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开放经济下中国分配差距变化 及对经济增长影响

Qian Minze: The Inequality of China's Distribution under
an Open Economy and it's Influence on Growth



经济科学出版社
Economic Science Press

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图书在版编目 (CIP) 数据

开放经济下中国分配差距变化及对经济增长影响 /
钱敏泽著. —北京: 经济科学出版社, 2006. 5

ISBN 7 - 5058 - 5476 - 3

I. 开… II. 钱… III. ①收入分配 - 研究 - 中国
②收入分配 - 影响 - 经济增长 - 中国 IV. F124

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字 (2006) 第 015218 号

序

分配关系是人们经济关系中的一个重要方面，分配问题是人们普遍关心的重大现实经济问题，因而也是经济学家十分注意研究的重大理论问题。英国古典经济学家李嘉图主要研究生产，但他突出分配问题的重要性，不说生产而说分配是政治经济学的中心问题。李嘉图说：“确立调节这种分配的法则，是政治经济学的主要问题。”^①

分配问题最直接地关系到不同社会群体、集团、阶层和阶级的利益，站在不同社会群体、集团、阶层和阶级的立场，从不同社会群体、集团、阶层和阶级的利益出发的经济学家，对分配问题会做出完全不同的回答。

在马克思主义经济学中，分配包括生产资料分配和产品分配或收入分配。在这两种分配中，产品分配或收入分配决定于生产资料分配。在经济关系中，分配关系本质上和生产关系是同一的，一定的分配关系

^① 参阅《李嘉图著作和通信集》第1卷，商务印书馆1981年版，第8页。

只是历史规定的生产关系的表现，分配关系只是生产关系的一个方面。生产和分配之间存在着决定作用和反作用的关系：生产决定分配，分配又反作用于生产，促进或阻碍生产的发展。

在西方经济学中，分配只是收入分配。西方经济学的分配理论一般都避而不谈收入分配取决于生产资料分配这一事实。西方经济学家提出了各种各样的分配理论，包括古典分配理论、新古典分配理论、后凯恩斯主义分配理论、新李嘉图主义分配理论、一般均衡分配理论等。在这些分配理论中，有的理论，例如古典分配理论、后凯恩斯主义分配理论、新李嘉图主义分配理论，精华和糟粕并存；有的理论，例如新古典分配理论、一般均衡分配理论，糟粕多而精华难寻。

我国在社会主义计划经济时期，在生产资料公有制的前提下，实行各尽所能、按劳分配的原则。这曾经积极促进了生产的发展。但是，在实践中，平均主义倾向严重，这又不利于生产的发展。

改革开放以来，我国确立了社会主义市场经济的改革目标。在实行以公有制为主体、多种经济成分并存的前提下，在分配方面实行以按劳分配为主体、多种分配方式并存的分配原则。这曾经积极促进了生产的发展。但是，在理论上，一些经济学家常常用新古典分配理论来误导。在实践中，随着生产资料私有制的比重不断上升和生产资料公有制的比重不断下降，分配不公的问题日渐严重。用邓小平的话说：实际上两极分化自然出现。

邓小平讲过让一部人先富起来，但他讲得最多的是共同富裕，强调的是不能搞两极分化。邓小平晚年十分注意观察和思考分配问题，指出：“中国发展到一定的程度后，一定要考虑分配问题。……

如果仅仅是少数人富有，那就会落到资本主义去了。要研究提出分配这个问题和它的意义。到本世纪末（20 世纪末——引者）就应该考虑这个问题了。”^①邓小平对分配不公和两极分化问题深表担心。他说：“十二亿人口怎样实现富裕，富裕起来以后财富怎样分配，这都是个大问题。题目已经出来了，解决这个问题比解决发展起来的问题还困难。分配的问题大得很。我们讲要防止两极分化，实际上两极分化自然出现。要利用各种手段、各种方法、各种方案来解决这些问题。……少部分人获得那么多财富，大多数人没有，这样发展下去总有一天会出问题。分配不公，会导致两极分化，到一定时候问题就会出来。这个问题要解决。过去我们讲先发展起来。现在看，发展起来以后的问题不比不发展时少。”^②

