A Study on Inclusive Growth from the Perspective of Economic Power Structure

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## 摘 要

自 2007 年爆发金融危机以来,美国经济复苏的迹象始终不能确定,而欧洲各国不但没有走出经济增长趋缓的阴影,反而步入主权债务危机的"多米诺"雷区。以"占领华尔街"为标志的民众抗议浪潮遍及整个西方世界。在世界经济格局日益体现整体性的同时,民族与国家的既有秩序却受到前所未有的挑战。世界以前所未有冷峻的目光,反思传统经济增长方式所带来的贫富差距加剧;反思一味追求经济增长而忽视发展真谛的短期行为,对全球经济社会发展所产生的巨大冲击;反思近 30 年来,自新自由主义滥觞,直至占领国家经济权力的全部阵地,逐渐形成西方主流经济学思想,并以此为标尺,衡量各个国家的自由化程度,同时,以其终极形态的"华盛顿共识"作为解决非自由经济国家私有化、市场化、民主化的"手术刀",而发达资本主义国家所主导所谓自由经济秩序,给世界经济最终带来的,不是社会的繁荣进步,而是巨大的社会灾难。

市场经济发展至今,仍是社会资源配置的最有效方式。其中具有标志性的生产动力、公平交易、自由竞争和技术创新等因素,不仅体现出经济增长的现实可能,也体现出社会发展的良性预期。但是,贫富两极分化和周期性的经济危机,注定成为市场经济体制的孽宿,这一点不仅为世界各国市场经济的发展历史所证明,而且为当下世界各国市场经济的发展困境所证明。与传统经济增长只重过程,不重结果,只重数量,不重质量的观念不同,包容性增长是兼顾机会平等与结果正义、兼顾人类发展与生态环境保护的经济增长观。其以人为本的本质属性,决定了这一全新的经济增长理念,不是在市场经济体制之外,

空喊社会的公平正义原则,而是要将这一原则,以国家意志的形式, 充分体现于市场经济行为之中,这就要求经济增长的方式,从工具理 性向价值理性的革命性转变。

本书运用历史唯物主义、辩证唯物主义关于社会生产方式的理论 成果,将经济增长的研究命题,纳入社会生产方式的价值理性分析框 架,以马克思主义政治经济学的立场、观点和方法,以社会正义作为 经济增长价值理性分析的起点,将经济权力结构,这一包容性增长最 为核心的条件要素, 作为贯穿全书的主线, 试图通过传统经济增长分 析范式工具理性的突破,对市场权力与国家权力在不同历史时期、不 同法系背景和不同国家中,所形成的经济权力结构,加以系统的分析 与研究, 进而论证包容性增长所要求的社会正义原则, 在市场经济体 制下得以充分地体现不仅是必须的,而且是可能的。已有的历史充分 证明,在传统经济增长模式下,单一通过市场权力乃至其最大化,或 单一通过国家权力乃至其最大化,都不可能为体现社会正义原则的经 济增长,提供市场经济条件下得以实现的基本路径,唯有通过市场权 力与国家权力的均衡作用机制,即经济权力结构的不断创新,才能为 实现包容性增长找到符合社会生产方式客观规律的出发点与落脚点。 充分利用国内外已有的研究成果,进一步拓展包容性增长研究的广度 和深度, 为这一领域研究范式的确立提供具有一定理论意义的视域以 及结论,既是本书的主旨所在,也是本书的价值追求。全书共分七章。

第一章是绪论,从总体意义上就本书选题的现实背景和理论背景加以概括。首先从现实和理论背景上,对传统经济增长模式的失败成因进行梳理,研究方法、主要内容和创新之处的说明,则为全书的主旨奠定了分析研究的基础。第二章是关于经济增长与包容性增长的理论分析。重点围绕西方主流经济学功利主义、唯心主义的抽象的、静态的、基于工具理性的"经济人"假设,与马克思主义政治经济学历史唯物主义和辩证唯物主义的"社会人"概括所存在的不同,强调包容性增长的方法论基础,必须建立在将原本属于人的类本质的主体行为分析,回归社会生产方式的基础之上。第三章是经济权力结构与包容性增长。重点阐述经济权力是包容性增长研究的切入点,只有对社

