

序 言

(中文译稿)

彼得·诺兰

《中国企业行》一书，即将与中国读者见面，当我深感欣慰之际，谨向帮助和支持我的中国朋友表示衷心的感谢。我衷心希望中国的改革开放事业获得成功。在过去的一段时间里，我对中国大企业进行了几年的调研、考察，并撰写成这本书。我愿将本书献给中国的改革开放事业、献给中国的大中型企业和广大的中国读者。欢迎读者对本书进行评论或提出不同见解与我讨论。

本书分析了中国大企业的内部体制改革与跨国公司的变革之间的相互影响。它们恰似两个巨型齿轮，彼此以不同的速率运转而又互相啮合着。机械工程师们的任务只不过是保证这个复杂机器的齿轮之间有一个协调的运转形式。同样，在中国大企业和跨国公司之间如果要协调得比较顺利，也有不少需要克服和解决的复杂问题。

1994 年，我同王小强博士（王曾担任过国家体改委下属的体制改革研究所的副所长）开始了对中国国有大型企业改革进行调研的研究项目。我们的研究是深入到中国“国家队”的企业中去进行案例研究。虽然是我写了这本书，但书中的论点，却是我们这些年来不断共同研讨的产物。王博士已发表的不少文章和书籍，也是植根于这些研究成果。

从 1994 年到 1999 年，我们有幸能够深入到中国不同行业中领先的称为“国家队”的大企业中去进行研究，直接倾听了中国大企业高级经理和普通职工谈论他们的雄心壮志。他们在探索走出一条与具有国际水平的发达国家大企业竞争的新路子。在我们研究的每一个阶段，我们遇到了很多具有雄心大志、高超技术能力，以及高明企业经营水平的人才。我们得到的深刻印象是，在中国的大企业中蕴藏着巨大的发展潜力。我们首先发现，20 世纪 80 年代中期，中国的

大企业就已发生了巨大的变化。我们看到了中国企业在管理技术、科研开发、市场与品牌等方面令人难忘的进步。我们看到了中国由于引进大量的外资所带来的效果，不管这些外资是来自境外直接投资，或在境外发行股票或从国际银行贷款。我们从一些典型案例中看到了一批善于经营的真正的“大企业家”，他们的管理能力和战略眼光，比之那些跨国大企业的负责人，并无逊色。当然，我们也看到了当中国企业在试图走向大型现代企业过程中遇到的种种困难。在这几年的研究中，我们意识到中国大企业在同跨国大公司进行竞争中面临着巨大的挑战。尤其是想到中国在进入世界贸易组织以后，这种挑战将更为严峻。

我们很快发现，中国先进的国有大企业正在进行转变的同时，世界的全球性大企业也在其经营体制方面发生了一场变革。为了适应这一事实，我们转移了我们研究的焦点。我们把对中国大企业改革与重组的分析，与同步进行的资本主义发达国家的跨国企业的变革与重组，结合起来进行研究。通过这个项目的研究，我们对世界一些超强跨国企业有了更深刻的了解。全球跨国企业正在进行令人难以置信的、深入的、快速的变革，构成了对中国大企业赶超世界先进水平的严峻挑战。这使我们认识到跨国企业爆炸性、广泛性的变革和技术进步，对中国大企业当前面临的巨大挑战，远比过去任何后发国家（包括日本）面临的挑战更要大得多。这些变革正好同我们的研究同时进行，同步展开。我们采取了连续的方法观察中国大企业的进步，并同世界资本主义领先企业高速变革的情况，互相对比。中国的大企业正在奋力追赶和瞄准那些剧变中的跨国企业，把它们当作一个动态的目标加以赶超。

我们的研究是 1994 年 12 月从首钢的案例开始的。当时首钢的负责人给我和王博士以特殊的礼遇，同我们进行了令人至今记忆犹新的长谈，并对我们展示了首钢发展到 2001 年的宏伟规划。但曾几何时，跨国大企业的变革却带来了严酷的一章：几个月前，日本的新日铁和韩国的浦项钢铁公司宣布了它们互相参股的计划，同时宣布与法国的于齐诺尔公司联营生产全球卧车用的高品质钢材。而

