全球经济动荡及环境挑战背景下的中国 China in a Turbulent Global Economic and Environmental Situation

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开幕式 Opening Remarks

王有强:

各位领导、各位来宾、老师们、同学们大家好。

非常高兴我们清华-布鲁金斯公共政策研究中心能够举办这样一个高水平的研讨会,在此我谨代表清华大学公共管理学院以及清华布鲁金斯公共政策研究中心衷心感谢国家发改委宏观院、布鲁金斯学会、哥伦比亚大学地学研究所,澳大利亚国立大学以及花旗集团的大力支持。现在请允许我介绍一下在主席台就座的尊贵嘉宾:国家发展与改革委员会朱之鑫副主任.清华大学陈旭副校长。

今天参加我们研讨会的还有许多领导和嘉宾,有国家发展和改革委员会副秘书长杨伟民先生,中国人民银行副行长易纲先生,哥伦比亚大学杰弗里萨克斯教授,国家发改委宏观经济研究院王一鸣副院长,还有布鲁金斯资深研究员胡永泰教授,以及清华布鲁金斯公共政策研究中心的肖耿主任。还有很多其他来自重要政府部门和机构的专家、学者,因为时间关系就不一介绍了。

现在我们先请陈旭校长为我们致开幕辞,大家欢迎。

陈旭:

尊敬的朱主任,尊敬的易行长、尊敬的萨克斯教授,女士们,先生们,大家早上好。

今天我们在这里举行"全球经济动荡以及环境挑战背景下的中国"国际会议,首先请允许我代表清华大学顾秉林校长和我们刚刚上任的党委书记胡和平教授对大家的光临表示热烈地欢迎。同时对组织这次会议的国家发展和改革委员会宏观经济研究院,布鲁金斯学会,哥伦比亚大学地球研究所,以及清华-布鲁金斯公共政策研究中心,对你们组织这次会议所做出的工作表示衷心地感谢。

新年伊始,在公共管理学院这个会议室我们举办这样一场国际学术盛会,共同探讨金融危机和环境问题,是非常及时而且意义非常深远。这次会议我们荣幸地邀请到了朱之鑫副主任、易纲副行长和萨克斯教授等多位知名的专家学者,将在金融危机、中美经济贸易关系、能源与环境、中国经济展望等多个方面和领域发表精彩的演讲。我相信今天的会议必将对全面准确地判断目前经济形势,分析全球及中国的现状,制订正确的对策起到重要的作用,预祝大会圆满成功,祝大家新年快乐,谢谢。

王有强:

谢谢陈校长。下面我们请国家发展和改革委员会朱之鑫副主任为本次会议致开幕辞。

朱之鑫:

各位女士们、先生们上午好。

在 2009 年岁首之际,我们国家发展和改革委员会宏观经济研究院,与布鲁金斯学会和 哥伦比亚大学地球研究联合在清华大学召开"全球经济动荡以及环境挑战背景下的中国"的 研讨会,首先请允许我代表国家发展和改革委员会,对会议的召开表示祝贺,对与会的各位 专家和学者表示热烈地欢迎。

我们刚刚送走了中国改革开放的三十周年,又将迎来新中国成立 60 周年。目前中国正处于全面建设小康社会和现代化建设的关键时期,在本世纪初我们就形成了一个重要的判断,这就是二十一世纪的头二十年是中国必须紧紧抓住,而且可以大有作为的重要的战略机遇期。这既是一个黄金发展期,也是一个矛盾凸显期。目前尽管中国经济发展面临着来自国际、国内的严重的困难和严峻挑战,但中国经济发展的基本面和长期的趋势没有改变,更不

会因为这场金融危机而发生逆转。我们遇到的困难和挑战是前进中的问题。但是我们必须清醒看到,始发于美国的金融危机及其引发的全球经济振荡,已经是影响中国经济发展的最大外部因素,确实给中国经济产生了严峻的挑战,给中国的发展增加了巨大的困难。挑战和机遇并存、困难与希望并存,能不能化挑战为机遇,变困难为希望,保持经济平稳较快发展,是对中国可持续发展能力的考验。我们既要把困难和问题估计得充分一些,把应对措施考虑得周密一些,又要注重从变化了的形势中捕捉和把握发展机遇,在逆境中发现和培育有利因素,统筹好国际国内两个大局,扎扎实实地办好自己的事情。可以说不抓住机遇就等于放弃了发展。在这样的宏观背景下,今天我们举办这样的高层次的主题研讨会确实非常及时,具有重要的意义。

宏观经济研究院作为中国最具实力的宏观经济研究机构,美国布鲁金斯学会和哥伦比亚 大学地球研究所更是世界著名的智库,今天到会的很多都是知名的专家,我们希望各位中外 专家畅所欲言,为中国的中长期发展提供大思路、大智慧。

我想对会议的研讨提三点参考意见。

- 一,要把中国的发展与世界的发展更加紧密地结合起来。随着经济全球化的深入,中国与世界的联系日益紧密,不会因为这场危机而改变,解决中国问题必须具备世界眼光,解决世界问题也离不开中国的参与。解决好中国的发展问题就是对世界发展的最大贡献。
- 二,将中国当前发展与长远发展更加紧密地结合起来。中国已经顺利实现了现代化的建设的第一步、第二步的战略目标,正在向 2020 和 2050 的战略目标迈进。我们既有解决眼下近忧的问题,也要谋划好中国中长期发展的远虑问题,不但要解决好眼前中国发展所面临的困难和矛盾,更要着眼于增强中国的可持续发展能力。
- 三,将中国的经济发展与社会发展更加紧密地结合起来,改革开放三十年来,中国的发展取得了举世瞩目的巨大成就,但是中国的发展还存在着明显的经济发展这条腿长而社会发展这条腿短的问题,一个瘸脚的人是难以成为优秀的长跑运动员的。今天的研讨会的一个主题就是和谐社会建设,大家要深入分析、研讨好这一重大问题。

刚才国家发展改革委和美国布鲁金斯学会和哥伦比亚大学地球研究所,就合作开展"走向 2049 的中国"研究项目签署了协议,我认为这是一项值得肯定和重视的研究项目,希望三家研究机构通力合作,在条件成熟时尽早启动研究,尽早提出高质量的研究成果。

最后预祝会议圆满成功,祝各位身体健康、新春愉快,谢谢。

王有强:

谢谢朱主任,开幕式至此结束。衷心感谢各位领导的光临。下面我们请发改委宏观院的陈东琪副院长主持本次研讨会的第一场讨论,也请第一场的各位嘉宾到主席台就坐。谢谢大家。

第一场讨论会 Panel I

陈东琪:

女士们,先生们,我们第一场讨论现在开始。第一场的题目是全球金融危机:全球合作和国内改革的时机。

在第一场做演讲的有四位嘉宾:

第一位是美国哥伦比亚大学教授萨克斯先生。

第二位是中国人民银行行长易纲先生。

第三位是花旗集团经济市场分析部全球信息市场主管韩龙先生。

第四位是国家发改委宏观经济研究院副院长王一鸣先生。

首先请萨克斯教授做题为"世界危机下的亚洲持续增长"的演讲,有请。

Jeffrey Sachs:

Thank you very much. Let me say first how delighted I am to be in Beijing and wish everybody a happy new year. It's going to be a complicated year but also a very interesting year, and I think that if we are working at these problems in a cooperative way, we're going to make a lot more success of this year. So I really hope this year would be a year of good cooperation, internationally, so that we can solve many of the difficult problems that we face. And this seminar is a wonderful start, and I'm very, very honored to be here and to have the chance to interact with leading Chinese thinkers and policy officials so that we can discuss this complicated setting.

