砖国家在推动全球治理过程中的角色定位并提出其推动全球治理体系转变的路径。

《全球治理变革中的金砖国家角色研究》报告认为,2008年金融危机显示,以美国为代表的传统西方大国的相对衰落,使得世界经济力量的对比逐渐向以金砖国家为代表的新兴经济体倾斜。危机也暴露出西方主导的"全球治理失灵"并使得日益多极化的世界推动全球治理结构的转型加快进入日程。

《全球治理创新挑战与金砖国家应对策略》报告认为,随着整体经济实力的提高和国际话语权的增强,"金砖五国"以新兴国家利益共同体身份在事关人类共同利益和维护发展中国家权益等问题上共同发声、相互协作、密切配合,在推进全球气候治理、全球金融治理改革等领域取得了一定的实质性成果。金砖国家已经成为一支在全球治理创新中能够表达自身全球治理意愿,发挥全球治理能力,影响未来全球治理模式和效果的重要力量。

《金砖国家机制创新及其对全球治理变革的影响》报告分析了近年来金砖国家在首脑峰会常态化,与国际机构的互动合作、合作机制实体化等机制化建设方面做出的很多探索和尝试。报告认为,金砖国家应该做好全球治理理念认知的研究及国际传播工作,持续强化金砖国家机制化建设,塑造全球治理新模式,协助新兴经济体提升参与全球治理的整体实力和水平,为逐步优化全球治理主体提供更多国际议题和方案,以丰富全球治理客体。

《金砖国家推动全球治理变革合作机制建设》报告,从比较分析视角着重对金砖国家合作机制对全球治理体系提出的变革突破,以及在当前国际政治经济背景下,对金砖国家合作推动全球治理变革的政策限度进行了分析。报告认为,金砖国家合作推动全球治理变革的逻辑起点是全球治理自身的问题,即国际公共产品的供需矛盾。金砖国家合作机制体现了新兴发展中国家力量进一步参与提供国际公共产品和改革全球治理的要求,推动全球治理的方向是实现更广泛的公平参与和合作治理。



《中国参与全球金融治理与"一带一路"国家合作研究》报告分析了金砖国家参与全球金融危机治理的原因背景、积极参与全球治理对于完善国际金融体系稳定全球经济的重要意义。以人民币国际化为背景案例对金砖国家参与全球金融治理的可行路径、时间节点、形式方法、制度规则、价值取向和战略决策进行了理论研判,为下一步更深入、更系统地研究项目提供技术支撑。报告提出中国倡导的"一带一路"规划不仅有利于提升中国在全球市场的地位,也能深化金砖国家及其他新兴经济体国家间的合作,有助于国际贸易体系、货币体系的平衡以及大宗商品价格形成机制的完善,且对全球地缘政治、文明网络以及生态系统等产生积极久远的影响。

《全球治理变革中的中国角色与贡献》报告分析了当下中国在全球治理体系中的复杂角色,认为中国参与全球治理已积极有为,但道路仍然漫长;指出了中国参与全球治理的优势,中国深厚的文化积淀和独特的发展历程等因素将促使中国国际地位不断提高并将对全球治理产生积极影响,必将成为全球治理体系发展与完善的重要力量。同时,也分析了中国提升全球治理权的局限性及应对思路。

《中国经济社会发展及参与全球治理创新》报告指出,中国作为新兴大国的重要一员,正以积极的姿态参与全球治理体系,旨在以中国理念和实践引领全球治理机制的改革与完善,推动全球治理理念创新发展。2015年是中国深度参与全球治理的重要一年,但中国在全球治理体系中的话语权尚不能与其在国际经济格局中的地位相匹配,有待进一步提高。

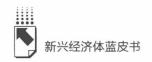
《印度经济社会发展及全球治理改革参与情况》报告回顾了 2014 年至今印度经济快速发展、超越中国成为世界经济增速最快的大型经济体的原因在于政府刺激国内消费,加大对基础设施建设的投入,以及在社会发展领域采取的一系列改革举措。报告分析了印度正以金砖国家和 G20 等国际组织为主要载体,将随着本国实力的提升,积极实施"东进"策略和非洲战略,以争取更多太平洋岛国和非洲国家的支持,深度参与全球治理以实现"人常"的愿景。