2001 年的 2 月份，法国的于齐诺尔公司、比利时的阿尔贝德公司同西班牙的阿塞雷拉公司刚刚宣布了三家的合并计划。这个新的实体（联合体）将在世界钢铁工业中跃居第一位，联合后的粗钢年产量可达 4500 万吨。他们还会在高质量、高附加值等领域居于领先地位，并拥有无人匹敌的市场份额和科学技术开发能力，在销售收入、净利润率上把任何对手远远抛在身后。一位分析家评论说：这将全面改变世界和欧洲钢铁工业的模式。《金融时报》2001 年 2 月 17 日所载评论说：这标志着欧洲制造业有史以来一个巨大发展时刻的到来。尽管钢铁工业不具备足够的魅力，但跨国企业这种高速的变革向中国大企业提出了巨大挑战。

当前，中国正处在入世的前夕。当中国大企业进入 WTO 以后，他们将面临比过去更加严峻的挑战。尽管我的案例研究还存在一些不足，但我衷心希望，本书对中国大企业在世界竞技场上同各跨国企业开展竞争时，将有所裨益。

致谢：

没有体制改革研究所高级研究员刘研博士的支持，我们的研究将难以展开。刘博士对本项目的智力活动方面做出了巨大的贡献。在本项目的执行过程中，如没有她组织交流的才能，我们的许多研究将难以开展。由于她认真负责，使我们得以同一些特殊的公司和负责人接触并取得突破。她使我们的研究道路变得平坦。在研究中，当我们在感到精神疲惫时，她会使我们每一个人变得高兴和饶有兴趣。她不断地提醒我们对某些警句应深入地理解。她长期同我们合作是一项艰辛的工作。我们深深感谢她对本项目的贡献。

我们还要感谢在各方面帮助过我们研究的许多朋友。其中特别要感谢王雪佳和杨莹（珍妮）二位。王雪佳曾长期陪同我们研究并成为调研队伍中的一员。我们在不同的行业领域中同各种专家接触时，她出色的翻译工作卓有成效。杨莹在我们研究工作中负责收集资料并协助组织 CBBP（中国大型企业研究项目，China Big Business

Programme) 的研讨会。

1996 年,我和王博士非常荣幸地结识了中国有色金属工业总公司政策研究室主任刘兴利先生。是他提出我们要考虑引入英国相关先进大企业参与本项目的倡议。他建议我们采取召开一系列双边研讨会的形式,使英国大企业同中国大企业在研讨会上互相交流、互相切磋、互相学习、互相影响,并开展一系列的研究活动,围绕英国相关大企业进行“学习旅游”。通过这些研究活动,可使中国国有大企业为提升自己的竞争力,更好地了解和学习英国大企业曾经走过的路,也可以使英国大企业更深入地了解到中国大企业在改革中的巨大变化和进步。在我们进行项目研究中,我们还得到了冶金经济发展研究中心张信传教授和原机械部陆燕荪副部长的可贵的支持与帮助。

在英国,由于原巴克利银行董事长,现任 NPBS 的负责人马休·布洛克先生的鼎力相助和积极参与,此项目才得以实施。我们共同规划了中国大型企业研究项目(CBBP),他是本研究项目的主席。该项目使王博士和我从 1997 年已经开始的对中国大型公司的调研工作能够继续深入研究下去。根据此项研究,我写了一系列的案例调查报告,并形成了本书的主要内容。这些调查报告也构成了 1997 年到 1999 年两年半间召开的一系列(共十二次)研讨会的主题。我还要感谢英方参与并对本项目大力支持的各公司和单位:英国航空航天公司(现在的 BAe),罗尔斯-罗伊斯(Rolls-Royce),壳牌公司(Shell),BPAmoco 公司,RioTinto 公司,巴克利银行(Barclays Capital)和 SBC Warburg 公司、英国海外办公室和英国贸易与工业部。我特别要感谢这些公司为本研究项目出资,没有他们的资助,本研究项目就会落空。我要深深感谢上述公司准许我和王小强博士,以及参与研究的中国公司的高级谋士们,到他们的机构进行深入的调研。

我对参与研究的中国大型企业准许王小强博士和我,在他们遇到巨大的变革和挑战的时刻,去他们那里进行深入调研表示感谢。

中国大型企业研究项目的各次研讨会都有两方公司,主要是基地在英国的大公司参与。此外,还有英国贸易与工业部和海外办公室的代表参加。中国方面,被调研的有关公司的高级职员和有关部