Let me spend a few minutes describing the crisis as I see it, both from the US perspective because this crisis started in the United States and also from the international perspective because the crisis has become a global crisis, even though the center of the crisis is the US crisis. We're also a little bit privileged in our view of the crisis, Don Hanna and I, because we are at the epicenter of the crisis. I'm about two miles away; Don is ground zero, because the epicenter of the crisis is Wall Street, actually. That's not a necessarily always a comfortable place to be at the moment because it's been a very difficult year. But I don't think there's anybody that sees it more clearly than Don, so I'm also very much looking forward to hearing his remarks.

In my interpretation, the most fundamental thing that is happening is that the United States' consumer, who has been at the center of US demand and in a way, at the center of the world demand, is taking a break from big consumption. Because the US consumer, or the US households, have been spending a tremendous amount and spending more than their income for many, many years. They've been doing this by borrowing, in part borrowing from China, of course through the international financial markets, and they were doing this on the basis of very optimistic expectations about the future and very easy access to credit, especially for housing and consumer durables. And while there are many specific things that have happened, I would say that the outlook of the American consumer has darkened considerably because the expected continuing rise of housing prices and of stock market value and the continuing access to credit reached a limit a couple of years ago. And households shifted from optimism to credit limits, and that has created a cascading sequence of events in which there has been a cutback of household demand, which has worsened the conditions in the housing market, in the equity market and in the availability of credit because the banks got into trouble as the housing prices fell. And this has become an amplifying process where household cuts of spending have reverberated to the asset markets and then to credit supply and then to more decline of consumption spending, to more decline of asset

prices to worse credit conditions. And we're seeing a downward spiral of consumption levels that is at the core of the downturn of the US economy and of the slowdown of the world economy.

Now it's been a complicated downward adjustment, and there are many specific elements to this unwinding spiral. But to my mind, the most basic thing that has happened is that households which had been over-spending are cutting back sharply, and I don't think that will be reversed by any technical means. Because I don't think that the preceding situation was a sustainable situation. It was based on over-exaggerated expectations, a bubble in the housing prices and in the asset prices. And so I don't think we can simply revert to the status quo ante, that is, to the situation before the downturn, and it's for that reason that I don't think we will have a sharp recovery in the United States, beginning in the second half of 2009, because I regard the changes taking place as more than simply a macroeconomic rebound. I regard them as structural change of the Us economy from an over-consumption economy to a more sustainable economy based more on exports and net exports and a more realistic level of demand, and I hope eventually a more balanced position between household consumption and other sectors of the economy.

As the household sector has declined, it's created great tensions in the financial markets, so there is both cause and effect coming from the financial markets. The decline of household spending has created a growing financial crisis in the sub-prime market in the losses of asset values of the banks, the commercial banks and the investment banks, and that has amplified the consumption decline. That is the kind of debt deflation spiral that has been under way, which I think is understandable. It took a more dramatic turn on September 15, 2008, when Lehman Brothers was pushed into bankruptcy. Because not only was there a debt deflation spiral but then there was a financial panic that ensued when all investors everywhere made a rapid flight to safety, or at least what they hoped was safety, away from commercial paper, from inter bank loans, and from equity when Lehman brothers failed. So one additional piece of this puzzle in addition to the decline of consumer spending and the decline of the economy has been a financial panic since the fall, and that threatened to eliminate the liquidity in the system, which amplified the downturn but also greatly raised the fears of households and businesses about spending. So it [financial panic] dramatically increased the speed of the decline of consumer spending and private investment spending, and the US economy is in a steep decline right now with the falling demand, rising unemployment and a lot of fear associated with that.

This crisis has international dimensions to it that are very important. Those dimensions go back even before the US downturn because the easy monetary policy of the United States for many years, which helped to provoke the boom, was also matched by easy monetary policy in many other parts of the world, including in China. So there was a general condition of easy credit in many parts of the world. I believe the Federal Reserve was probably at the center of that, with the very low interest rates in the US, the booming demand of US consumers for exports from abroad, and the capital flows from the US to the rest of the world markets including from China [which led to] the monetary expansion that came as central banks all over the world bought dollars and expanded the domestic money supplies. So the boom of the American consumer which was made possible by easy credit policy was to some extent a worldwide boom of housing spending and consumption spending. The tightening of credit led to a general decline, to some extent, of consumption in all parts of the world, because there was a bit of overheating everywhere. The decline of housing prices and equity prices was worldwide, even before the US fell into recession. But that global crisis has accelerated through many channels, one of which obviously is the

decline of export earnings to the United States, and China is now experiencing a very sharp decline of export sales, not only to the US but also to Western Europe, which is also in recession for a lot of the same reasons as the US, both as an effect from the US and as a reversal of the easy credit conditions which applied in many parts of Western Europe. So there is a sharp decline of exports to the US and Europe. There is also a credit tightening phenomenon or a de-leveraging phenomenon that has been going on for more than a year, but which has dramatically accelerated after the September 15 failure of Lehman Brothers. It was because at that point the US banks and the European Banks which need more focus than they usually get pulled back their overseas loans to Eastern Europe, to Latin America, and to East Asia. China's not so much directly affected by that, but Korea for example, is heavily affected by that. So too I think is Indonesia. Don Hanna can give us a more detailed account of that.

But this means that the impact abroad is being felt simultaneously by three things: 1) A drop of domestic demand which is part of the general decline of overheating, 2) a drop of export earnings which is coming from the deep crisis in the US and in Europe, and 3) a tightening of credit which is partly going on already for more than a year, but was tremendously accelerated by the events after September 15. The overall implication of this is that global aggregate demand is in a sharp decline, and that it is not likely to be reversed quickly by automatic market mechanisms, and we shouldn't expect the American household, which in a way has been the engine of global demand for quite a while, to continue to play that role. American households are tired, scared, seeing a loss of \$20 trillion of wealth, perhaps in housing and stock market values, up to their ears in debt, worried about unemployment, and unlikely to say, "OK let's go out and buy another car or another house soon," even if the banks are ready to lend to it. So unclogging the banks, in my opinion, is not going to be enough to reverse this decline, because we have a structural change to make, even more than simply a macroeconomic rebound, coming from easing the credit conditions, and I wouldn't count on a sharp rebound of export earnings in China, for example, to restore the situation of growth. I would take the decline of exports as a given and believe that it will be quite significant and quite long term, and this means that as different parts of the world now need to restore aggregate demand, they're going to have to do it in structural changes in the economy, not only waiting for a normal rebound from a normal business cycle.

In the United States the rise of demand will have to come from government spending, both consumption and investment, and a rise of net exports, meaning more exports and fewer imports. I believe the dollar will be a weak currency and a more unstable currency for years to come, so I don't think under these circumstances of a massive restructuring of the US economy, large budget deficits, a need to expand net exports that the US dollar can play a stable global currency role as it has before, and we're going to have to expect realignments of exchange rates for the longer term. China will be buying more US goods and selling less to the US over time, as it will be true for the rest of the world. The US will try to increase government demand and we have big reasons to do so, because the US government is too small a part of the US economy traditionally, because the overly liberal approach, overly market-oriented. [There is] not enough public investment. So we have good public investments to make, but we don't yet agree on how to pay for them because the Americans really dislike taxation, a lot. So they want to increase government spending now, but they don't have a model of how to pay for this over the longer term, and will have a budget deficit this year of well over \$1 trillion, without any agreement on how that will be financed over the longer term. This is another reason why the dollar will weaken over time.

Viewed from the Chinese side, this means that exports will be down, it means that the RMB will continue to strengthen against the dollar, as will the rest of the Asian currencies, so China won't be alone in this. This will be a general phenomenon of rebalancing the Asian exchange rates against the US economy. And China, of course, will therefore have to find domestic demand approaches. I believe this is not a temporary matter but now becoming a more structural matter because as I've explained, I hope we don't go back to the over-borrowing model of the US, but I don't think we could go back to the over-borrowing model of the US. So China will need new dimensions of spending that are more domestically based rather than export-led. I think this is ok because China has a lot of very important domestic demand expansion that it can undertake, as a rapidly growing economy with about 40 or 50 years ahead of rapid urbanization. There is no shortage of good investments to make in this country, especially making a sustainable urban-based economy, more infrastructure and lower pollution, which requires major investments in clean water, in clean air, and in sustainable energy and transport systems. There's no shortage of domestic aggregate demand that will be of very high value for the Chinese society. So it won't be wasting money; it will be very good value.