会生产生活的权力集成方式形成社会意义的价值评判,才能对市场与 国家经济权力在包容性增长经济实践中的地位和作用具有理性分析和 认识。而经济权利与经济权力、生产要素与经济权力要素有效整合的 分析,是传统经济增长与包容性增长权力分析范式的根本分歧所在。 其中,一般性市场、冻结化市场和外部性市场模式的划分,论证了只 有通过外部性市场模式选择,才能为包容性增长提供经济运行的载体。 第四章是意识形态与包容性增长。分析了市场正义论产生的历史背景 和主要内容。强调意识形态对包容性增长的重要意义,而其根本出发 点和落脚点,就是要维护社会正义。以此为依据,对包容性增长意识 形态再造的基本原则予以界定。第五章是经济权力结构创新与包容性 增长。重点是对生产要素最大化所造成的经济权力结构内卷化加以分 析,并对经济权力结构创新的基本原则予以明确。以此为依据,对包 容性增长所要求的经济权力结构创新的基本原则予以界定。第六章是 国际经济权力结构与包容性增长。阐述所谓自由经济秩序是帝国主义 霸权的工具,而国家主义经济学理论和实践是针对自由秩序说教的反 向运动。同时,分析了当今世界发展中国家经济增长的国际经济权力 结构约束。而社会成本对合理竞争秩序的影响,意在通过外部性均衡 的视角,对市场经济运行过程中,国家经济权力的介入机制及其效用 加以分析,由此阐述符合社会成本控制的市场模式到底应该以什么样 的方式存在。以此为依据,对包容性增长所要求的国家权力机制的基 本原则予以界定。第七章是中国特色社会主义与包容性增长。通过马 克思主义国家理论以及社会主义实践历程的分析,对中国特色社会主 义包容性增长的目标予以明确。同时,对与中国特色社会主义包容性 增长相对应的经济权力结构的主要影响因素予以概括。

**关键词:** 包容性增长 社会正义 经济权力结构 市场权力 国家权力

### Abstract

Since the financial crisis in 2007, there still exists uncertainty of U.S economic recovery. In addition, the European countries are stepping to the verge of Domino effect of sovereign debt crisis instead of struggling out of the shadow of slow economic growth. The public protest symbolized by "Occupy Wall Street" event spread over the entire Western world. As the world economic structure gradually characterizes its integrity, meanwhile, the existing orders of various nations and countries are facing the unprecedented challenges, which resulted in people's serious reflections on issues like the increased gap between the wealthy and poor caused by the traditional economic growth model; the short-term behavior of addressing more on economic growth while neglecting the true essence of growth, which has great impact on the social and economic development of the whole world; and reflections on neoliberalism that ever since it was introduced and largely adopted by the stateeconomic power over the past 30 years, it has become on one hand the mainstream Western economic thought by which the degree of liberalization of various countries is measured, and on the other a "scalpel" at its ultimate form of the "Washington Consensus" giving solutions to privatization, marketization, and democratization of non free economies. However, what so-called the order of free competition advocated for by those developed capitalist countries has finally offered to the world economy a tremendous social disaster rather than a social and prosperous development.

The market economy has been proved the most effective way of allocating social resources. Its distinctive factors such as productive force, fair trading system, free competition and technical innovation have embodied both the actual possibilities in economic growth and the positive expectations of social development. However, the gap between the wealthy and poor and the cyclical economic crisis are doomed to the evils of market economic system. It has been proved by the historical development of market economy in many countries as well as by their difficult economic situations currently. Different from the notion of traditional economic growth which addresses more on process and less on result, and more on quantity and less on quality, the economic notion of inclusive growth is that it gives considerations to both equal opportunities and just result, and to the balance between the development of mankind and eco-environment protection. Its people-centered attribute determines that this new economic growth notion does not indulge in empty talks about social fairness and justice principles outside of market economic system, rather it will, in the form of national will, put this principle to reality in market economic behaviors, which requires that the mode of economic growth will be a revolutionary shift from instrumental rationality to value rationality.

