

# 竞争与垄断

——关于跨国公司及其市场结构的分析纲要

JING ZHENG YU LONG DUAN

上海社会科学院出版社

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## ABSTRACT

The thesis is an attempt to explore two questions; the cause of the market substitution of transnational corporations through internalization, and what are the market structures of transnational corporations?

In academic circle, scholars differ in their choice of the unit of analysis, . g. , the variable to be explained. Some authors have essentially taken a macroeconomic perspective and concerned themselves with why countries engage in foreign direct investment, others address the question of why transnational corporations are better able to penetrate foreign market than indigenous firms located in that market, and why they wish to control value-added activities outside their national boundaries, this draw on the theory of the monopolistic advantages and oligopolistic reaction, a third group of economists regards transnational corporations as a hierarchy that internalizes the market for cross border intermediate products, and devises its methodology to analyses the behavior of the individual enterprise. We suggest that all of above the theories could compose the market theory. Logically, its starting point is market structure approach of modern industrial organizational theory.

What is the meaning of the existence and the growth of

transnational corporations? It shows that the market mechanism substituting for organization mechanism and world market structure adjusting from perfect competition to imperfect competition.

Transnational corporations can exist and grow based on the development of modern enterprise. The large scale and scope production skill and division specialization of modern enterprise make the activities of production and transactions rapidly expand. This expansion requires enterprise to organize the activities in world market. With this kind of division and transactions enlarging, the new uncertainty factors occur. The differential products and intermediate products that produced by modern enterprise raise the assets' specialization such as knowledge, skill, patent and their internal protection methods. Because the market power which buyers or sellers owned must bring about deterioration and clashes of market transaction and at last make transaction cost increase, so the enterprise must substitute internal mechanism for external market mechanism to organize and coordinate this part of division and transaction. It is under this condition which transnational corporations exist and grow.

From 1970s, there is a rapid development both in width and depth of world production and division. The economic relations have been in circulation field, but also in production field. These changes make transnational corporations be the whole world phenomenon. With the aggravation of monopoly and oligopoly market competition, which induced by scale expansion of such organizations, transnational corporations start to adjust their

strategies to keep their market share. They innovate internal market structure timely and form internal network and system linking with various kinds of horizontal division and vertical integration connection. Finally they can organize and coordinate the internal division efficiently by market mechanism substitution. Then the organization institutions of transnational corporations become mature.

The advantages of market substitution are;

- (1) The increase ability to control production and transactions, in particular to coordinate flows of crucial inputs;
- (2) exploitation of market power by differential products;
- (3) avoidance of bilateral market power;
- (4) avoidance of uncertainties in the transfer of knowledge between parties which may exist in the alternative (market) solution.

Generally, industrial organizational theory focus on mutual influence between enterprises' structure and behavior, market structure and organization, enterprise and market. The core of this theory is analyzing internal structure of a firm (ownership structure, organizational pattern, etc.) and external structure (concentration or diversification of an industry, entry barrier of market, etc.). The objective of the research of market structure seeks to explain market condition and its relative relations forming by structure changes, scale expansion and space distribution of production factors and products of industrial organizations.

Transnational corporations have become the main body of changes of world market structure. To a large extent, it makes

monopolies and competitions between countries change into monopolies and competitions between transnational corporations. The main form of these monopolies and competitions is concentration and diversification of industrials;

(1) Totally, there is a few firms hold majority of market share in market structure of transnational corporations, presents the characteristic of monopoly and oligopoly.

(2) Because of structure of monopoly and oligopoly, transnational corporations have altered the scope and formation of industrial competitions. Adopted by industrial diversification, they change the horizontal competitions to vertical and mixed competitions after production integration. Transnational corporations try to hold larger market share through taking interrelated diversification.