There is a timing problem, however, because the exports are going to go down now, and building up a robust public investment strategy as well as a private consumption strategy will take time, and given the difficulties of public sector management of investment and getting good projects and so on, this is a difficult challenge. When the government has announced the \$4 trillion yuan investment package, this is a good initiative, but it can't be viewed as a one-time initiative. This has to be a start of a long-term pattern of public investment at a higher level. And China will need a strategy for financing that public investment, the same way that the United States will need a strategy for financing the public investment. Some of it can be by credit, some of it can be by municipal bonds, some of it will have to be by tax collection. There will need to be a strategy for making this a longer-term rise for domestic demand and what's very important though, I think, is that the 4 trillion yuan program first of all should actually be implemented because only a modest part of that is directly budget demand. The rest somehow comes through financial markets or hope. There needs to be a strategy to realize that increased level of spending in order to offset the rising unemployment of Guangdong or in other export zones of the country and in order to use the resources effectively.

So I think China is very much on the right track, but I think realizing that program and making sure that it's a multi-year strategy and not simply a one-time stimulus is extremely important. And of course, finally, also dealing private consumption is a good idea and an important part of long-term development. I don't want to recommend the American style of not saving for the future, but I don't feel that's a risk in China right now because if Chinese households save 40, or 50 or 60 percent of their income, they're not like the American consumer right now. That's good. We just need to narrow the gap a little bit. American needs to save more; Chinese consumers need to spend a little bit more, and I think that between these two, we can reestablish a new macroeconomic, coordinated framework.

The final thing I want to say is that clearly to make these pieces work requires explicit policy coordination. Different countries need to explain what their perceptions are of their policy, their net export balance, their idea about trade flows in the future. We have to avoid friction, criticism and grand standing in this, and we also need to partner cooperatively in some of the public investment strategies, for instance sustainable energy, pollution control, reducing carbon emissions

as part of the global strategy so that both governments, all governments, will get good value of their money when they make public investments. So I believe policy coordination is very important. This doesn't come easily, because especially in the United States, all the debate is internal, often just blaming the rest of the world or neglecting the rest of the world. We have to make a special effort to make the policies highly coordinated now and on a very cooperative basis. Thank you very much.

陈东琪:

下面请易纲先生演讲,他的题目是"世界危机下的中国增长",请大家欢迎。

易纲:

感谢会议组织者的邀请。我很高兴我是在萨克斯教授之后进行演讲,因为他把全球金融 危机问题讲得很清楚了。我想把我的讲话集中在中国,集中在金融危机对中国的影响上。

金融危机对中国的影响是非常地明显的,我想通过对中国的四张资产负债表的解读来分析中国的基本面还是好的,中国经济增长的趋势没有改变。我讲的这四张资产负债表就是居民、企业、金融业和政府这四张资产负债表,这四张资产负债表加起来就全中国的资产负债表。我想得出的结论是,全球金融危机和实体经济衰退对中国的经济到底发生了什么影响?

我们首先看居民这张资产负债表。我们知道中国的居民到去年年底有 22 万亿的银行的存款,即储蓄存款 22 万亿,不包括股票、保险。那么金融资产要比这 22 万亿还要大,还有住房及其他的一些资产。中国居民的负债到去年年底大约是 3.7 万亿,在这 3.7 万亿当中有 3 万亿是住房抵押贷款,其他的是消费信贷,如汽车贷款、助学贷款还有其他的一些如彩电、冰箱等耐用消费品的贷款。

要看居民这张资产负债表你就看,我就不说其他的金融资产,只看银行,就可以看出中国居民的资产负债率是非常低的。我们都说扩大消费,鼓励居民首次购买住房,并且改善型住房。那么鼓励居民消费有多大的潜力呢?从这个资产负债表上看,它有相当的潜力。当然了这个资产它并不是分布得非常均匀的,这是另外一个问题,那是分布的问题。就是总体看,居民的资产负债表是很健康,而且是非常地有潜力,特别是在增加消费方面。

第二张资产负债表是企业的资产负债表。经过这几年资本市场的发展和企业的改革,预算约束越来越强,企业的资产负债表在过去的十年也趋于合理化。我们通过人民银行掌握的五千户企业和统计局更大样本的企业的分析认为,目前中国的主要的企业,就是大多数的企业(当然了这个是从样本来推断整体,我不是一个整体的数字,是一个统计上的样本的统计推断的数字),企业的平均资产负债率大约在59%左右。这几年是62%、61%、60%、59%,略有下降,也就是说企业的资产负债率也是比较健康的。金融危机我们老听到一个词就是杠杆化(leverage),如"金融机构的杠杆化太高了"、"企业的杠杆化太高了","家庭借钱借得太多了",中国的这几年资产负债率是趋于合理的。当然在目前的阶段,企业由于金融危机的冲击,由于增长的放慢,企业的利润会有一些困难,但是首先它没有过度负债,另外就是总体的基本面还是好的,因此我觉得企业这张资产负债表也是一个稳健的资产负债。

第三张资产负债表就是分析一下金融业。金融业中最大头就是银行业,大家知道,在过去几年中国银行业的改革力度非常大,过去三四年工商银行、建设银行、中国银行、交通银行在 A 股市场、H 股市场成功上市,筹集了很多资本金,银行业的资本充足率在历史的高位,银行业的不良资产率在历史的低位。我们抓住了这个时间的窗口,抓住了最好的资本市场的时间窗口,使得我们这个主要的大银行都成功地上市。那么对于资本充足率、对于公司治理结构这个风险控制能力有了很大的提高。那么我们剩下的就是农行和国家开发银行业也比较主动了,因为大头这个事儿已经做完了。我们虽然现在资本市场比较困难,但是我们是

一个非常主动的位置。

银行的资产负债表大家可以看到,经过三十年的改革,中国的银行从计划经济向市场经济转变,中间通过了所谓的专业银行阶段,然后逐步地走向了商业银行。可以看出现在的中国的银行业是在历史的最好水平。也就是说在这样的一个冲击下,大家都感到比如说大银行,都是怕对手放风险,过去很好的银行、很有名的银行现在有的都发生问题了,大家开始心怀恐慌。但我们中国银行整体上是处于最好的一个时期。

接下来说一下证券业的改革。最近我们股票市场有一些低迷,大家对股票市场有各种各样的议论和希望,但是也不能够因此来怀疑股票市场、资本市场的改革,也取得了长足的进展。我只给大家举一个例子。在这一轮的改革中我们做了一件事,就是要求券商他的股民保证金一定要第三方存款,即独立的第三方存款,使得券商像过去一样挪用客户保证金的风险大大地降低了。我觉得证券市场也在稳步地前进。还有保险市场总的来讲也是稳健的。那么我说中国金融业这张资产负债表它是一个比较好的资产负债表。

第四张资产负债表就是中国政府的资产负债表,这种计算有一些不同,各种各样的计算有一些不同,我算的是一个更全口径的国债的余额,在去年年底国债的余额,也就是在 GDP 的 20%、21%这样的水平。

我们这样的一个资产负债表就使得中国如果要实行积极的财政政策有比较大的空间。比如说我们的国债余额占 GDP 的比重是在 20%、21%这样的一个水平,那么在现在美国他的国债余额占 GDP 的比重是 71%,欧元区占 GDP 的比重是 67%,日本的国债余额占 GDP 的比重是 163%,所以相比而言我们的余地还是比较大的。我们 07 年的赤字占 GDP 的比重只有 0.8%,08 年的赤字占 GDP 的比重只有 0.6%左右,09 年要稍微高一点。但是我想说的是,虽然积极财政政策会使我们 09 年的赤字占 GDP 的比重略高一点,但是也会是一个比较稳健的情况。