门的高级官员，以及其他高级决策者也出席了会议。这些研讨会的主要活动是就每个案例研究结论的意义展开辩论，每次的研讨会都集中讨论一个议题。只有最后一次的研讨会例外。

有十次研讨会是在剑桥嘉丁管理学院举行的，两次是在中国举行的。第一次是 1998 年在上海举行的专门讨论航空工业的问题。感谢英国航空航天公司的总裁约翰·威斯登(John Weston)先生出席了这次会议，他的发言对中国航空航天工业发展的辩论做出了重大贡献。研究项目的最后一次研讨会是 1999 年末在北京举行的，被调研的七个企业和有关部门都派代表出席会议。会上就所有项目研究过程中提出的各种报告的结论展开了激烈的争论。这次研讨会的开会时间，正值中美就中国加入世界贸易组织的条件达成历史性协议的时刻。

还要深深感谢深圳 Cyber City 的总裁蒋小明博士，他是本项目的一贯支持者，并参加了几乎所有的研讨会。还有中国信托公司的秦晓先生和广州粤海公司的 CEO 康达先生，也给了我们极大的支持。

CBBP 研讨会的组织工作极为复杂，这个任务是由心热技高的 Felicity Pugh 女士负责。她以其娴熟的业务水平对会议的成功召开做出了巨大贡献。

项目研究的组织工作的细节十分艰巨，包括准备工作和案例研究的编辑工作，以及大批中方、英方国际人士的接洽、交流，主要由伊丽莎白·布格斯(Elisabeth Briggs)女士负责。她同时也是我最终成书的编者。她以高水平的工作技巧，不倦的热诚和愉快的心情完成了这些任务。我对她致以诚挚的感谢！

Preface

Peter Nolan

The book “China Big Business I Surveyed” will soon be published. While rejoicing, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to all my Chinese friends who assisted in this work. I sincerely wish China success in its reform and opening-up. During the past years, I have carried on studies and surveys over China’s big business and completed this book. This book is dedicate to the reform and opening-up in china, to its big and medium-size enterprises and to its vast reading audience. I welcome readers’ comments or different view for discussion.

This book analyses the interaction between China’s internal system restructuring in its large enterprises and the global business revolution. It is as though two giant gearwheels, each rotating at different speeds, were engaging with each other. The task of mechanical engineers is to ensure that in a complex machine, the gearwheels engage in a harmonious fashion. Both China and the global corporations still need to overcome many complex problems if they are to ensure that the engagement is smooth.

In 1994, I began a research programme with Dr. Wang Xiaoqiang, to investigate the reform of the large-scale state-owned enterprises. Dr. Wang was Deputy Director of the System Reform Institute under the State Council’s System Reform Commission. Our research was based around in-depth case studies of China’s ‘national team’. Although I wrote this book, the ideas in it were the product of continuous discussions between us over the course of these years. Dr. Wang has published numerous papers and books that have stemmed from this research.

From 1994 to 1999, we were fortunate to be able to undertake in-depth research at a number of China’s leading ‘national team’ companies in different sectors. We listened directly to the ambitions of the senior managers and

ordinary people in China's large enterprises, groping to find a way to compete on the global level playing field with the giant corporations of the advanced economies. At every stage of our research we encountered people with high ambitions, high technical capabilities, and high levels of business capability. The strongest impression we gained was of the immense potential that lies within China's large enterprises. We saw at first hand the immense changes that had been brought about in large Chinese corporations since the mid-1980s. We saw impressive advances in management skills, research and development, marketing and brand-building. We saw the impact of the absorption of large amounts of foreign capital, through foreign direct investment, from international stock markets and international banks. We met impressive examples of people who were genuine 'big business entrepreneurs', as capable and ambitious as the captains of industry in the global giant corporations. We also saw many difficulties that remained in trying to build large, modern firms. Over the years of our research, we encountered a fast-developing awareness of the huge challenge that awaited China's large firms on the 'global level playing field' after China joined the WTO.