#### Abstract

With the rapid advance of globalization, the communication and integration among nations are deepening Issues like environmental pollution, infectious diseases, food crisis, resource crisis, financial crisis, terrorism and cyber-attacks are becoming more diversified, integrated and dispersed. They tend to spread across the world rapidly, causing global challenges and threats. All of these call for global cooperation, which poses more urgent and higher requirement to the global scope, structure, mechanism, path, method and efficiency of governance. Today's system of global governance was established by the major powers after the World War II and then experienced a process of evolution. After the Cold War, American hegemony highlights. Further, the existing mechanism of global governance runs not so smoothly and inefficiently and its reform also lags behind. In the background of some emerging nations rising, one superpower, with its curing mechanism, doesn't make for a democratic, rational, harmonious and efficient global governance system. It's no doubt that we need to optimize the structure of global governance and innovate its mechanism.

According to the new trend of globalization and new features of global problems, it is natural to promote the reform of the global governance system and thereby help the emerging nations head for the center from the edge to participate in the innovation of governance mechanism. It can make the existing unreasonable subject structure reasonable and also make for injecting new life and power into governance system reform, which contributes to build a more inclusive, efficient and robust governance system.

However, it is not easy to promote such a huge, complex and rigid global governance system to reform. The leaders and vested groups inside it may not be advocates and powerful engine of the reform, conversely, they even resist and oppose the reform intruding their own vital interests. Therefore, the reform and



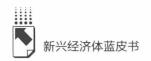
innovation of global governance system are bound to be a hard game and even a revolution. As the top authority of global governance, the United States, of course, is unwilling to reform the system dominated by itself and will not surrender its position submissively. On October 22, 2010, Obama went to campaign for Barbara Boxer and other democratic candidates at the University of Southern California (USC) and he said that America was not playing for second place but first place. On January 20, 2015, in the State of the Union Address, he even said, "Twenty-first century businesses need to sell more American products overseas. But China wants to write the rules for the world's fastest-growing region. That would put our workers and our businesses at a disadvantage. Why would we let that happen? We should write those rules." On October 5, 2015, after the TPP agreement was reached. Obama stated that the United States would not let nations such as China write global trade rules. These rules should be made by America, in adhering to high principle of labor and environment protecting, to mine new American business markets. The U. S. congress passed the IMF share reform program 2010 after delaying for 5 years. The assignment that developing countries and Europe asked America to release firstly the exclusive position of the World Bank President was flatly refused. All kinds of facts indicated that America would not easily give up the rights of drafting and ruling the global regulations. Some European countries possessing advantage position also would not do that. In April 2010, although after a couple of months of tough negotiation around the World Bank reform, several countries were still reluctant to cede voting weight and others were striving for voting weight remaining the same. "Although all countries agreed to change the voting weight, those forced to give up their own part of weight obviously reluctant to do so", said Zoellick. The final plan, which was the outcome of European countries' bargaining, didn't meet the emerging nations' expectation for the developed countries ceded 3% fewer voting weight. On May 18, 2014, China advocated, at the 2014 APEC meeting of Ministers Responsible for Trade (MRT), to initiate the feasibility study and process of establishing a broader, inclusive of all APEC members Free Trade Area of the Asia-Pacific (FTAAP). But this proposal was boycotted by America and the like. So, the power of structure adjusting and mechanism innovating of the

global governance is not from developed nations but emerging nations. The emerging nations especially rising powers should act as the role of advocate and main force in the forthcoming global governance reform.

The emerging powers' comprehensive strength is growing rapidly and their visions and aspirations to participate in global affairs are also growing. On the one hand, they are seeking a more stable external environment for their own development, reflecting the aspirations and values of their great powers. On the other hand, it is also a prerequisite for assuming more responsibility and making more contributions to the establishment of a new world order. In addition, with the emerging powers participating in more global affairs, their governance experience and wisdom are also gradually enriched.