如果你把这四张资产负债表加起来,即居民、企业、金融业和政府的资产负债表,把它加起来就是整个中国的资产负债表。

我们从这四张资产负债表中可以看出中国的基本面是好的,中国的增长的趋势没有改变。比如说城市化的过程,我们还是在城市化的中期偏早一点儿,现在我们的城市化率还不到 50%。并且从其他的很多经济的发展阶段来看,我们还是一个发展中国家,还有很多的农村边远地区和其他的工程可以做。这样看来,中国的这个发展的态势并没有改变,虽然有这么大的冲击。

这种冲击[金融危机对中国的冲击]还有一个比较显著的特点,就是它造成了发达市场和全世界的流动性的枯竭和信用的紧张,和去杠杆化所造成的信贷收缩。这是危机非常明显的一个特征,大家都怕对手放风险,那么大家都不愿意拆出资金向金融机构或者是向企业贷款。关于美联储,刚才萨克斯教授讲了,美联储和欧洲央行注了这么多流动性到银行以后,又存回到了美联储,因为它们怕对手放风险。

中国现在的流动性非常地充裕。在这个危机发生以前,我们的流动性有一些过剩,那么中央银行在流动性过剩的情况下,中央银行要对冲,要发大量的央行票据,要提高金融机构的存款准备金率来收这个流动性率,那么金融危机以后流动性率有所下降,下降到了什么水平?下降到了一个充裕的水平,从过剩到充裕。所以这是一个中国有别于主要金融市场的一个重要的特征。

如果我们要看 11、12 月份的贷款数字, 11 月的贷款数字已经公布了, 12 月份的还没有出来, 但是 11 月、12 月的贷款数字都是一个非常大的数字, 它是一个非常大的数字。这说明什么呢?说明在市场上, 到现在为止还没有发生流动性的枯竭、惜贷, 由于对手放风险使得流动性紧张的情况。就是稍稍地有一点儿, 在危机最严重的时候, 我们在中国境内的个别的外资银行, 有一些流动性紧张, 但是我们的货币当局也及时地提供了流动性的支持使得市

场上整个的流动性是非常地充裕的。

那么在这种情况下,我们说中国的基本面是很好的。但是现在市场上和媒体上弥漫着一种悲观的情绪,这种悲观情绪又是哪来的呢?这个悲观的情绪源自经济下滑的趋势或者是指标比较明显。大家特别关注的一个指标是工业,我们9、10、11 月工业下得比较快,发电量下得比较快,运输下得比较快,企业利润的增长率是大幅度地降低了。那么由于这些指标使得我们对经济产生了一些疑问。

但是我曾经讲过,我们这次面临着世界金融危机的冲击和全世界经济衰退对中国的影响,我刚才说到中国我这个基本面是好的,那么这种冲击和影响,它是否传导到中国了呢? 回答是肯定的,它肯定传导到中国了:通过什么途径传导到中国?主要通过两个途径:

- 一,实体经济的下滑,大大地降低了外需,使得我们出口发生了困难。在 11 月份我们出口已经是负的 2%,那么大家已经可以看得非常地明显,我们出口是发生了困难。
- 二,另外一个传染的途径就是这种恐慌的情绪,恐慌的情绪通过什么传染?通过预期来传染,大家的预期不好也会对实体经济发生很大的影响。

另外一个对中国的影响它是经济周期、金融危机、实体经济下滑,再加上由于预期的转变造成的能源和大商品价格在 08 年下半年的暴跌,这使得我们企业存货调整的压力非常大。本来在经济周期下滑的时候,存货就是要调整的,存货是一个顺周期的变量。那么经济周期一下滑,它是要调整存货的,而这个大商品价格的暴跌,就使得企业调整存货的压力就非常地大,那么这种调整存货就很大程度上造成了工业的下滑。而在这个工业下滑中我们可以分析,我们目前的工业下滑最主要的是重工业的下滑。重工业的下滑在 11 月、10 月这个数出来了以后,重工业下滑了大概 8%、9%,而我们的轻工业下滑了 1%、2%、3%。各工业下滑是不一样,为什么重工业下滑得那么多?主要就是钢铁、大宗的原材料它的存货调整是很明显的。另外一个就是说调整存货实际上和预期的转变也反映到了进口。所以我们进口的下滑比出口的下滑还大,用这个存货模型是可以解释的。

但是从我们调查的情况看,可能多数企业的存货的调整在今年[2009年]的一季度就会调整得差不多,还有部分的行业和企业的存货调整需要更长的时间,可能要到今年的二季度。 所以我们的存货模型,它可能预示着中国的经济到了今年的二季度或者是三季度会有所变化。

刚才萨克斯教授也分析了,中国的增长方式一定要更加地转向内需。那么我自己的分析,虽然我们的出口占 GDP 的比重大概是 35%、36%,贸易占出口的比重为 68%,69%,但是实际上由于我们出口中有很多加工贸易,因而实际上中国对出口的依存度应该是没有像出口占 GDP 的比重那么高,应该是一个相对低的数。所以从这个意义上来说,中国的经济还是呈现出一个大陆经济的特征,也就是说主要还是靠内需的,我的估计中国的这个经济要 80% 甚至于 80%多一点儿是靠内需。所以虽然面临着出口的压力,但是中国的经济这么大,又在这个发展阶段上,我们完全可以用次级消费、积极的财政政策、适度的宽松货币政策,使得中国在今年保持一个相对平稳的增长。

最后我再用一分钟的时间说一下大家对货币政策,特别是对利率的一个讨论。有媒体讨论,比如说美国的利率,美国的联邦基金利率、美国的目标利率现在是 0 到 0.25 这个区间,有的媒体因此就得出一个结论,说中国有很大的降息空间。媒体用的比较数据是什么?是中国的一年期的存款利率是 2.25,一年期的贷款利率是 5.31,据此得出了那样一个结论。我在这也说的是,比较利率的时候你要比较可比的利率。美国的联邦基金利率是美国银行间市场的同业拆借利率,这个同业拆借利率是隔夜的,就是大机构之间拆一天的利率。在中国有没有隔夜利率?也有,我们的隔夜利率比如说昨天[2009 年 1 月 9 日]是 0.89,是这样的一个概念,是将近 0.9 这样一个可比的。美国的一年期的 C 利是 2 左右,那么美国的贷款利率到现在为止降了这么多了,美国的住房抵押贷款利率,我们调查平均数大概是 5.33%左右,而我

们的降息以后,我们的住房抵押贷款利率还可能比美国略低。那么欧洲的央行的目标利率, 商业银行给客户的零售利率、存款利率、贷款利率都比我们高,日本是长期在零利率,日本 确实比我们低,但是日本的零利率也有很多的问题,长期以来也没有使日本的经济振兴。

所以朋友们在比较、分析利率的时候,要苹果比苹果、橘子比橘子,你的存款利率、贷款利率要比美国的利率要好,这是给零售和居民的存款利率、贷款利率,你的隔夜拆借利率要和美国的同业隔夜拆借利率比,这样的一个比较就能够使我们得出一个比较正确的结论。 谢谢大家。

陈东琪:

下面请花旗集团的韩龙先生演讲,他的演讲题目是"去粗取精:金融改革的指导方针"。

Donald Hanna:

Good morning everyone it's an honor to be here amongst so many distinguished scholars and students to talk about a topic which is consuming so much attention here in China, but really around the world. And we have had such illuminating comments already made by Professor Jeffrey Sachs as well as Deputy-Governor Yi Gang. What I thought I would try and do is limit my remarks to two aspects. One, a little bit further exploration of what's the source of our problems, particularly with regard to the financial system and then focus that in on some of the lessons that we can learn with regard to how one wants to try and make improvements in the management of that financial system, both in a global sense but also with regard to what is happening here in China with financial reform.