This dissertation, by using the theoretical achievements from historical materialism and dialectical materialism, integrates the research topic of economic growth into the value rationality analysis framework of social mode of production. Based on the position, viewpoint and methods of Marxism, and by elaborating social justice as the start-off of analyzing the value rationality of economic growth, it sticks to the economic power structure—the core prerequisite of inclusive growth—as the mainline of dissertation. It attempts, by taking the instrumental rationality to analyze the traditional growth as a breakthrough, to make a systematic analysis of and research on the economic power structure formed market power and

statepower in the context of different historical periods, different law systems, and in different countries. Based on such analysis, it further expounds it is both necessary as well as possible for social justice principle required by inclusive growth to be fully embodied in the market economy system. It has been proved by history that under the mode of traditional economic growth, it is impossible that only by utilizing and maximizing the market power or state power to find a basic route for the economic growth embodied by the principle of social justice and realized with market economic conditions. Thus, it is only through the equilibrium function mechanism of market power and state power—the ongoing innovation of economic power structure, that it is possible to seek the support which conforms with the objective law of social mode of production to realize inclusive growth. The main purpose and the value pursuit of this dissertation therefore is to provide a vision and conclusion with certain theoretical significance for the establishment of research mode in this field on the basis of fully utilizing the academic achievements made by scholars both in China and abroad, and by making ongoing research on inclusive growth with further breadth and depth. The dissertation is consisted of seven chapters.

Chapter 1: Introduction. A brief introduction to the realistic and theoretical background under which the topic is selected. First, from the perspective of realistic and theoretical background, it is to sort out the causes of failure of the traditional economic growth mode, Second, explanations are made as to research methods, main contents, and innovation, which lays an analytic and research foundation for the topic. Chapter 2: Research of Growth and Inclusive Growth. It is to compare the differences between the abstract, static, and instrumental rationality based assumption of "economic man" based on Western mainstream economics utilitarianism and idealism, and the summary made of "social man" based on historical materialism and dialectical

materialism of Marxist political economics. It is addressed that the methodology foundation of inclusive growth should be established from the analysis on the subject behavior of human essence originally belonging to human beings to the mode of social production analysis. Chapter 3: Economic Power Structure and Inclusive Growth. This part focuses on expounding that economic power is the cut-through to research on inclusive growth, in that it is only by forming a value judgment of social significance towards power integration of social production and social life, that a rational analysis and understanding can be attained as to the positions and functions of market power and state power in economic practices of inclusive growth. The fundamental difference between the mode of power analysis by traditional economic growth and inclusive growth lies in the analysis of effective integration of economic right and economic power, and factors of production and factors of economic power. and on the position, viewpoint and methods of Marxism. In addition, the classification of general market, frozen market and external market mode elaborates that the external market mode is the right selection for providing inclusive growth with economic operation carrier. Chapter 4: Ideology and Inclusive Growth .The analysis is made on the historical background of market justice theory and its main contents, which emphasizes the importance of ideology to inclusive growth. Its starting point and ultimate goal is to maintain social justice, and based on such the basic principle is defined regarding the recreation of inclusive growth ideology. Chapter 5: Involution and Priciple of power structure innovation. It analyzes market power involution caused by the maximization of production factors, and suggests in what manner should the market mode which conforms with the social cost control exist. Meanwhile, and subsequently defines the basic principle of economic power structure innovation required by inclusive growth. Chapter 6: International Economic Power Structure and Inclusive Growth. It elaborates in this part

that the so-called free economic order is just the tool made use of by imperialist hegemonists, while the economics theories and practices of nationalism go opposite from free order preaching. In addition, it elaborates the international economic power structure constraints to the economic growth in developing countries, and based on such it defines the basic principle of state power mechanism required by inclusive growth. from the perspective of externality equilibrium, the entry mechanism of state economic power and its functions in the process of market economy operations. Chapter 7: Socailism of Chinese Characteristics Inclusive Growth. By the analysis on Marxism's state theory and the historical development of socialist practices, make it clear the aim of Socailism of Chinese Characteristics Inclusive Growth. And meanwhile, summarizes the economic power structure corresponding with Chinese Characteristics Inclusive Growth.

