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体制转轨中的增长、 绩效与产业组织变化

——对中国若干行业的实证研究

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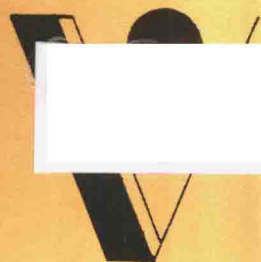
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出版前言

为了全面地、系统地反映当代经济学的全貌及其进程,总结与挖掘当代经济学已有的和潜在的成果,展示当代经济学新的发展方向,我们决定出版“当代经济学系列丛书”。

“当代经济学系列丛书”是大型的、高层次的、综合性的经济学术理论丛书。它包括四个子系列:(1)当代经济学文库;(2)当代经济学译库;(3)当代经济学教学参考书系;(4)当代经济学新知文丛。该丛书在学科领域方面,不仅着眼于各传统经济学科的新成果,更注重经济前沿学科、边缘学科和综合学科的新成就;在选题的采择上,广泛联系海内外学者,努力开掘学术功力深厚、思想新颖独到、作品水平拔尖的“高、新、尖”著作。“文库”力求达到中国经济学界当前的最高水平;“译库”翻译当代经济学的名人名著;“教学参考书系”主要出版国外著名高等院校 90 年代的通用教材;“新知文丛”则运用通俗易懂的语言,介绍国际上当代经济学的最新发展。

本丛书致力于推动中国经济学的现代化和国际标准化,力图在一个不太长的时期内,从研究范围、研究内容、研究方法、分析技术等方面逐步完成中国经济学从传统向现代的转轨。我们渴望经济学家们支持我们的追求,向这套丛书提供高质量的标准经济学著作,进而为提高中国经济学的水平,使之立足于世界经济学之林而共同努力。

我们和经济学家一起瞻望着中国经济学的未来。

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ABSTRACT

Growth, Efficiency and Industrial Organizational Changes

During Transition of an Economic System

An Empirical Analysis of a Number of Industries in China

1. Significance, Purpose and Methodology for Industrial Studies

The purpose of this book is to describe, through an empirical study of a number of typical industries, the growth and efficiency of the Chinese manufacturing and telecommunications industries and the organizational changes they have undergone during the transition of the Chinese economic system towards the market economy, and to point out their significance to the theory on economic transition and the practice of reform.

The process of the transition of the Chinese economic system bears a striking difference from the dogmas of mainstay Western economics and the practice of the

former Soviet Union and east European countries. Quite a few economists, main-stay Western economists in particular, have found it hard to account for the process of the reform in China and the achievements it has made. By the mid-1990s, that is, nearly two decades after the beginning of reform, the Chinese economic system were still obviously deviating or even departing from the dogmas of mainstream economics. As indications of this, state enterprises were still occupying an important position; state enterprises and collective enterprises in cities and rural areas were still operating in the absence of a well-defined division of property rights; competing enterprises found themselves confronted with different laws, budget constraints and policies; the reform of the financial department were still not in a position to impose hard financial discipline on enterprises; and the government was still intervening enterprises to a degree that went far beyond the tolerance of

the market economy. However, it was precisely in the process of this "incomplete" reform that China had maintained a growth rate that was virtually the highest in the world for nearly two decades, achieved substantial changes in the economic system, and freed social stability from a sustained and serious onslaught.

The methodology and achievements of the reform in China have commanded the attention of many scholars at home and abroad. Since the beginning of the 1990s large numbers of writings on what is known as the Chinese mode of progressive reform have appeared. However, some of the discussions, especially those among Chinese scholars, are mere theoretical hypotheses that lack the support of systematic facts and statistics even though they have provided a wealth of penetrating and inspiring viewpoints and new theoretical perspectives. Some foreign scholars, some of them working together with Chinese colleagues, have

achieved influential research results with the support of systematic statistics. However, their researches are mostly based on aggregate statistics on an entire industry. Though studies of such aggregate statistics have helped deepen the understanding of the overall situation in Chinese industrial reform, they have neglected a major question that needs to be answered before anything else, that is, is there any striking difference between industries in terms of reform process and characteristics? If such a difference is not so obvious, then these aggregate statistics can be regarded as true reflections of the reform as a whole. If the difference is quite obvious, then these statistics can at best be regarded as the mean value of a group of vastly different statistics and, therefore, cannot represent the general features of the reform.