It rapidly became obvious to us that alongside the attempt to transform China's leading state-owned enterprises, a revolution in business systems was under way in large global corporations. In response to this reality, we shifted the focus of our research. We combined our analysis of the restructuring of large Chinese firms with an analysis of the simultaneous revolutionary 'restructuring' of capitalist big businesses headquartered in the advanced economies. Through the China Big Business Programme we were able to gain in-depth access to several of the world's most powerful corporations. The incredible speed and depth of the global business revolution presented a massive challenge to China's attempt to 'catch-up' at the level of the large firm. It became clear to us that China faced a far greater challenge than had faced any previous 'late-comer' country, including Japan, due to the explosive nature of change in the global business system and associated revolutionary change in technology. In response to this ongoing revolution, which oc-

curred simultaneously with our research, we attempted to continuously benchmark the progress in China's large enterprises against the high-speed change in the world's leading capitalist corporations. China's large enterprises were chasing a moving target of explosive change in the world's leading corporations.

Our research began at Shougang, Capital Iron and Steel Corporation, in December 1994. At that time, Dr. Wang and I were privileged to have a long and memorable discussion with the leader of Shougang, in which he outlined his growth plans for the company. It is fitting that as these final words are being written in early 2001, yet another crucial chapter in the transformation of global capitalism is being written. Over the last few months, Nippon Steel (Japan) and Posco (Korea) have announced a deepening of their inter-locking share ownership. They have also announced a major international joint venture together with Usinor (France), to produce high quality steel for automobiles on a global basis. In late February 2001, Usinor announced that it was to merge with Arbed (Belgium) and Aceralia (Spain). The new entity would leap in to first place in the world steel industry. It would have a combined physical output of 45 million tons. It would occupy leading positions in several areas of high quality, high value-added steels, and possess a formidable marketing and research capability. It would have a level of sales revenue and profits that would put it far beyond any rival. One analyst commented: 'This completely changes the shape of the steel industry in Europe and globally'. The *Financial Times* commented: 'This shows all the signs of being a seminal moment in the history of European manufacturing' (*Financial Times*, 17 February 2001). Even in the unglamorous steel industry, globalisation's high-speed advance poses deep challenges for China's large corporations.

As these words are being written, China stands poised to enter the WTO. Within the WTO China's large enterprises will face even more severe challenges than in the past. I hope that these case studies, despite their numerous shortcomings, will be of some value to China's large corporations in

their attempt to compete on the ‘global level playing field

Acknowledgements

Our research would not have been possible without the support of Dr. Liu Yan, Senior Research Fellow of the Chinese System Reform Institute. Dr. Liu made a major contribution to the intellectual life of our project. She was invaluable also in the practical administration of our research. Without her immense talent in interacting with people, much of our research would not have taken place. Time and again she was responsible for a breakthrough that enabled us to gain access to a particular company, plant or person. She smoothed the path for us in our fieldwork, keeping everyone around us happy and interested in our project when our own spirits flagged. Repeatedly, she read between the lines of a given statement to make us reflect more deeply on the meaning hidden beneath the words. Working with us over such a long period was not an easy task. We are deeply grateful to her for her contribution to our research programme.

We were also helped at different points in our research by numerous other people. Among these we are especially indebted to are Wang Xuejia and Yang Ying (Jenny). Wang Xuejia accompanied us for most of our research. As well as being a member of our research team, she was invaluable in assisting us in translation of the different specialist vocabularies of the many different industries in which we worked. Jenny Yang provided us with invaluable support in collecting research materials and making innumerable practical arrangements both for our research and for the meetings of the China Big Business Programme.

In 1997, Dr. Wang and I had the good fortune to meet Mr. Liu Xingli, then head of the research department at the China National Non-Ferrous Metals Corporation. He raised the possibility that I might try to involve leading UK-based companies to support a continuation of our programme of re-

search on large Chinese enterprises. He suggested that these could be used as the basis for a series of inter-active meetings with the Chinese firms' Western counterparts, as well as other learning activities, notably 'learning journeys' around the UK-based large corporations. These might enable China's reforming large state-owned enterprises to obtain a better understanding of the way in which they could raise their competitive capability relative to the global giant corporations. Through the meetings the global corporations might gain a deeper understanding of the process of change in China's large corporations. In our attempt to devise and undertake this Programme, we were given invaluable support by Prof. Zhang Xinchuan, Professor, the Research Centre of Chinese Metallurgy Economics, and Mr. Lu Yansun, formerly Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Machine Building.