Jeff has already highlighted the kernel of the problem as he put it with the household spending relative to income in the United States. But a big part of that problem was the surge in wealth that had gone on, it wasn't as if households in the United States - well in the trend basis we save much less obviously than we do here in China. But a big problem in the decline in savings and the rise in consumption that had kept growth very steady in the United States as well as globally was the surge in wealth. And a lot of that was connected to another macro-economic phenomenon which had been this very steady performance of the US economy, what economists call the "Great Moderation," which had actually spread out into the world. And that was a moderation which meant growth was relatively high but inflation came way down and with that there was a surge, in a sense of asset prices that came also with that decline in volatility; in part because investment tended to rise because there was less uncertainty coming from the macro-economic environment.

And that rise in wealth then translated into people's willingness to think well I am now richer even though my income hasn't yet gone up that much I'm going to spend more. And the problem we face now and what is going to make this recovery globally relatively muted is the fact that that wealth has been contracting and that's what you see in the decline in share prices, in the rising values of spreads that have destroyed people's wealth, the falling home prices. Not just in the United States but here in China as well we've seen the same phenomenon of falling home prices and falling share prices. It is a phenomenon across Europe and that is going to tend to have an influence on the spending and recovery, tending to raise savings, but especially so in the United States.

And that of course, that issue of wealth, links very much closely to what's going on in the financial system. Part of what was happening, part of what generated this surge I would argue is

that in this world in which the growth had moderated in a nominal sense because inflation had come down because in principle central banks were managing their affairs generally much better, particularly in emerging markets, investors by and large didn't change the level of nominal returns that they wanted to get from the economy. So, investors still wanted 10 or 15 per cent returns and yet the global growth in nominal terms because of falling inflation was lower. If you want the same return but the world is not generating- it's not growing as fast in nominal terms; the only way to do that is to take on more risk. And there were two ways of doing that.

In the US what tended to happen was investors took on more risky assets. There was a movement of money into emerging markets which were viewed as riskier. In practice they were less risky because their macroeconomic policies were better at lowering the risk associated with that. And the other way of doing it was to simply take more leverage. So that was something, for example, that European banks did very much as opposed to American banks which took riskier assets, they got involved in subprime lending for example, whereas European banks took safe assets but they leveraged them very dramatically. In fact, the balance sheets of some European banks had more leverage in the commercial banks than US investment banks which is quite unusual. But they thought they had safe assets and that wasn't a problem. But of course when we had then the beginning of the decline in risky assets that happened with subprime in particular and that morphed into problems of liquidity then leverage too was a risk. And it is that problem that we're facing today.

In some sense then the combination of macroeconomic stability, particularly the declining inflation that lowered nominal growth; in a world in which other nominal variables in return . . . didn't adjust, created an imbalance that we now have to grapple with. And one of the things that then puts at the center of our problems, is not just what central banks tend to focus on and governments tend to focus on, which is growth and inflation of goods price inflation, but also asset price inflation because it was that surge in into looking for high yields and the risks associated with that, that became a problem. So I think one of the clear lessons for management of financial systems then generally for monetary policy going forward is the need to focus more broadly not just on goods price inflation but also on asset price inflation as indicators of imbalances that will sooner or later create problems for goods price inflation and/or for growth.

There are a number of other things that I think are important in trying to think through the problems or the lessons rather of the crisis that we're living through today for the management of financial institutions. I wanted to focus on about five of them. Let me list them quickly. Firstly, I wanted to talk a little bit about the issue of the role of market discipline as a means of trying to deal with managing financial systems. Secondly, I wanted to talk about questions of innovation in financial systems. There is a lot of concern, for example, that things like the CDOs (collateralized debt obligations) were at the root of a problem. I wanted to make some comments on that. Echo some issues that arise from the questions of international cooperation across financial systems, particularly given the higher interrelationship we have globally. Without coordination it is very difficult to be successful. Also some comments about managing financial systems in a crisis versus what one does on a normal day to day basis and the conflicts that arise there. I think that is particularly relevant in thinking through what's happening here in China. And then finally I want to talk about some issues again relating monetary policy to the management of the financial system.

Let me start then with the question of market discipline. A lot of the analysis of the problems

particularly in the subprime market point to these issues of incentives that had gone awry; to mortgage brokers who were originating loans without regard to the fact that the loan might go bad or problems with ratings agencies that were taking their fees from the companies that they were rating and hence tending to bias their opinions in a rosy light. Those kinds of problems certainly exist but one of the things that happens in the aftermath of crisis the market figures those things out and tends to change them. So to some degree the role for regulation in trying to make up for incentive problems once those have been discovered, it can tend to be excessive. Market people maybe make mistakes but they don't tend to make the same mistake after they just made it, it usually takes a little while for them to forget that problem and then make it again. So in that sense some regulatory overkill is possible here. Some things are going to be fixed by the market itself. One thing that won't be fixed though, that is important for thinking about the link between regulation on the one hand and market discipline on the other is this tendency for peoples' expectations to go awry. To either be as they are now, too pessimistic about the future and forcing contraction and excessive fear, or on the other hand as we were two years ago, too euphoric about what is going on in the world. And if we have a set of expectations that is too euphoric then the underlying mechanism of market discipline won't work. Because that is based on expectations, peoples' expectations will be too rosy and the activities, risk-taking, will go too far. And so its finding that balance between regulation on the one hand and relying on market discipline on the other, that is the crucial aspect of the process. In the United States we clearly need a greater reliance on regulation and less on market discipline. But it is not clear in the rest of the world that that's always the case. Arguably, one of the fundamental aspects of either having effective regulation or having effective market discipline is the information that the market regulators have on which to base their expectations and to base their decisions.

There I think one of the crucial things that links to the other issue I had mentioned which was innovation. When we have new developments in the financial system there's necessarily a situation which, there is uncertainty. And that uncertainty has to do with the fact that this is necessarily new, there's nothing you can do about it. People did not know how, for example, collateralize debt obligations were going to function in a crisis because we never had collateralized debt obligations in a crisis. Some people argue that therefore one should be very cautious about allowing innovation and go very slowly because of this uncertainty associated with these new products. I think the right conclusion however is not that innovation creates problems but that innovations, when they get big and carry to excess, create problems. It is not that a CDO necessarily was an issue but when CDOs were very large relative to the balance sheets of banks and/or to the financial system then they create systemic risks and then that uncertainty becomes a much bigger problem. So that financial systems in general ought to be structured in a fashion that doesn't preclude innovation but that . . . limits the expansion of that innovation when it becomes a systemic risk.

And that's particularly reinforced by the fact that often these innovations have demonstrably good effects. Derivatives, things like CDOs, help to distribute risk across asset holders and tends, and initially the idea was that it would take it away from the banking system and that would then lead to greater stability because it was at the heart of the financial system of banks and that their stability would be important for the smoothness which payments could be made and with the effectiveness of monetary policies. That dispersion of risk into other holders was an important positive to derivatives. But it got taken too far. In fact many of what the risk the banks thought

they were placing in others' hands came back onto the balance sheets of the banks and have been a significant part of this story of credit contraction which is complicating macroeconomic management in the United States and in Europe in particular. So in that environment then the key issue is not that innovation is a problem but that innovation when it gets big and is exacerbated by expectations that can get too euphoric does need to be managed more effectively.

The other thing that comes clear, particularly in the case of derivatives, is the importance of trying to standardize products; to use exchanges and to use clearing houses because one of the issues that has complicated and exacerbated the credit contraction is the uncertainty about counter-party risk on the one hand and about simply the amounts of contracts that are out there. That information isn't easily accessible and in a period in which people are fearful they tend to exaggerate those problems. So another key aspect from a regulatory standpoint would be to move as quickly as possible from over-the-counter markets, for the exchange of derivatives and other things, to ones which use formal exchanges or which use formalized clearing houses, in part because that will limit counter-party risk and in part because that will have provided information to the market about the aggregated amount of transactions, about the stocks outstanding that will allow both regulators and market participants to make sounder choices.