现在，中央提出的科学发展观明确指出发展为了人民，发展依靠人民，发展的成果要惠及全体人民。

在上述的历史背景下，钱敏泽同志的《开放经济下中国分配差距变化及对经济增长影响》一书应对我国分配问题的突出矛盾，探寻收入分配差距扩大的原因，分析收入差距扩大对经济增长的影响，力图将理论分析与解决现实问题密切结合起来。他的这项研究无疑具有重要的理论意义和现实意义。

作者从历史角度研究了分配理论的不同形式，分析了这些理论所反映的不同利益关系。他着重研究了从古典经济学家到马克思的劳动价值理论和剩余价值理论，论述了私有制下剩余劳动被

① 中共中央文献研究室编：《邓小平年谱》，中央文献出版社 2004 年版，第 1356 ~ 1357 页。

② 同上，第 1364 页。

占有的分配关系，评论了建立在效用价值理论、市场供求价值理论基础上的西方分配理论。作者同时分析了经理与资本所有者争夺剩余的博弈关系和经理市场价格的形成过程。

作者将中国改革开放以来形成分配差距变化的因素归结为所有制结构变化、劳动配置国际趋势变化和现代工业化过程。作者认为，从目前变化形势上看，这三种因素都还朝着进一步加剧分配差距扩大方向变化。作者建立了两个表述分配差距变化模型：一个是由传统产业结构向现代产业结构转变过程中分配差距模型；另一个是开放经济下的分配差距变化模型。

作者还将分配差距与消费和经济增长联系起来，把消费率引入二元结构模型，建立了一个二元结构下的消费模型。该模型表示传统产业结构向着现代产业结构变化时分配差距因素对消费产生的影响。作者实证地分析了中国分配差距持续扩大对消费率下降产生的影响，以及在开放经济下分配差距不断扩大对消费增长速度产生的抑制或减小作用导致对出口依赖程度不断加大的问题。

钱敏泽同志的《开放经济下中国分配差距变化及对经济增长影响》一书是在博士论文基础上修改完成的。作者从历史、现实和社会制度角度，客观地研究和分析分配问题，在构建分配差距模型方法上也具有独创性。我很高兴看到这本专著的出版，乐于为其作序，并期待着他在今后的理论和现实问题研究中做出更多的贡献。



2006年4月

摘 要

本书涉及四个方面内容：第一个是分配问题；第二个是工业化阶段分配差距变化趋势；第三个是开放经济下中国分配差距的变化；第四个是中国分配差距变化对消费和经济增长产生的影响。前两个是理论性问题，后两个是实践性问题。

关于分配问题，中国从计划经济进入市场化改革阶段，分配方式发生了重大变化，分配差距呈现出迅速扩大变化趋势，由此引发出对分配理论的争论涉及劳动价值理论与剩余价值理论、效用价值理论与市场供求价值理论，以及所有权与使用权占有剩余的不同认识。

为了更全面理解价值的含义，本书从人类对财富来源的最初认识、财富与商品关系，以及商品交换中引发的公平性问题出发，分析了价值概念的起源和发展，介绍了从威廉·配第、亚当·斯密、大卫·李嘉图到马克思的劳动价值理论的形成和发展过程，特别是马克思对剩余价值理论的阐述与贡献。书中着重分析了在私有制所有权作用下形成的劳动与劳动力差别，并由此产生的剩余价值被私有制占有的分配形式。这种分配形式的变化，导致了最初以等量劳动相交换的公平分配方式开始向了其背离的另一面。