In the UK, the Programme was only able to come into being thanks to the unstinting support and deep involvement of Mr. Matthew Bullock, formerly a Director of Barclays Capital, and now Head of the Norwich and Peterborough Building Society. Together we devised the China Big Business Programme (CBBP), for which he acted as the chairperson. The Programme ran from 1997 to 1999. It involved continuing and deepening the research into large Chinese companies that Dr. Wang and I had already begun. Based on this research I wrote a series of case studies that form the basis of this book. These studies formed the basis for a series of twelve meetings held over the course of two and a half years, from 1997 to 1999. The entire Programme was able to operate thanks to the generous support of the following participating companies: British Aerospace (now BAe Systems), Rolls-Royce, Shell, BPAmoco, Rio Tinto, Barclays Capital, SBC Warburg, The Foreign and Commonwealth Office (UK), and the Department of Trade and Industry (UK). I am most grateful to these companies for funding the research programme. Without their support this research would have been impossible. Moreover, I am extremely grateful to the participating companies for allowing myself, Dr. Wang Xiaoqiang and senior strategists from the participating

Chinese companies to conduct in-depth research within these organisations. I am deeply grateful to the participating Chinese large enterprises for allowing Dr. Wang and myself to undertake in-depth research in their companies at a time of tremendous change and challenge for them.

The meetings of the CBBP were attended by senior managers from the participating Western, mainly UK-based, large firms. In addition, there were representatives from the Department of Trade and Industry and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. From the Chinese side, the meetings were attended by senior officials of the particular firms being studied, and by senior officials from the relevant ministry, as well as by other senior policy makers. The main activity of these meetings was to debate the significance of the research conclusions of the case studies. Apart from the final meeting, each one focussed on a particular sector.

Ten of the meetings took place in the Judge Institute of Management Studies in Cambridge. Two of the meetings took place in China. The first of these meetings was held in Shanghai in 1998, and focussed on the aerospace industry. We are most grateful to the Chief Executive of BAe, Mr. John Weston, for attending this meeting. His speech made a major contribution to the debate on the development of the Chinese aerospace industry. The final meeting of the Programme was held in Beijing in late 1999. At this meeting there were representatives from all the sectors studied. There was intense debate about the conclusions reached in the papers presented over the course of the Programme. This meeting coincided with the historic Sino-US Agreement on the terms of China's entry to the WTO.

I am deeply grateful to Dr. Simon Jiang, Chief Executive of Cyber City, Shenzhen, for his constant support throughout the Programme, including participation in almost all of the meetings. I am most grateful also to both Mr. Qin Xiao, President of CITIC, and to Mr. Kang Dian, CEO of Guangdong Capital, for their unstinting support.

The organisation of the CBBP meetings was extremely complex. This task

was performed with the greatest skill and kindness by Felicity Pugh. Her professionalism made a great contribution to the success of the CBBP meetings.

The practical details of organisation surrounding the Programme were immense, including preparation and editing of the case studies, as well innumerable inter-personal interactions with the participants in the UK and China. This work was undertaken throughout by Elizabeth Briggs. She has also edited the resulting book. She performed these demanding tasks with the highest level of professional skill, unflagging enthusiasm and good humour.

绪 论

全球大企业变革的挑战

一、大企业变革的一般特征

中国在 20 世纪 80 和 90 年代所推行的工业政策具有明确的目标，即创建能够向发达国家全球性大公司挑战的大型企业。中国面临特殊的挑战，这种挑战并非来自与那些通过工业政策成功地建立全球性强大企业的国家的冲突，而是中国大企业试图赶上世界上那些经历了从未有过的深刻体制变革的大企业水平。这种变革不仅对中国，而且对整个发展中国家的工业政策都是最基本的挑战。全球性企业变革在那些基地设在高收入国家的大型企业中产生了前所未有的经营权力的集中。有人说，强调小企业和市场竞争的主流的新古典思想，对中国政策制订者的影响大大增强了，而且是在前所未有的全球性企业经营权力大集中时期。这是奇谈怪论。

（一）大企业变革的推动力

多种力量的相互影响，在 20 世纪 90 年代推动了全球性大企业的变革。

贸易自由化

尽管关贸总协定（GATT）促进了长期而缓慢的自由化，但发展中国家对制造业产品征收的平均关税，在 1987 年仍达 34%，而在南亚则高达 81%。在发达国家，关税保护从 20 世纪 50 年代初的中等水平下降到 80 年代晚期的较低水平，即平均在 6% 左右。80 年代中期以后，贸易自由化的步伐加快了。从 1985 年开始的关贸总协定乌拉圭回合在 1993 年完成。但即使在乌拉圭回合结束之前，很多发展中国家已实现了进口关税的大幅度降低。乌拉圭回合使发达国家的关