Two other elements I wanted to speak about, one was a question of crisis management. These are nice things to do going forward. One of the key aspects in a crisis, however, and one of the things that comes clear from what' going on at the moment is can be best perhaps summarized by the Hippocratic Oath which is from the – actually its Greek I guess originally, but the idea is essentially that a doctor should at first do no harm. And one of the issues associated with crisis management is when one thinks about the long-term problems and tries to address those immediately. It's a bit like the man in a car accident who has broken his legs and he's obviously going to have to have his legs set but he's also cut his femoral artery and he's bleeding to death. If you try the first thing to do is set his leg so he'll be able to walk, he may be able to walk but he'll be dead. So you got to stop the bleeding first. So the prioritizations in a crisis become important and they're different than those priorities are different than the long-run adjustments that you'll need to make.

For example, one of the issues that has arisen is the desire to have greater capital standards against derivatives products, against mortgage products, etc. That's a very good idea over the long-term but if you impose higher capital standards in a period in which banks are already uncertain about the value of their capital and therefore unwilling to lend all you do is reinforce the credit contraction in the short-term.

One of the problems of the global financial system and management at the moment, it is already too pro-cyclical. There are various aspects of the way in which financial markets work that tend to reinforce contractions and exaggerate booms. And so part of what needs to be done, not today but over time, is put in place a system which is in fact more counter-cyclical. One of the things one can do, for example, is attach higher capital standards to innovative products when those products become large relative to the balance sheets of institutions and/or to the system. That would increase counter-cyclical aspects of policies.

The other issue of course, another conflict that arises between short-term management and long-term management are these questions of moral hazard. Part of the debates that go on is, well we should not be intervening now. The government for example shouldn't be intervening and trying to support intermediation because that will bail out investors or others who have made bad

choices and create a situation of moral hazard. This was part of the reason, for example, that the US government didn't want to make an intervention into Lehman Brothers. The difficulty with this, however, is that in general if you think about what happened in the United States, for example, not so much with Lehman- well Lehman brothers actually is a useful case in point although Bear Stearns is better because it was actually bailed out indirectly. Bear Stearns, the argument for moral hazard would be essentially, well if in extremis I am an investor and my losses I can put to the government I will take more risk and from that sense we get moral hazard. If we look at the numbers, however, in the case of Bear Stearns the share price dropped from about \$180 per share in early 2007 to the ultimate share price of \$10. So the long-term investors lost about 90 per cent of their value associated with the investments that they were making. In that environment, if you thought about insurance. If you had taken out an insurance in which the insurance company would pay the last 10 cents on the dollar of your costs do you think you would behave in a very risky fashion? The argument is probably no. So moral hazard, generally in these crises, is not the key issue to focus on.

I'm running short of time so let me just focus the last bit of my comments on the questions of monetary policies and linkages into China. First if we need a system that needs to be more counter-cyclical in management, one of the ways we can be more counter-cyclical is with monetary policy; to be more aggressive in tightening in boom times. The difficulty in doing that, however, is that if we don't - to the extent that these are globalized phenomenon, if only one country is tightening you tend to get, in an open economy, tend to get capital flows that complicate that process quite excessively. That was a big element of the difficulties that many emerging markets were facing up until the middle of 2008. So there is some need for coordination there.

And finally with regard to China I think one should also be very careful in thinking about the management of and the stability of balance sheets in an environment, particularly in finance, where credit growth is still much higher than the interest rate. Why is that important? Because essentially, in some macroeconomic sense, you are borrowing from Peter to pay Paul if credit growth is faster than the interest rate. In that environment, credit quality will look unusually good. So I would just urge caution in understanding the balance sheets, to realize in good times everything looks very good but that it can get quick bad quite quickly as it has in the United States over the course of the last six months. Thank you for your attention. I look forward to the rest of the conference.

陈东琪:

下面请发改委宏观经济研究院副院长王一鸣先生演讲,他演讲的题目是"全球经济动荡背景下的中国经济转型"。

王一鸣:

诸位上午好谢谢。之前几位讨论了这次全球经济动荡后经济格局的变化和对中国经济的影响。我想重点讨论一下中国实体经济这一块的情况,和接下来面临的经济转型的压力。中国这次受危机的冲击,从金融部门来看,由于我们持有的 mortagage(抵押)的规模、份额都比较小,但是确实实体经济的变化还是非常明显的,特别是去年[2008年]我们年初还在防止经济过快,还要防偏快转向过热,到了年末我们经济就出现了明显的下滑;年初我们还在预防通胀,年末就开始价格的大幅回落。

从现实情况来看,实体经济所受到的冲击还是非常大的。如果要从07年下半年开始起

算的话,我们 2008 年前三季度的经济实际上已经持续了六个季度的增速的下滑,可能四季度的下滑幅度还比较大。从实体部门来看,我们比较注意观察的像能源和交通的情况,这些回落幅度是非常明显的,我们的发电已经是持续几个月都负增长,回落幅度非常明显,铁路货运情况也是这样。这说明了最终消费需求萎缩以后,制造业生产萎缩,对于能源和运输的需求的迅速地收缩。

工业部门同样,刚才易纲先生也说了,就是重化工这一块,受打击特别明显。因为我们 02 年以后或者说本世纪以来这一轮经济的高增长,主要是这些部门支撑的高增长,因而这 些部门受到打击应该说对中国经济的影响就非常大了。我们看到,无论钢铁、石化、建筑材料下滑的幅度都非常地明显。钢铁我们也是好几个月的负增长了,就是由于需求下降,而且 现在的库存量非常地大,库存的调整又制约了进一步的投资。这个调整期可能也会是相当长一个时期。

实体经济领域,我们过去几年消费的热点领域,有两大板块,一个是房地产,一个是汽车,销售量都有明显的回落。房地产我们去年1到10月份是回落了16.5%,汽车销售量下降12.9%。由于它们的关联产业链条特别长,关联影响又特别大,所以对最终需求也会形成巨大的减负压力。由于这些实体部门的下降,企业的利润、政府的收入也在萎缩,就业形势也越来越严峻。为什么这场危机对我们实体部门的冲击这么大呢?当然我们可以说,这是因为中国经济对外依存度很高,我们去年大致估算了,可能会是67%,接近70%的依存度。通过过去几年的高速发展,产能的扩张非常严重、产能扩张非常快。比如说简单举个例子,过去几年我们电力的装机一年就新增一亿千瓦,钢铁的产量一年新增一亿吨,这些都是在世界工业的发展史上、经济发展史上非常罕见的。这种产能的过剩一遇到需求的收缩,它的边际效应就特别大。那么最最关键的就是,这背后起作用的还是中国特有的增长方式,即出口、投资依赖性的这种增长方式。所以金融危机对我们的传导和影响是通过什么一种渠道?主要就是通过这种增长方式,对我们实体经济形成巨大的影响。

那么从出口来看,过去几年我们进出口顺差这一块对 GDP 增长的贡献大概都在五分之一左右,即占新增 GDP 的五分之一。由于金融危机的影响,我们出口迅速收缩,顺差增幅也大幅度回落,今年我们基本上是顺差有一定幅度增长,但是如果说考虑到美元贬值的因素的话,我们实际的增加量是非常有限的。

从过去几年看,如果要追溯的话,可以追溯到上世纪九十年代初期以后,我们的这种增长方式就逐步地形成,即对出口和投资的依赖。那么我们的经济结构也发生了很明显的变化,即需求结构中外部需求的比重是持续上升的,进出口占 GDP 的比重,如果画一条曲线的话你能够很明显地看出来,就是九十年代中期以后,它占我们 GDP 的份额是逐步上升的。

