

# 民國十年

(1927—1937)

经济发展中的政府主导  
与市场互动研究

周海燕

著



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## 摘 要

政府与市场关系是长期以来的世界性话题,随着时代发展,理论界众说纷纭,派系层出。环视当代中国,自1978年十一届三中全会以来,三十多年中国经济体制改革,依靠政府强制之手与逐步发挥市场调节作用,取得了举世瞩目的伟大成就。但随着改革进入深水区,政府与市场的关系问题日益发展成为当代中国经济改革的焦点问题。如何实现强势政府向服务型政府之转变,是中国经济改革之重任,任重而道远。

本书在已有研究成果的基础上,借助政府与市场关系理论,以1927—1937年民国建设为例,阐述民国十年黄金期发展中的政府主导与市场互动关系,提出本书的主要研究结论:政府适时的正确主导是民国十年经济发展的关键因素。通过对民国十年政府与市场关系的分析与总结,为当代中国处理政府与市场关系提供一定借鉴与参考价值。

围绕核心观点,本书分为六章。第一章为导论,主要说明选题价值、文献回顾、研究思路、方法、创新与不足等。文献综述部分,通过对民国十年经济发展与发展原因相关研究进行文献梳理,指出已有研究对1927—1937年民国政府主导下的经济发展认识不足,未能准确解读这一时期政府与市场双向互动推动历史发展的事实,亦未能准确解读好政府与国家资本、民营经济等之间的双向互动关系;已有研究或仅肯定市场作用,无视政府当年以强制性制度供给在诱致性市场创新中无可替代的重要作用,在土地改革中回避租佃制度优化实为农业发展的较优选择,故本书从政府的强制性制度供给与诱致性市场创新相结合的视角,全面阐述与评价南京国民政府在战乱年代推动的农村改革。研究思路

与研究方法部分,概述政府与市场关系理论的起源与发展史,并指出任何理论都不是万能的,其张力的施展必须基于不同国家的不同国情与历史传统;基于政府与市场理论之研究视角,归纳本书核心观点,同时明确主要研究内容与研究框架,最后提出创新与不足之处。

第二章中国现代化的内外危机及其发展模式转型。国内危机方面,体现在国内新旧军阀分裂混战导致的政治动荡,20世纪30年代市场危机的出现与自然灾害频繁打击;国外方面,体现为世界经济社会发展危机,第一次世界经济危机迅速波及全世界,世界法西斯主义与日本军国主义形成,大规模世界性战争在所难免,而自鸦片战争后,西方国家对华侵略的长期存在,都加速了中国国家主权的不完整性;理论挑战方面,为摆脱世界性经济危机,美国凯恩斯主义形成与成功实践,美国与西方多数国家走出危机,并走上国家资本主义道路,世界资本主义理论与实践亦趋向日益成熟,对古老而落后的中国而言,是危机亦是挑战;发展模式新选择与威权政府建立方面,阐述中国现代化发展道路开始迈向发展国家资本主义导向的转型,南京国民政府威权统治逐步确立,并创建具有现代性的政治制度。

第三章为政府主导下的经济政策环境创新,主要论述南京国民政府供给的各项制度改新。土地私有财产权制度的法律确认,主要资源及矿产所有权的明晰,财产登记的法律保障制度完善,都推动现代产权制度的确立;关税制度的革新促进关税自主权的实现,盐税制度市场化改革,废除厘金制度,促使现代税收制度的确立;废弃银两制度改用银元制度,法币政策确立现代币制,四行二局的国有银行制度之形成,推动南京国民政府迈向金融国家资本道路;南京国民政府颁布各项法律措施,鼓励工业科技发明创新,支持农业科技与技术改良,完善人才引进与培养制度,普及义务教育,发展职业教育与高等教育,广泛引进留学归国人才参与国家建设;南京国民政府出台系列政策,发展重工业、军事工业等,扶持民营经济发展,发展对外贸易,以协调工商业发展;南京国民政府引导各类民间组织发展,支持商会与同业公会组织制度改组,创建农会制度,支持民间建设力量进行乡村建设活动,推动民间组织服务经济发展功能之发挥;南京国民政府发起农业复兴运动,租佃制度优化改新,农业合作社制度创新,资源保护与农田水利建设制度的改进,促进农村秩序的恢复与城乡协调发展。南京国民政府主导的全方位制度创新,虽然存在某些不足或制度的有效性有限,但总体上适应了时代需要,为经济恢复发展奠定基础。