However, to turn the vision of getting more governance power and the right to speak of global public domain into reality, the emerging powers still need to make painstaking efforts, including accelerating the transformation and upgrading driven by innovation, tapping new growth driving forces to maintain a rapid growth momentum, making a positive contribution to the global sustainable development and enhancing their own strength and thereby laying a solid foundation for more responsibilities. They should strengthen international cooperation in respects like promoting trade liberalization, accelerating investment facilitation and creating good business environment. In particular, they should unite and mobilize the vast number of developing countries to make more strategic investment and contribution, including intelligence, material resources and human resources, to global public domain issues. Moreover, they should provide more reasonable recommendations for global governance mechanism and establish the image of a responsible country. Only by doing so can they win the extensive support from the international community and thereby paving the way for getting the corresponding governance powers finally. All of these are practical and theoretical propositions that need to be studied carefully. It requires the rising powers to explore the new law improving the global governance in 21st century and more effective path of global governance suiting themselves.

In view of this, this report will regard "The global governance reform and the role of the BRICS" as the special topic discussion, focusing on how the



BRICS explores the new idea, new way and new paradigm of global governance reform in current context, how to assume more responsibilities of great powers at the same time in order to making for better global governance, and how to promote their own and even the world's development, prosperity, harmony and cooperation.

The main content of this report is divided into 1 general report, 5 national reports and 10 special reports, about 300 thousand words. The basic contents of each part are as follows.

The general report, "The global governance reform and the great power's responsibility", on the basis of investigating the relationship between power and responsibility of global governance, analyzes the opportunities and challenges the BRICS and other emerging powers facing in the process of heading for the core of global governance from the edge. It summarizes the fact that the BRICS participates in global governance more actively in recent years, noting that the BRICS need to be brave to take on responsibility and do something promising commensurate with their own strength in global affairs to enhance the soft power and reputation, echo the expectations of the international community and thus lay a solid foundation for accumulating governance experience and perform great governance duties.

The section "Economic and development and the role of Brazil in the global development and governance system" believes that the current domestic political and economic crisis limits the status and role of Brazil in global governance. However, as a member of the BRICS, Brazil is still an important component of the global governance. In the context of the world economy falling into "new mediocrity" and the world commodity boom cycle never coming back, Brazil needs to deepen the cooperation mechanism with other BRICS nations, improve financial cooperation in new development bank and contingency arrangements and reduce the short-term adverse effects on cooperation caused by changes in the political situation of member states.

The section "Russia's vision and initiatives for global governance" argues that Russia, in its process of participating in global governance, is continually revising its concept, which is not only related to its judgment on the relationship with the western countries headed by the United States, and also have a great relationship

with its cognition of the development trend of the international situation. During the course of participating in global governance, Russia has always stressed the importance of promoting international multi-polarization, and advocated the important role of international organizations headed by the United Nations.

The section "India's role in the global development and governance system" points out that India has great potential of economic growth, but is lagging behind the level of social development. Its sustainable development needs to be improved. In particular, terrorism and ethnic and religious issues disrupt India's construction process of great power. However, the rapid economic growth, significant demographic dividend, accelerated global industrial transfer, the support of great powers and the increasing complexity of global issues provide many chances for India's sustaining economic growth, participating in global governance and enhancing the international influence, which will have a direct impact on the its pace of construction of the great power.

The section "The evaluation of China's economic growth and analysis of its participation in global governance" reviews the generally steady and stable development of Chinese economy in 2015 and the trend of it stabilized to a good momentum and its structure optimization in the first half of 2016, and prospects the future of Chinese economy. It puts forward the line of thinking for focusing on resolving the issues like excess capacity of traditional industries, insufficient private investment and others, through the structural reform of supply-side. Moreover, it also predicts and evaluates the new progress and prospect of China's participation in global governance reform.

The section "The philosophy and practice of South Africa's participation in global governance" analyzes the goal of South Africa to play a leading role in the development and construction of the political and economic interests of the developing countries, especially African countries by upholding the principle of multilateralism after the end of apartheid. But the role of South Africa in the global governance system is limited due to the severe internal development and external challenges. South Africa should not only speak on behalf of the African sound as a regional leader in the international multilateral arena, but also need to address the serious domestic economic and social development issues. South Africa should be