效用价值论转向了以主观评价为基础，结合边际计算方法和

市场供求关系来确定要素的市场价格。这里分别介绍了边沁的主观效用价值论、萨伊的三要素价值理论、各种边际效用价值学派、马歇尔的供求价值理论,以及在他们价值论体系下构建的分配方式。由效用价值论确定的分配关系强调实验科学方法的应用,即承认现实社会制度下分配关系的客观性与合理性,并把这种客观性与合理性进一步引向公平的判断认识中。三要素或四要素价值理论就是体现了这样的思想,将带有所有制条件下的生产关系抽象成为单纯优化条件下的数理关系,淡化和掩饰了企业生产中劳动剩余被占有的事实。

对于所有权、使用权与分配关系,分析了在私有产权占有形式下,资本所有者与经理之间的博弈关系,经理市场价格形成过程和经理创造剩余过程。新近发展的西方企业理论开始承认企业的生产过程并不是一个完全技术性的要素配置过程。企业组织生产依靠命令,存在着控制与被控制的博弈关系。作为对资本和劳动拥有了使用权的经理,凭借其具有的优势地位,在更加容易实现自身劳动创造价值的同时也具备了占有工人劳动剩余的条件。

本书将经理的劳动划分为重复性的管理和创造性的谋划两个部分,区别分析了经理在这两种工作内容下创造价值过程,和它们在形成经理市场价格中的不同表现形式。作为已经标准化的管理工作,经理大体上是重复已有的经验和规则,这时经理获取的收入应该是他在经理市场上被聘用的价格,企业剩余由工人创造。当由于经理创造性的谋划工作并且在工人予以合作下创造出了新增剩余时,新增剩余则由经理和工人共同创造,不过经理发挥的是创造性作用,创造性劳动应该获取更多的报酬。由于经理创造性劳动,在新增剩余中应该参与更多的分配,经理这时的市场价格应该高于前一阶段没有带来新剩余时的市场价格。经理工作是复杂多变的,评价起来也是困难的,但是经理与工人和资本

所有者之间博弈的基础仍然是他劳动创造的价值。

关于工业化阶段分配差距变化趋势问题。在市场经济条件下,由于产业结构的变化,分配差距会呈现出什么样的变化趋势?刘易斯在他的“二元经济论”中意识到可能会出现扩大的变化趋势,库兹涅茨则在他的“经济增长与收入不平等”中猜想会出现倒U字形变化规律。长时间来,以实证方法没有得到较为明确的解释,但是这个问题在理论和实践上一直困扰着我们,并成为国家宏观经济形势关注的重要内容。

本书根据刘易斯的二元结构模型和基尼系数计算方法,推导出了在工业化过程中分配差距模型,由该模型得到的曲线呈现出倒U字形变化趋势,也即库兹涅茨提出的倒U字形曲线,同时拓展了库兹涅茨假说仅描述的工业化阶段分配差距变化,将分配差距变化认识延伸到后工业化阶段。模型分三种情况分别表述了分配差距变化趋势:第一,工业化阶段分配差距的变化;第二,后工业化阶段分配差距的变化;第三,工业化与后工业化(如发达国家劳动密集型产业向知识密集型转移)同时进行下分配差距的变化。由模型得到的结论反映了市场条件下工业化过程分配差距的变化趋势,本书结合中国实际情况,分析了中国分配差距出现倒U字形变化的条件与形势。

关于开放经济下中国分配差距的变化问题。中国在向着市场化和国际化趋势变化过程中,劳动要素配置也在走向国际一体化——国内高端的经理收入不断向着国际同类水平靠近,低端的工人收入则尽可能被压抑。根据这一变化现象构造了开放经济下分配差距变化模型,以分析和解释劳动要素配置国际一体化下对分配差距变化产生的影响。