第四章为政府主导下市场的互动与多元创新。土地与主要资源的确权实

现优化配置,农业生产要素多元流动,主要资源国有化经营,企业资本集中化加速;税制金融制度创新提高了资源配置效率,税制现代化改善了市场交易环境,现代货币促进了市场流通,金融国家资本市场化运作;人才引进与科技创新提升市场竞争力,工业科技改新推动了生产进步,农事技术的市场运转与推广促进农业经济发展,专家与专业人才投身工农业建设;工商业经济协调发展,国家资本主义经济在主要工业领域全面确立,壮大南京国民政府经济力量,提高工业化水平;民营经济朝资本集中化方向发展,民营经济多元化发展活跃市场空间,并带动工业技术进步与管理创新,对外贸易拓深国内外市场;民间组织发挥联接政府与市场的中介作用,商会维护商人利益,同业公会维持市场秩序,民间乡村建设力量投入农业教育与经济建设推动了农业经济的恢复与发展,开启对中国“三农”问题的探索;农村改革中的诱致性市场创新,现代银行支持农村金融体系的形成,农业合作社联接城市金融救济农村,缓解农业资金短缺,推动农业技术改良与进步,对城乡经济发展起到联动效应;小农户经济发展与农业适度规模经营的发展,推动了农村经济的发展。上述政府主导下的市场互动与创新,体现了1927—1937年政府与市场关系的良性互动与动态发展,虽然存在某些不足或发展的有限性,但总体上推动了近代中国第二次经济黄金期的出现。

第五章为民国十年经济发展的历史评价与现实启示。本书指出对于经济落后大国而言,中央政府统治权威的保持与政治稳定非常重要;南京国民政府大量采用留学归国专家与精英治国,专家精英在制度设计与决策实施方面,结合中国国情广泛吸收西方国家先进经验,有利于减少制度试错成本;制度变迁中的政府与市场关系是动态与发展的,而不是一成不变的,但政府与市场保持一定距离是必须的,处理政府与市场关系问题,应依据本国国情与历史传统;农村改革方面,保障农民土地财产权利是核心问题,发展农户经济与家庭农场是现代农业发展的基础,同时注重传统文化建设。当然,民国十年经济建设中存在的不足之处,亦值得后世加以总结与借鉴。

第六章是研究结论与展望。通过对民国十年建设中,经济发展中的政府主导与市场互动关系分析,得出本书主要研究结论:正确而适时的政府调控主导是民国十年经济发展的关键因素。

## Abstract

It is a worldwide long-standing topic about government and market relationship, which brings about many theorists and divergent factions with the times development. Looking around contemporary China, since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in 1978, China has made remarkable achievements relying on the forced hand and market regulation effect in the past thirty years of China's economic reform history. But when the pace of reform enters into the deep water period, the relationship between government and market is increasingly become the focus of Chinese economic reform. How to realize the transform of strong government to service-oriented government and establish a market-oriented government is main task and long way for contemporary Chinese economic reform.

Based on the existing research results, the book describes the relationship between government-led and market interation in the Golden period in the Republic of China through the government and market theory. This article presents the main study conclusion, the government's timely and correctly dominant is a key factor to the economic development in this decade. Through the analysis and summary of the relationship between government and market in this decade, we can draw some lessons and reference value for contemporary china.

The book is splitted into six chapters around the core point of view. The introduction is the first chapter, explains mainly the topic and research ideas, including

the background and significance, content and topics of research literature review, research ideas and research methods, innovation and other issues. In the literature review part, through the review of the overall development in the decade of the Republic of China and development reasons, this paper argues that there is lack of knowledge in existing research on the economic development of the National Government in 1927—1937, there is failure understanding about the fact of two-way interaction between government and market in this period and the two-way interaction between the state capital and private capital. This book argues that there is ignore in the effecton of the mandatory system supply or affirmative on the function of market only, and avoidance that the tenancy system was the optimum choice in land reform in existing research. So this paper put forward the mandatory system supply of the Nanjing National Government in rural reform on a new perspctive on the combintion the mandatory system supply and compulsory induced changes. In the part of research ideas and research methods section, this paper summarized the origin and history of the relationship between government and the market theory, and notes that any theory in not a panacea, whose tense of the display must be based on different conditions of a country and historical traditions. Based on the perspective of the government and the market theory, this article summarizes the key point of paper, and points out clearly the main contents and research framework, and finally puts forward the innovation and shorting comings of this book.

The second chapter is China's internal and external crisis and mode transformation of modernization development. Domestic crisis reflected such as political unrest which from old and new separatist warlord infighting, market crisis in the 1930s and frequent natural disasters strike; Foreign crisis reflected in the social and market crisis caused by the first world economic crisis, originating from the United States and quickly spread around the world. And the becoming of world's fascism and Japanese militarism which would bring about inevitable large-scale global war, and the long-term existence of aggression from the Western countries since the Opium War have accelerated incomplete national sovereignty; For the part of theoretical aspects challenge, mainly includes the US Keynesian formation and successful practice which helped the United States and most Western countries get rid of crisis and embarked on the capitalist road, at this time the world capitalist theory and practice have ten-

ded increasingly sophisticated. All of those above was a challenge and crisis. For the part of new option establishment and development of an authoritarian government, this paper elaborates the development path of China began to move towards modern state capitalism-oriented restructuring, the establishment of authoritarian of the National Government, and gradually creted a modern politics system.