在内部需求结构中,投资和消费的比例关系也在发生变化,大概是九十年代中期开始,到去年为止,消费率基本上是回落了十个点,到 07 年的话,消费率只有 49%。而投资率同一时期大概是相应上升了接近十个点。到 07 年,投资率已经超过了 40%。这种结构的变化可能就反映了我们这种增长方式。

我们为什么有这么高的投资率?很重要的一个因素可能跟我们高水平的储蓄率是有关系的。所以决定中国的高投资率和进出口率的主要因素是我们储蓄率水平比较高。

储蓄率的水平高,从一般意义上来说,跟我们的人口结构变化有关,就是跟所谓的人口红利,即劳动年龄人口比例的提高是有关系的。但是从制度层面上来说,更重要的我觉得还是制度和政策层面的因素。萨克斯先生也讨论过了,就是中国人要学会消费,美国人要学会投资和出口。其实我们这几年刺激消费的政策出台了很多,但是我们的消费率还在下降,这说明如果不从制度层面上解决这个问题的话,我们依赖投资和出口的增长模式很难发生扭转。它背后的因素是高储蓄率,从制度层面上有几个因素可能导致高储蓄率,需要我们去考虑,我们才能找到相应的对策:

- 一,政府、企业、居民的收入分配关系。从过去十来年来看,或者说九十年代以后来看,政府持有的储蓄占总储蓄的比重是上升的,企业也是明显地上升的,居民部门是下降的。当然企业储蓄率上升来自于利润的增长,但政府储蓄率上升这个因素就很复杂了,当然跟我们的财税体制也有关系。更重要的一点,我们政府储蓄率比较高,相应来说大量的资金转向建设领域,又相应地扩大了投资规模,对公共服务这种投入相应不到位,这个对影响居民的消费,应该说是有影响的,包括我们在教育、医疗、养老这方面公共服务投入不到位,相应一部分就转移给居民部门了。
- 二,我们的社会保障制度还是滞后。特别是改革开放以后,保障制度发生变化,原来是单位保障、国家保障,现在你要社会保障,而这种制度又在转型过程当中,所以对居民的预期会形成很大的影响,这个也会影响到居民的消费和储蓄的决策行为。
- 三,资源价格的扭曲,即资源价格的偏低。这有利于刺激企业的投资,而对储蓄是不利的,因为我们说资源价格的扭曲、偏低,降低了投资成本,它还会间接地推进投资能力的扩张。这对降低企业的储蓄是不利的。
- 四,金融和资本市场发育不足。这个对抑制消费也会起到相应的作用。证券市场发展也经历了很多年,但是近年来也是比较低迷。债券市场发展是相当有限的,而消费信贷的这种份额与国际比较的话,我们的份额是非常低的,像发达国家一般要占到 20%,我们可能是在 4%左右。
- 五,我们的这种低汇率的安排,或者说我们的汇率因素,再加上我们过去几年激励出口的那种贸易政策。这种低汇率的因素,对抑制内部需求,特别是抑制消费需求,也有相应的作用。
- 六,跟我们的资产制度可能也有一定的关联。我们的土地都是国家所有,农村是集体所有,土地的增值这些年都是远远大于 GDP 的增长,所以这种土地报酬的大量增长,也意味着政府的收入大量地增长,也就相应地意味着居民份额的相对收缩。

所以我们说经济转型面临很多课题,包括这种需求结构的调整,也包括产业结构的转型升级,也包括怎么样提升中国的人力资本的贡献。但是就这种需求结构调整而言,我们说转型的任务还是非常艰巨的,不是短期内能够完成的。针对以上提到的这些制度层面的因素,我们要推进转型的话,也必须要从这几个方面去入手,最根本的一个就是要调整政府、企业、居民的这种收入分配关系。这个说起来是很简单的,但是要真正实行这种调整还是非常难。我觉得有几个方面可以去着手:

- 一,国有企业红利,现在已经有这种制度了,怎么样更多地用于社保体系建设,怎么样 降低中低收入的居民的个人所得税税赋水平,怎么样加大社会保障支出,特别是公共服务方 面的支出,怎么样使农村的土地使用权能够入股取得分红,取得租金收益,怎么样使普通群 众持有的财产税赋水平降低等等,这些方面都要从制度层面上去解决。
- 二,当然我们说要进一步加大社会保障的投入,在这次一揽子刺激方案里面,我们已经 在着手做这方面,尽管基础设施建设占有相当的份额,但是已经在着手考虑公共服务和社会 保障的支出。而这一块怎么继续加大投入,是扭转我们增长方式的一个很重要的因素。

包括财政支出这一块,怎么样进一步加大社会保障的支出力度,然后来降低社保基金针对个人的筹集比例和水平,然后怎么样扩大社会保障的覆盖面,把现在游离于城镇社会保障体系之外的,包括农民工、城市个体户,怎么样纳入到保障体系里面去,包括社会保障制度向农村的延伸,加快保障的立法,加强居民对现行保障制度的信任度和参与度。

三,资源要素价格的改革,这一块正在推进。现在成品油价格方案已经开始实施了,下一步可能对天然气、水、电这种资源要素价格的扭曲,需要进一步推进改革,来使得这种资源的价格能够真正反映资源的稀缺性、市场的供需状况。

当然最根本的我们要建立一个资源的产权制度,现在我们这个制度还是不健全的,我们

现在资源已经实行这种有偿开采的试点,但是怎么样建立一个完备的资源产权制度这个是非常关键的问题。

四,我们要继续去完善资本市场,来创造财富效应。现在我们这种财富效应是大大收缩了,老百姓说姚明进去潘长江出来。我们是收缩效应。所以怎么样保护中小投资者的权益,使这个资本市场能够真正给居民的财产收益带来保障。

最后就是我们要继续完善汇率形成机制,包括继续增强汇率弹性,资本项的逐步的可兑换。我觉得要从一系列的制度层面来解决,我们的这种增长方式、转型可能才会有实质性的进展。但是这种转型过程不会是一朝一夕的过程,中国是那么大的国家、有那么多的人口。比如说我们现在要降低对出口的依赖程度,马上就会面临一个巨大的就业压力。加工贸易这一块,我们可以说适当收缩,不搞那么多加工贸易。但是就业怎么办?因而,有些政策与现实,是会有冲突的。所以我们任何制度层面上的调整都必须从中国的国情和基本现实出发,这也就决定了中国的这种经济的转型也是一个渐进的过程。

陈东琪:

谢谢大家。

刚才我们用了不到一个半小时的时间,四位教授对全球金融危机作了分析。四位教授的 角度给我们分析得非常深刻,而且很幽默,萨克斯先生从全球的角度,易行长从金融的角度, 韩龙从企业创新的角度,王一鸣院长从实体经济的角度,对我们做了一个非常精彩的演讲, 让我们再次向四位教授表示感谢。

第二场讨论会 Panel II

王一鸣:

请各位入座,我们继续开始第二板块的讨论,第二板块的话题是中美经济与贸易关系, 克服障碍并创造机会。

第一位演讲的是布鲁金斯学会的资深研究员胡永泰先生,他演讲的主题是"超越汇率调整,寻找妥善处理中美贸易摩擦的更佳方式",我们有请胡永泰先生。

Wing Thye Woo:

Good morning. I am very flattered to be included in this conference and I thank the Beijing-Tsinghua Center for organizing this activity. I think that U.S.-China trade relations before September 2008 were already extremely tenuous. Unfortunately, with the recession that is upon us I fear that the state of U.S.-China economic relations will worsen.

Since 2007, the United States has been very active in initiating trade actions against China at the W.T.O. In February and March of 2007, the United States filed W.T.O. suits against Chinese export subsidies, against Chinese weak protection of intellectual property rights, and against Chinese restrictions on imports. The latest W.T.O. suit was filed on the 19th of December, in which the United States claimed that China's program to promote world class brands for Chinese products is a violation of W.T.O. rules and regulations on the use of subsidies. The complaints against China are not just from the United States, it has also been true of the European Union. In November 2007, Peter Mandelson recommended that the European Union also consider filing suits against China for its export subsidies.