关于分配差距变化对消费和经济增长产生影响问题。从1978年市场化改革以来,中国分配差距呈持续扩大变化趋势,

本书将主要原因概括于下：第一，私有化程度加大。私有化结构扩大所形成的分配方式，资本所有者及其代理者对剩余占有的份额也会不断增大。同时，以市场机制配置劳动要素，在大量劳动后备军条件下，工人工资呈现难以改变的刚性状态。第二，市场国际化加深。劳动要素与资本要素一样参与国际市场分工与配置，进一步拉大了高端与低端收入的距离。第三，工业化步伐加快。在工业化进程中，产业结构变化会在分配差距上表现出扩大的变化趋势。第一、二个原因是分配差距变化的微观基础，在这个基础上，分配差距在产业结构变化中呈现出特定的宏观变化趋势。从目前情况看，这三种原因都还朝着进一步加大分配差距的方向变化。

分配差距对消费和经济增长产生的影响是一个宏观性问题，主要表现在分配差距变化对消费和经济增长产生的影响，本书的研究也正是从分配差距“变化”角度出发的。西方发达国家已经走完了工业化道路，分配差距变化基本趋于稳定，分配结构的调整（或者分配差距变化）不会成为影响消费总量增长速度趋势性变化的因素。中国的情况则完全不同，从上面对中国分配差距变化的三种原因分析看到，分配差距在市场化改革 26 年间，以及在未来的工业化阶段，都可能呈现出单方向扩大的变化，这种变化会降低消费倾向，导致消费增长速度的下降。本书建立了二元结构消费模型，将工业化进程中引起分配差距变化的因素与消费联系起来，得到了反映分配差距变化因素的消费模型。同时通过实证方法比较城镇居民 2001 年与 1991 年分配差距变化，计算出由于分配差距扩大导致消费总量下降的变化。

本书从对经济增长形成制约因素的角度，分析了中国中长期增长所面临的问题。中国经济增长保持一个较高的增长速度，不仅是历史的需要，也是缓解就业压力面对的现实问题。在经济增

长的消费、投资、政府支出和净出口结构中，当消费增长率下降时，要使经济增长维持在一个稳定水平上，就必须提高投资和净出口比例。这里从数理关系上分析了消费、投资、政府支出和净出口在经济增长结构中的关系，同时以实证方法分析了这些因素对经济增长产生的影响，以及在开放经济下，为弥补内需不足导致对出口依赖程度不断加大的问题。

Abstract

The book involves four themes: The first is the theory of income distribution; the second is the trends of the inequality varying when in the process of industrialization; the third is the inequality expanding under an open economy; the fourth is the influence of expanded inequality to consumption and economic growth.

On the issue of income distribution, its structure has altered considerably and the gap of income distribution has widened rapidly as well, as China has shifted from a planned economy to a market oriented economy. That has significantly increased debates on the theory of labor value, surplus value, utility value, labor factor allocation, and the controlled labor surplus by capital ownership and its use rights of managers.

For understanding the implication of value, the book analyzes the origin and development of the concept of value beginning with a primitive knowledge of wealth, the relationship between wealth and goods, and the fairness issues arising from trade. It also presents the formulation and development of labor value as presented by William Petty, Adam Smith, David Ricardo and Karl Marx; particularly the great contribution of Karl Marx to the surplus value theory. The book

explores the difference between labor and labor force as well as the surplus occupied by private ownership. The changing of the distribution mode led to deviation from fairness which was based on labor.

The utility value theory changed to market value, which is based on subjective judgment, marginal calculation and by supply and demand relationships. The book presents Bentham's subjective utility value theory, Say's value theory which is based on three allocation factors, and different schools of marginal utility, Marshall's synthesis of Classical and Marginal, and their distribution modes under their value theories. The distribution form of the utility value theory stresses positive methodology and its application in practice. Many studies often admit that the real objective and rational of income distribution under the private ownership was further developed into a criterion of fair judgment. Three or four factors of the value theory fit this kind of ideology. The ownership relationship in the process of production has been replaced by optimization calculations, and the fact that a surplus possessed by private ownership has been hidden.