The third chapter is the innovation of economic policy environment under government-led, which focuses on the new institution supply finished by the National Government. The legal confirmance of land private right, the clarify of key resources and mineral ownership, the legal improvement of the property protection and registration, which all push to establish a modern property rights system. Those measures all prompted the establishment of a modern tax system, for example, tariff system promoted the realization of innovation, salt tariff system reform established market-oriented autonomy, and the abolition of likin system and the establishment of a modern tax system. The discarding of silver to silver dollar system, the formation of a modern legal currency because of Statutory currency reform, the formation of the state-owned banking system owing to the establishment of four banks and two bureaus, those of all which promoted the formation of the national financial capital system. Nanjing National Government enacted many laws to encourage industrial and technological invention and innovation, support agricultural science and technology, improve perfect talent introduction and training system, disseminate compulsory education, develop vocational education and higher education, introduce widespreadly overseas talent returning returning to participate in nation-building. Nanjing National Government introduced a series of polices, such as focusing on the development of heavy industry, military industry and state capitalism primary energy, supporting the development of private economic and foreign trade in order to coordinate commercial and industrial. Nanjing National Government guided the development of various types of non-governmental organizations, sustained the chambers of commerce and trade associations' restructuring of the organizational system, created Peasant Association, supported the rural construction efforts in rural economic development and promoted non-governmental organization services functioning. Nanjing National Government launched the agricultural revival movement, changed the new tenancy system optimization and agricultural cooperatives system innovation, improved the farmland water

conservancy construction system resources' protection, all of which promoted rural order recovery and the coordination in urban and rural areas. Although there being some deficiencies, the Nanjing National Government dominated all-round system innovation, which meted the needs of the times and laid a good foundation for economic recovery.

The fourth part is the interaction and innovation of market under government-led. The confirmation of property rights achieved optimal allocation of land and the main resources, for example, agricultural production factors achieved multiple flow, main resources realized national management, enterprise capital accelerated centralization. Tax and finance institution innovation improved the efficiency of resource allocation, for instance, tax system modernization improved the market environment, modern currency promoted the market circulation, state capital finance operated marketly. Introducing talents and science and technology innovation promoted the competitiveness of the market, such as industrial technology pushed production progress, and the technical technology of agriculture promoted economy progress, experts and professionals contributed industry and agriculture construction, and the development of industry and agriculture coordinated in order. State capitalist economy fully established in the major industry areas, strengthened government's strength, raised the level of industrialization and leded industrial technology innovation. Private economy developed toward the capital of centralized direction, the diversification of private economy actived its market space, and promoted industrial and technological progress and management innovation, foreign trade expand domestic and international market deeply. Non-government organizations played a role of connecting the government and the market intermediary, for instance, chamber of commerce protected the interest of the merchants, trade associations maintained market order, the folk rural power dedicated in the construction of agricultural education and economic development to the recovery and development of agricultural economy, which opened modern China's exploration of the three rural issues. The induced rural reform of market innovation, and the formation of the modern bank system in the rural finance, agricultural cooperatives joined the city's financial relief to rural areas, which alleviated the shortage of agricultural funds, promoted agricultural technology improvement and progress, and linked the urban and rural economic development. The development

of small farmers and modern scale management of agricultural economy promoted the progress of the rural economy. The interaction of government-led and market creation in 1927—1937 reflected the interaction and dynamic relationship between government and market, it pushed the second golden period of modern National history of China on the whole, though there are some disadvantage.

The fifth chapter is a historical evaluation and the apocalypse of the decade of economic development. For the backward country, this book points out that it is very important to maintain the ruling authority and the political stability of the ruling authority of the central government. Nanjing National Government used a lot of experts and elites in designing system reformation and implementation decisions, combined with China's national conditions and widely absorbed the advanced experience of Western countries, which helped to reduced the system cost of trial and error. The relationship between government and market in institutional change is dynamic and developmental rather than static, but to maintain a certain distance is necessary in dealing with its relationship which based on its national conditions and historical traditions. To protect farmers' land property rights is the core issue in rural reform, the development of household economy and family farms are the foundation of modern agricultural development, and also we should pay attention to traditional culture construction. And the deficiencies of economy construction in the decade is also worth later reference and summary for the later generations.

The sixth chapter is the conclusion and prospect research. Through the ten years' construction of the Republic and the analysis between the government-led and the market interaction, this book draws its main conclusion, the correct and timely government regulation is a key factor in the Republican-led economic development in this decade.

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