税进一步降低,使发展中国家的关税也有较大幅度的降低。除降低关税外,多种非关税壁垒(NTBS)也全面减少,虽然在此期间反倾销有所增加,但总的趋势是贸易自由化。在此期间,可看到贸易自由化的范围有明显的拓宽,包括贸易和服务行业的外国投资。在 90 年代后期,工业化国家中服务行业的 47%、发展中国家中服务行业的 16% 已经自由化。GATT 及其以后的世界贸易组织(WTO),成员数目已大为增加。在 1999 年,它不仅包括经合组织(OECD)的 24 个核心成员,还包括 WTO 以外的 110 个成员。

世界贸易的逐步自由化促进了国际贸易的长期增长。几十年来,世界贸易的增长率远远超过世界产值的增长率,而且两者的差距在 90 年代急剧扩大。在 80 年代,世界贸易增长率比世界产值增长率快 60%,而在 90 年代,世界贸易增长率几乎是世界产值增长率的 2 倍。发展中国家出口快速增长的主要部分与各个国家中的“切开价值链”(‘slicing up the value chain’)过程有关,此过程的不同部分又分布到生产成本最低的地方。在 90 年代中期,几乎三分之一的世界贸易是在全球生产网络中进行的。

2. 资本流动的自由化

全球大企业变革的核心是国际长期资本的加速流动。从 80 年代初到 90 年代末,国际直接投资(FDI)增长巨大:在 1981 年至 1985 年期间的年平均流动量仅为 480 亿美元,而到 1998 年已增长到 6440 亿美元。流入发展中国家的国际直接投资从 1984~1989 年的年平均数 220 亿美元,也增长到 1998 年的 1660 亿美元。国际直接投资流入发展中国家的份额也急剧增长:从 1984~1989 年期间不足 20% 增长到 1994 年的 40%,但 1998 年又回落到 26%。此外,国际直接投资集中在少数几个发展中国家,流入国际直接投资最多的三个国家是巴西、墨西哥和中国。在 1987~1992 年期间,流入这三个国家的国际直接投资占流入发展中国家总数的 30%,1998 年达 51%。

尽管流入发展中国家的资金数量较大,但大多数国际直接投资是在发达国家之间流动。世界国际直接投资的 90% 以上来自发达

国家(在 1987~1992 年期间为 93%,1998 年为 92%),而流入发达国家的国际直接投资通常占世界总数的四分之三。美国是国际直接投资流入最多的国家,在 1998 年约占全球国际直接投资总数的 30%。

战后世界经济的繁荣,长期以来是靠‘出口推动’的,即贸易的增长大大高于产品产量的增长,而在 90 年代,国际直接投资(FDI)的增长比贸易的增长还快。从 1988 年到 1998 年,FDI 每年增长 15%,同期世界商品出口的年增长率为 8%。在 90 年代,以发达资本主义国家为基地的公司,其产品产量有很大一部分是在国外生产的,并且这部分产量所占的份额不断增加。90 年代初,美国公司在国外的营业额已超过 1 万亿美元,大致相当于美国出口国内生产商品价值的 4 倍。

80 年代以来,国际短期资本的流动逐步自由化,不管是在发达国家还是在发展中国家,短期资本从一地流向另一地越来越容易。在发达国家,金融市场已‘融入全球金融服务’,信息收集、分析及传播技术的迅速进步,促进了财务创新,并产生了数十亿美元的国际流动资本。国际贸易的增长,特别是国际资本流动的加快,使外汇交易量大为增加。1998 年的日外汇交易总额在 1.5 万亿美元左右,相当于美国年产值的六分之一。国际短期资本流动增长的主要推动力,是发达国家机构投资者(institutional investor)的崛起,而相当大的一部分资金投入了股市。这些投资者在 1995 年控制了 20 万亿美元,约占国际投资资金总数的五分之一。