The book analyzes on the game relationship between capital ownership and the managers, as well as the process of managers setting market prices and surplus produced by managers under private ownership. The firm theory, which was developed lately, began to admit that the process of production is not merely a question of resource allocation. The production of firm is not only based on demands but also is game between managers and capital owners.

Managers who control the capital and the worker force dominated knowledge and information. This makes it easier to control the wages so there will be a surplus for management.

The work of managers here is divided into two parts: a. standardized repetitive work; and b. creative design work. The value created by managers under these two systems and the remuneration to these managers is studied. As for standardized management work, the managers repeat existing experience and regulations in general. In this case, the wages of managers are their market prices. The surplus belongs to workers. When creative works produce new surplus, the added surplus ought to belong to both managers and workers. The managers should likely take more surplus since their work is creative and complicated. The wages of these managers should be higher than their previous wages. Because the work of managers is changeable and complicated, it seems difficult to evaluate it in detail. However, the division of surplus between managers, capital owners and workers should be based on value created.

On the issue of the changing of distribution in industrialization, W. Arthur Lewis in his "Dual Economy Theory" was aware of the widening of inequality when industries' structures changed. Simon Kuznets made his hypothesis in the paper of "Economy Growth and Income Inequality" that an inverted-U shape curve would appear during the transfer from traditional industry to modern industrial economy. There is no trustworthy argument for this at this time. It has become unexplainable in theory and inaccurately evaluated in practice, but its power to change and influence society has to be faced.

A mode describing the changing inequality has been deduced with Lewis's dual structure theory and Gini's calculation method of the Lorenz curve. This curve is also called Kuznets' inverted-U shaped curve. The mode also develops Kuznets' hypothesis that can explain ine-

quality changing in the process of post-industrialization. The book studies three kinds of situations: a. The changing inequality during industrialization; b. the changing inequality in post-industrialization; c. the changing inequality in the period during industrialization and post-industrialization (labor-intensive industry changing to knowledge-intensive industry). The book also analyzes the conditions and forms of China's inverted-U shaped curve concerning its current situation.

Under an open economy, China's labor factors allocation has changed along with international trends in that the upper class income of domestic managers is moving towards international levels, but workers' incomes have intentionally been kept low. A mode with open economy characteristics has been developed which can explain China's inequality expanding.

On the issue of inequality varying which influences consumption and growth, the inequality in China has increased since the market oriented reforms of 1978. The book summarizes the reasons for the changing inequality in three aspects: the first is the rising proportion of privatization; the capital owners and managers gain more while a large proportion of workers' wages do not increase; the second aspect is closely related to the international market, which makes the income gap between the high level and the low level continue to increase; the third aspect is the rapid growth of industrialization. The first two points are the micro foundation of the changing inequality. Changing industry structures has a major impact in shaping inequality. In view of the present situation, these three reasons continue to promote increased inequality.

The influence on consumption and growth caused by the changing

inequality is one of the issues of macro economy. Western countries have completed their industrialization process and their inequality has become stable. Their increased rate of consumption would not appear to be trend changing when allocation structures are adjusted. However, considerably different in China in that the gap of distribution will become even more serious in the future because of the three reasons mentioned above. The expanding of inequality will lead to single direction change and result in the propensity to reduce consumption increase rate. A consumption mode with dual structure has been developed in this book. It connects the factors of distribution and consumption, and illustrates the changing consumption due to increased inequality. Concluding with a positive study, the book draws the conclusion that aggregate consumption increase rate decreased from 1991 to 2001 because of expanded inequality.

Considering the perspective of restricting factors, the book discusses the problems of long-term growth trends in China. To keep a relatively high growth rate, it is not only needed for historical reasons but also to consider alleviating unemployment pressure. The relationship of consumption, investment, government purchase and net exports is analyzed here. In order to keep a stable growth rate, the proportion of investment and net exports should increase when domestic consumption increase rate decreases. This relationship is studied methodically and analyzed positively. Finally, the study draws the conclusion that the dilemma of enlarging inequality and high rate exporting causes lack of domestic demand.