Practice has shown that during the transition of the Chinese economic system, the changes that have taken place in differ-

ent industries are both similar and strikingly dissimilar. This is especially true with traditional system and market-oriented systems — many believe that the process of their interaction and the role they play are similar in the reform of different industries, but in actual fact they are very different. Likewise, the market-oriented reform has a different impact on the achievements and efficiency of different industries. Some industries — such as the manufacturing of household electric appliances, motorcycles and telecommunications equipment — enjoy high-speed growth, their products and technology are being upgraded rapidly, their production is gradually concentrated in a tiny number of advantageous enterprises, and their comprehensive competitiveness is obviously on the rise, thereby providing forceful backing for those who believe that reform has helped promote growth. Some industries, such as the textile industry, are a different story. Despite their early beginning in re-

form, their growth is tardy, their economic efficiency is low, and some of them are even suffering complete financial losses, thereby giving grounds for those who call for tightening up government control. More industries, however, find themselves somewhere between these two extremes. Why such difference in performance and economic results? This is a theoretical issue that has interested so many scholars. More importantly, to give convincing interpretation to such a difference will help deepening our understanding of the market economy and the significance of reform.

The study of different industries also enables us to judge, from among a host of other factors, the influence of the economic reform on the development of a given industry. Economists at home and abroad pay special attention to the influence of the economic system on economic growth. However, the reform has a difference influence on different industries. For instance, the high

growth of an industry seems to be so closely associated with the fast development of the non-state sector that it gives the impression that such a high growth is predicated on non-state economy. But it is highly possible that the high growth rates of non-state sector and industrial output are both decided by other variables — These industries are those which should grow robustly during the current period of economic development, whereas non-state investors have come in droves because they have seen their potentials for high growth. In the same token, when an industry grows slowly and is handicapped by low economic efficiency, it is possible because it lacks the impetus from the non-state economic section, but it may also be attributed to the fact that the industry has entered a period of stagnation or decline. Not every major change that has taken place in the Chinese economic development over the last decades can be interpreted from the perspective of the economic

reform. There are, meanwhile, contrary cases in which the factor of economic reform may be neglected. For instance, the drop of the profit rate may be observed together with the development of large numbers of medium-sized and small enterprises and both factors may be regarded as highly relative in our studies. In a country in transition like China, or at least in certain industries, these two factors are also closely associated with such system-related factors as deregulation of entry and breakdown of monopoly.

To sum up, in China, a large country in transition and in which diverse factors change simultaneously and the industries perform differently from one another, important information that cannot be dispensed with in aggregate studies can be obtained from an empirical study of different industries. Such study of different industries is not only of important significance to understanding the process of the transition

of the Chinese system; it also helps understand the difference of the Chinese way of transition from other countries in transition.

2. Structure of the Book

The book is divided up into six chapters.

Chapter One gives a general introduction to the book. Apart from a summary of the major findings from a study of various industries, the chapter also provides information and statistics concerning the overall situation of a given industry. Section One raises the major issues that will be involved in the study of the transfer of the economic system and industrial development. Section Two features three different standards for judging the degree of the transfer, that is, 1) role-of-the-game standard: Which is playing a leading role in resource allocation, the market mechanism or government control? 2) Behavior standard: Judging from an

enterprise's behavior, is it akin to an enterprise under the planned economy or that under the market economy? 3) Efficiency standard; What does the level of the profit rates of different industries show, the tendency of the planned economy towards dispersion or the tendency the market economy towards equalization?

Section three in Chapter One stresses the impact of the transfer of the economic system on the growth, efficiency and organizational changes of the manufacturing industry. Its major contents: 1) The relationship between changes of ownership and growth, which fails to show the positive correlation between the growth of the non-state economic section and the growth of the entire industry. 2) The influence of the transition of the economic system on the efficiency and profit of the manufacturing industry. Generally speaking, the efficiency of the manufacturing industry has increased to certain extent thanks to intensified com-

petition, but its profit have diminished because of the breakdown of the pre-reform monopolized production structure and also because of changes in the relationship of distribution. 3) The transfer of the economic system and changes in the industrial organization. A study of the numbers of large, medium-sized and small enterprises and their shares in the total output indicates that since the beginning of the reform, the proportion of large enterprises in the total number of enterprises and their shares in the total output have been growing slowly but steadily and in a sustained manner. The CRn was declining throughout the 1980s, but the output of the few top-ranking enterprises was growing remarkably. The decline of the CRn is attributed mainly to the influence of the drastic expansion of the general scale of the industry. During the 1990s the degree of production concentration of various industries has obviously been on the rise.

The relationship between the starting point of the reform and the methods for reform is studied in Section Four of Chapter One. A number of scholars who believe that the situation of China is somewhat special believe that the Chinese industrial structure prior to reform was highly decentralized, that an oppressive competitive structure already existed on the Chinese market for manufactured goods, and that once the control was weakened, a competitive market would quickly emerge. The book's study of various industries indicates that on the eve of the reform, potential competitive forces did exist in the Chinese industry, and that if the enterprises and local governments were allowed to seek profit, a pattern of intense competition would emerge immediately.

Section Five of Chapter One deals with the relationship of the distortion of the transfer process and the predicament of the industry. A number of industries began the process of transition from the product mar-