*Industrial concentration ratio.* Industrial concentration ratio is a key element in surveying monopolistic market structure. To take account of the possible influence of this type of monopolistic background on transnational corporations, statistical measure is used to derive data selection and industrial classification based on the sample of manufactured transnational corporations. Using the rationalized sample of the 500 largest global industrial companies in 1993, the thesis provides indications of the nature of monopoly among the transnational corporations at the top of global industries. Details of the conclusions are given below.

(1) Amongst the 20 industries of manufactured corporations, the 5 industries of the highest concentration ratio belong to heavy industries of scale economy and skill intensive industries. These corporations are easy to become higher

concentration firms. Among them the market structure presents monopolistic character. These industries include Tobacco, Aerospace, Mining and Crude-oil Production, Motors Vehicles and Parts, Scientific Photo and Control Equipment, etc.

(2) The lowest concentration ratio exists in the light industries of capital intensity and labor intensity. The market structure presents competitive character. There are plenty of firms but small scale, such as Pharmaceuticals, Chemicals, Forest and Paper Products, Electronics and Electrical Equipment, Metal Products, etc.

(3) By the concentration coefficient, the measure reflects the level of scale difference among transnational corporations in 20 industries. There is biggest level of the scale difference in some industries, which including Food, Motors Vehicles and Parts, Electronics and Electrical Equipment, Chemicals, and Metals, etc. Meanwhile in the industries of Petroleum Refining, Aerospace, Forest and Paper products, Mining and Crude-oil Production and Publishing and Printing, there is smallest level of difference. These industries are industry of capital intensity and skill intensity, and have high entry barrier. The average scale of the industries is large.

Overall, the market structure of manufactured transnational corporation can divide into four kinds: First, high concentration ratio and small difference of scale. This is an industry of indifference and high concentration. The market structure can be monopolistic. Secondly, high concentration ratio and large difference of scale. The market structure of these industries can be oligopolistic. Thirdly, low concentration ratio and small

difference of scale. It is easy to form competitive market structure in the industries, and the Fourth, low concentration ratio and large difference of scale. These industries have market structure of monopolistic competition.

*Industrial diversification.* In the 20 industries, the industries above average level of diversification are Aerospace, Electronics and Electrical Equipment, Industrial and Farm Equipment, Chemicals, Metal Products, etc. These industries have most probably to take diversified production and transaction when the firms have scale economy. Meanwhile, because there is high specialization of production, large scale and less substitution of facilities in the industries such as Computer, Textiles, Forest and Farm Equipment, Food, Petroleum Refining, etc., the firms are likely impossible to take diversified operation.

*Geographical Diversification.* There is similar distribution but different structure of diversification operation of transnational corporations in different countries of the world. In America, the industries of diversification involve in skill and capital intensity, such as Aerospace, Metals, Electronics and Electrical Equipment, etc., while the industries of diversification in Japan and European countries involve in Chemicals, Industrial and Farm Equipment, Metal products, etc.. The structures of diversification in some developing countries are closing to that in developed countries.

The causes that lead to monopolistic or competitive market structure of transnational corporations are entry barrier, M&C, products differentiation and governmental policies of a country,



etc..

Transnational corporations have become central actors of the world economy. Chinese corporations ought to promote transnational production and market transaction in the world, to participate in international competitions and cooperation with other countries. The selections of operation models are target-market orientation, resources endowment orientation, industry-intensity orientation and strategy capital orientation. Meanwhile China should reconstruct microsystem of industrial corporations so as to develop Chinese transnational corporations.

The main arrangements of the content in this thesis are given below:

Ch. 1—From point of view of the industrial organizational theory, it analyzes the market structure approach and market theory of transnational corporations.

Ch. 2— It gives some researches of the patterns of organizational and market substitution of transnational corporations, and presents an analytical approach to the formation of internalization of these corporations.

Ch. 3, 4, 5— Based on plenty of statistical and positive analysis, they focus on researching the characteristic and distributions of market structure of transnational corporations, including industrial concentration, industrial diversification and the mechanism of formation and determination of the corporations. These three chapters compose core contents.