3. 私有化

仅仅十年以前,发达资本主义国家的大量经济活动仍直接为国家所有或受国家控制。而现在私有化的范围却已十分广泛。经济的很多领域已向私人资本开放,这包括了西欧的大部分国家、前苏联和东欧以及一些发展中国家。私有化已涉及电信、民航、邮政、发电、电力输送和销售、宇航、军工、汽车、煤、钢、公共交通、石油和石化等行业。以前国有的服务行业,如民航、电信、发电及输电等,其私有化对供应这些行业复杂设备的那些行业也产生了串联效应,使后者也面

临激烈的竞争。

4. 前苏联和东欧阵营的解体

70 年代末，世界人口的五分之二生活在共产党掌权的国家中。世界资本主义要进入这一巨大市场受到了严格的限制。到 90 年代初苏联解体后，这一区域几乎全部向世界资本主义开放。这一开放过程大大加强了资本主义成长的可能性。世界的很大一部分地区成为经合组织(OECD) 国家产品的潜在客户和 OECD 国家资本的接受者，以及扩大其全球生产基地的潜在处所，从而大大激发了 OECD 国家投资者和生产企业的“动物本能”(‘animal spirits’)。

5. 信息技术(IT)

我将在后面讨论 80 年代以来信息技术的剧烈变化。在此有必要强调，这一技术在大企业变革时期对体制改革的很多关键方面是多么重要，例如它加快了世界资本市场的变革，便利了全球供应链管理，促进了全球性品牌的发展，以及复杂设备的设计和维修。

6. 人口流动

人口大量流动是自由化一般特征的一个主要例外。在 19 世纪末和 20 世纪初，国际人口流动对国际经济起到实质性的作用，约 6000 万人离开欧洲，前往美洲、大洋洲、南非和东非。在两次世界大战之间，国际人口流动急剧下降。虽然人口流动数量在其后仍然增加，即从较贫穷的国家流向较富足的国家，但人口流动从未达到 1914 年以前的水平。在 90 年代，国际上每年人口流动的数量有二三百万人，居住在祖国以外的流动人口仅占世界总人口的 2%~3%。流动人口中妇女有大量机会成为临时工，另有相当多的妇女被国际犯罪集团贩卖为妓女。但除了这些特殊情况外，非熟练工从穷国流入富国的数量非常有限。赫斯特和汤普森指出：“不像商品和服务那样，劳动力的世界市场是不存在的。大多数劳动力市场仍受国家调控，仅在本国那些缺少劳动力的领域才接受外国人，不管是合法或非法的移民或专业人士。商

品和服务的流动比劳动力的流动容易多了。”

但是，高技术专业人士的国际流动已成为全球大企业变革的核心。全球大企业变革的主要特征是发达国家大量需求高技术劳动力，特别是在那些进行“第三次技术革命”的产业领域中。发展中国家的相当大的一部分技艺高超人士，已流动到高收入国家的知识密集型产业中。发达国家中的人口老化，以及年轻人对科技研究缺乏兴趣，看来将强化从发展中国家吸收高质量人力资源的趋势。

（二）竞争的优势

1. 核心业务

70年代以后，过去对资本主义关闭的广阔地区逐步放宽限制，从而使市场的范围急剧扩大，强劲地激励大公司去缩小它们的业务经营范围，并在缩小的业务经营范围内迅速成长。全球性大企业变革使个别大公司采取的缩小经营范围的做法迅速普及，出现大规模资产重组，公司大量出售其“非核心业务”，以发展其“核心业务”。大多数大型资本主义公司的目标，是要在全球市场上位居前二、三位。为达此目的，就专注于研究与开发范围较为狭窄的产品及其市场运营资源，从而发展和强化在所选定的核心领域内的竞争优势。可以看到，著名大公司在此过程中显著地增加其研究、开发及市场运营的支出。而对任何公司来说，这些支出所集中的经营范围则更为狭窄。世界性经营成功的企业的信条是：“如果你不是世界第一、第二或第三，你就应当退出这一经营领域。”

2. 品牌

在全球大企业变革的新时期，可以看到首次出现的真正全球性品牌。这些品牌深入全球消费者的心中，不仅使市场的中心在全球扩散，而且使世界文化通过全球化的媒体而蓬勃发展。成功的品牌在市场运营中投入数十亿美元，这不仅包括显而易见的创造品牌的形式，如显眼的广告等，而且包括那些不那么显眼的形式，如建立全球性机器（如冷冻机、冷却器及配料机等）的营销网，以便就近向用户