**Key Words:** inclusive growth; social justice; economic power structure; market power; state power

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## 绪论

### 第一节 选题的背景和意义

#### 1.1.1 选题的现实背景和意义

从 2007 年爆发金融危机以来,美国经济复苏的迹象始终不能确定,而德国以外的欧洲各国不但没有走出经济增长趋缓的阴影,反而步入主权债务危机的"多米诺"雷区。以"占领华尔街"为标志的民众抗议浪潮遍及整个西方世界。在世界经济格局日益体现出整体性的同时,民族与国家的既有属性和特征却受到前所未有的挑战。世界以前所未有冷峻的目光,反思传统经济增长方式所带来的贫富差距加剧;反思一味追求经济增长而忽视发展真谛的短期行为,对全球经济社会发展所产生的巨大冲击;反思自新自由主义滥觞,直至占领凯恩斯主义国家职能的全部阵地,逐渐形成 30 年来的主流经济学思想,并以此为标尺,衡量各个国家的自由化程度,同时,以其终极形态的"华盛顿共识"作为解决非自由经济国家私有化、市场化、民主化的"手术刀",而其所搭建的一切自由竞争秩序的虚幻承诺,最终给世界经济带

来的,不是社会的繁荣进步,而是巨大的社会灾难。

与西方世界的经济停滞甚至倒退相反,中国自 2012 年始,已经连续五年稳居经济总量全球第二的地位,从另一方面来看,虽然中国继续演绎着世界经济增长史上的"传奇",但伴随经济的高速增长,国内的诸多问题与矛盾也日益显现。实现经济增长、扩大就业、稳定物价、保持国际收支基本平衡四项目标的压力日益加大,未来的发展面临一系列挑战,包括劳动力成本上升、资源环境约束加重、人口老龄化和投资率趋降等,这些都导致政府计划统筹和宏观调控的压力增大。一些制假售假、商业欺诈,特别是涉及人民群众身体健康和生命安全的食品、药品等产品的安全质量成为舆情关注的焦点。强化政府促进就业和调节收入分配的职能,完善社会保障体系,健全基层社会管理体制,维护社会稳定,成为全社会普遍的呼声。促进教育、卫生、文化等社会事业健康发展,建立健全公平公正、惠及全民、水平适度、可持续发展的公共服务体系,业已成为政府公信力的关键。

毋庸讳言,市场经济发展至今,仍是社会资源配置的最有效方式。 其中具有标志性的生产动力、公平交易、自由竞争和技术创新等因素, 不仅体现出经济增长的现实可能,也体现出社会发展的良性预期。但 是,贫富两极分化和周期性的经济危机,注定成为市场经济体制的孽 宿,这一点不仅为世界各国市场经济的发展历史所证明,而且为当下 世界各国市场经济的发展困境所证明。

传统经济增长模式的本质,是只重过程,不计后果的增长。这一增长形态,虽然使穷人的生活可能会有所改善,但相对于那些财富迅速膨胀的阶层来说,这种改善却相对太慢。<sup>①</sup> 阿马蒂亚·森指出,"我们生活的世界,仍然存在大规模的剥夺、贫困和压迫。不仅有老问题,还有很多新问题,包括长期的贫困与得不到满足的基本需要,饥荒和大规模饥馑的发生,对起码的政治自由和基本的自由权的侵犯,对妇女的利益和主体地位的严重忽略,对我们环境及经济与社会维系力不

① 【瑞士】让・皮埃尔・莱曼 (Jean Pierre Lehmann). 探索"包容性的增长"[J]. 中国企业家. 2008 (13): 36.