Ch6— It describes existing state of Chinese industrial corporations, and try to sum up some conclusions that how to develop transnational corporations in China.

## 序 言

60年代以来,伴随组织结构和市场交易形式的改造与创新,跨国公司迅猛发展,成为影响世界经济的重要力量。对于这一“全球”现象,国内外学者从不同角度进行了广泛地探讨和研究,在理论体系和分析角度上,各执一词,各领一派。

主要的学派和理论有:

(1) 在宏观层面分析跨国公司参与市场交易的小岛清和阿利伯理论;

(2) 从微观角度论述其垄断优势、寡占反应的海默——金德尔伯格和聂克博克理论;

(3) 以强调通过市场替代来实现生产和交易内部化的巴克利和卡森理论;

(4) 综合并概括上述观点的邓宁的折衷理论。

作者认为,跨国公司是现代企业在组织结构、国际化市场交易方式和规模等诸方面发展到一定时期的产物,它的成长一方面表明了组织协调机制对市场协调机制的替代,即内部化作用的生成和强化;另一方面促使世界市场结构从完全竞争走向了以垄断和寡占为主要特征的不完全竞争状态。

现代产业组织所采用的大规模大范围生产技术和专业化分工的深化使得生产和交易活动迅速扩张。这种扩张要求以世界市场来组织产品生产和销售。伴随专业化分工与市场交易规模的扩大,出现了新的不确定因素。现代工商企业所提供的差异产品,提高了技术和专利等知识产品的资产专用性,企业对它们的内部保护方

式的选择也随之加强。由于买方或卖方拥有不等的市场势力可能造成外部市场交易条件恶化和各种摩擦,最终导致交易成本增加,所以企业必须创造内部机制替代外部市场运作,并组织与协调这部分国际分工与交易,这便是跨国公司产生的最直接也是最基本的原因。70年代以来,世界生产与分工在广度和深度上都有了巨大发展,经济联系已不仅限于流通领域,而且迅速扩展到生产领域,这种变化促使跨国公司为保证其市场优势,开始重新调整策略,有意识地、自觉地对其内部世界市场分工进行重构,以形成横向与纵向分工相互结合、前向后向彼此衔接的内部网络和体系;同时,建立起崭新的组织结构与管理制度,从而可以有效地替代市场机制来组织与协调其内部分工。作为适应当代国际生产和市场结构的最重要发展,跨国公司的内部化市场替代机制此时才真正趋于成熟。

内部替代机制的建立带来了市场结构的深刻变化。作者认为,所谓市场结构是指伴随着产业组织的结构变迁、规模扩张以及生产要素和产品空间分布所形成的市场状态或相对关系。由于跨国公司在生产交易方式和组织结构方面的变化,使得以垄断与竞争为内容的市场结构行为主体,在很大程度上由一国转变为世界跨国公司,换句话说,除了一国为了某种目的实行强制性行业保护政策,设置市场壁垒外,跨国公司市场结构的变化打破了(或正在打破)国家之间行业垄断与竞争的地域边界。

为了说明跨国公司的市场结构特征、相互影响及其结果,本文以制造业跨国公司为样本,在大量的指标选取、行业分类和统计计量的基础上,从行业集中(垄断程度、规模差异)和行业多元化(竞争程度)两个方面进行了实证分析和理论概括。

结论是:

一、在制造业跨国公司的20个样本行业中,集中程度最高的行业多属具有规模经济的装备型重化行业和技术密集型行业,这

些行业极易形成高集中度,其市场也呈现出垄断型结构;而集中程度最低的行业则是资金密集型、劳动密集型的轻工业,其特点是市场结构属竞争型的、企业众多但规模不大。在这 20 个样本行业中,集中度超过 50% 的行业接近总数一半,说明世界性的跨国公司,其规模水平普遍较高,具有很大的市场垄断势力。

总体上可以把制造业跨国公司的市场结构特征划分为四类:

第一类:集中度高、规模差异小。这是一种规模均齐型的高集中行业。在市场结构分布中,它们通常是些垄断性行业。

第二类:集中度高、规模差异大。这些行业存有较高的集中度,容易形成寡占的市场结构。

第三类:集中度低、规模差异小。这是较为典型的竞争性市场结构,从事这些行业的企业众多,单个企业独占或垄断市场的可能性甚低。

第四类:集中度低、规模差异大。这类行业市场容量大,企业规模大小不等,大企业有可能占有市场大部分份额,余下部分则由中小企业相互竞争,这些行业具有垄断竞争性市场结构的特征。

二、世界主要跨国公司都在改变一种单一产品生产和市场经营策略,力图通过行业和区域多元化经营来谋求更多的市场势力。在 20 个样本中,一些行业一旦具备规模,最易从事相关行业多元化经营,而对另一些行业来说,由于其具有高度资产专业性,规模较大,设备技术的替代性较为单一,所以不易从事相关行业的多元化经营;还有些行业不易从事多元化经营,而一旦进行多元化经营后,其规模一般较大。

对区域多元化的研究表明,主要发达国家(美、日、欧等)、新兴工业国和若干发展中国家的跨国公司的行业多元化经营,总体上表现出高度的趋同性,但在结构上则不相同:美国的跨国公司多元化经营主要是技术密集型、资金密集型的高科技行业和重工业,突出地反映了其在这些行业中的垄断优势;而日本和欧洲各国在一

些行业中具有相当的市场势力,并正通过一些行业的多元化经营与美国分庭抗礼。新兴工业国及一些发展中国家的跨国公司在行业多元化经营结构分布上越来越接近发达国家,表明这些国家的经济发展水平、产业结构和层次在不断提高,企业的市场竞争力日趋增强,但是,技术密集型、资金密集型行业的市场份额中则不多。

跨国公司及其垄断与竞争市场结构的形成,主要是通过行业集中和行业多元化两种方式进行的,总体上,导致了两种结果:

其一,少数企业占据多数市场份额,形成高度集中的寡占和垄断市场结构。在样本分析中,这些行业普遍具有这一特征。

其二,跨国公司之间大大改变了行业竞争的范式,以行业多元化为内容,把对众多竞争对手转变为若干个量之间的竞争,同行业横向竞争转变为产品一体化后的纵向竞争和混合竞争。各个行业中,跨国公司试图通过从事相关行业产品生产经营的多元化策略来瓜分市场份额。

无论是垄断性还是竞争性跨国公司,其市场结构形成的缘由主要是进入壁垒(无论是新创设还是经调整的企业,进入某种市场或某些行业并不是完全自由、不需成本的,这些市场或行业存在着妨碍自由和随意进入的障碍。进入壁垒的存在和高低会影响市场结构垄断和竞争力量的对比与调整)、兼并与收购(资本的集中与扩张是跨国公司壮大规模的根本动力,而兼并与收购是这种集中和扩张的必然要求,也是其得以实现的主要形式)、产品差异和国家政策等。

现代产业组织发展正显现出三大趋势:一是生产大型化,在一些有规模经济基础的行业中,企业的扩张意愿强烈;二是经营多样化,一些行业或产品处于成熟期的企业,正积极寻找新市场,纷纷开展与产品相关的多种经营;三是市场交易国际化,对于具备市场竞争能力的企业或集团,正跨越国界,利用自身优势参与世界市场竞争,中国的大企业、大公司也概莫能外。当今世界,企业国际化已

形成潮流。中国企业以跨国生产经营方式对外发展,可以使其在较高的起点和层次上参与当代的国际竞争与合作。

按中国企业进行国际化经营的直接目标来划分,可选择的国际化经营模式主要有目标市场导向型、资源禀赋导向型、产业集约导向型和战略资产导向型四种;同时,在体制上对中国产业组织进行微观再造,是推进中国跨国公司发展的必由之路,这种再造涉及到产业组织的机制创新和资源重组,需小心求证,大胆实践才可。

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