Around two years ago we could identify one clear position in the United States; that articulated by the Institute for International Economics. You have Nicholas Lardy, Maurice Goldstein, Fred Bergsten and John Williamson saying that it is most important that China appreciates the renminbi by 40 percent. China has so far appreciated the renminbi by 20 percent, so there is still another 20 percent to go. Possibly the most worrying development occurred right after Christmas on the 26th of December, 2008 the New York Times repeated a claim that Martin Wolf of the Financial Times had made quite a few times. The claim was that the current U.S. financial meltdown was caused by the Chinese trade surplus. The idea is that, because China has been accumulating all these foreign reserves and has been buying U.S. Treasury Bills as well as Freddie Mac and Fannie Mae bonds, they have depressed interest rates in the U.S. and hence allowed the U.S. housing bubble to develop.

If the trade imbalance were the cause of the present financial meltdown then what would be one easy way to think about rescuing the world from the financial meltdown? It would be to stop China's trade surpluses. That means extreme protectionism is justified for the good of the world, if not also for China. So I think we have reached a new height of paranoia about trade with China. Of course let me quickly say that from the discussion we have had this morning, it is quite clear that the financial meltdown was mostly, almost entirely due to United States factors. Let us remember that in 1999, Ben Bernanke wrote a paper that posed the following question: if there is an asset bubble, should the federal reserve try to tighten credit in order to break the bubble? The answer from Ben Bernanke in 1999 was that breaking the bubble would be worse than not breaking the bubble. What the Fed should do is look at the CPI and conduct monetary policy accordingly. With the entry of China and the increases in global productivity, prices of goods in

the U.S. have been under downward pressure. So the United States, therefore, because of its pegging of CPI, has been expanding its money supply rapidly. Even though, what they have missed is that a lot of the new credit had flowed into the stock markets and real estate. That's number one. And number two we heard about the new financial innovations in the sub-prime market. And that was a new development that was, unfortunately, not adequately regulated and the result was an explosion that we have just witnessed. But getting down to the more important issue which is how should the U.S. deal with its trade relations? The overwhelming voice you hear is that it requires a 40 percent appreciation of the renminbi. Questions – should actions be undertaken only by China? Number two, is a balance trade decision the only policy objective of both the U.S. and Chinese government. How about what are the consequences of bringing the Current Account to zero? What is the impact on U.S. GDP and what is the impact on Chinese G.D.P.? In other words, there is more than one target we have to look at, we have to look at more than trade balance, we have to look at the stock market impact and the income impact on both countries. Number three, even if we agree that the trade balance is the one thing that we should look at, is the exchange rate adjustment the best way to do it?

Let me first deal with the question on should only one country undertake changes or should there be changes by the United States and other countries as well. One thing we should be aware of is that this is not the first time that the world has pressed an Asian country to appreciate its currency. Japan was pressed to appreciate its currency in 1984. And what happened was that the Japanese currency went from 250 yen in December, 1984 to 200 yen per dollar at the end of 1985. And, to 125 yen by the end of 1988. The yen went from 250 to 125 from 1985 to 1988. What we did see was that U.S.-Japanese trade balance did reduce the imbalance did reduce, but what is most important to note is that the U.S. overall imbalance did not change and Japanese overall trade balance had only a very small change. So, the bilateral imbalance changed, but the overall U.S. imbalance did not change. So the U.S., therefore decided that the Japanese still had not done enough on the exchange rate. And not only that, but that there must be structural impediments in the Japanese economy that need to be addressed. Why was there so little change in the U.S. trade balance? The answer is that the world does not consist of only two countries. When Japanese goods got more expensive, the Americans bought less from Japan, but Japanese capital flowed to Southeast Asia and set up factories there and exported to the United States from Southeast Asia. So the United States bought less from Japan but more from the rest of the world. And the result was, the U.S. overall trade imbalance did not change. And because the Japanese were exporting more to the other ASEAN countries while exporting less to the U.S., the Japanese overall trade imbalance did not change much. So clearly, what we see is that as long as we live in a world with more than two countries, an exchange rate adjustment will not bring about the trade balance that we have heard things about. FDI has left China with the appreciation with the renminbi. It has gone to Vietnam, Malaysia, and some even to Mexico. And what is important to point out is unless there is a collective appreciation of all the Asian currencies, there will not be a significant reduction in the overall U.S. trade imbalance. So then we get to the question of has the trade imbalance really been harmful to the United States. We hear all this call for exchange rate adjustment. Well, U.S. trade imbalance really starts getting bad from around 2001 onwards, that's when the U.S. trade imbalance and percentage of G.D.P. starts climbing rapidly.

It is very interesting to note that in the last seven years, when the U.S. trade imbalance was increasing, the unemployment rate in the United States is lower than the unemployment rate in the

previous seven years, i.e. 1994-2001. And, the unemployment in 1994-2001 is even lower than the one from '87 to 1994. So the unemployment rate in the United States has been declining for the last 21 years. And this is the time in which globalization has accelerated and the U.S. trade imbalance has been going up. So that's fact number one. Fact number to is we hear about unemployment in the United States bringing about lower wages within the United States. What are the facts? The facts are that real wages, which had been pretty stagnant prior to 2001 started rising, this is the wages of the working class in the United States, the blue collar workers, what you will see is that since 2001 the blue collar wage has been rising at the same time as the bilateral trade deficit and overall U.S. trade deficit has been worsening. What I just told you seem to be odds with what you hear. People all say that the U.S. wages have been stagnant or falling and I say it has been rising. Why? It is because the right measure of wage is how much do workers get in total, not just the take home wage, but also take home wage plus benefits. And most of the discussion you hear is about the take home wage. But if you add on the benefits the workers have been getting in pension and in health benefits than the U.S. compensation rate has been rising. What does it mean, we have a situation where there is increased competition from China but unemployment is falling and real wages are rising. This is totally opposite from what you'd hear from a Hecksher-Olin Model. A Hecksher-Olin Model would predict unambiguously especially the doubling of the world's labor force with the inclusion of China that real wages should fall in the United States, but that's not true. The only way real wages did not fall is because technological innovations have been implemented in the U.S., and that has raised the productivity of workers in the United States. And because productivity of workers in the United States has gone up, real wages have gone up. But what is the pain then?

The pain is that the other side of technological innovations is obsolescence of professions. People have to change jobs more frequently. And why do I know that? Because if you look at the length of time in which people have been holding their jobs. For someone in my age group, which is 45-54. In 1983, the representative from this age group would have held his job for 12.3 years. Today, he would have held his job for only 8 years. There has been a drop of 4 yours. Why? Because the job I used to have has been made obsolete by improvements in technology. So I've had to switch. But the good news is I switched and I'm able get a good job. But what is wrong and particularly painful in the U.S. is that most of the paid benefits, like medical insurance, are specific to your firm, they are not covered by the government. So during periods of unemployment that is particularly painful. And the United States has the weakest social safety nets of all of the G-7 countries in terms of coverage of unemployment benefits and duration of unemployment benefits. So this is why there is real pain in the United States. But the pain, a lot of it, is caused by technological innovation rather than by direct displacement. So this is not to say that what we see now is entirely a reflection of U.S. conditions, there is also a reflection of Chinese conditions, the trade imbalance that we see. Wang Yiming had told us, which is correct, that if you export more than you import, in other words if you sell more than you buy, that means you have a net savings. It is because China is saving much more than it is investing, the Current Account that you see is a reflection of the gap between the savings and the investment rate. This is very unusual. The rate of return in china from investments from all calculations is over 20 percent. The range of estimates is 20-30 percent, the rate of return to capital. What is the world interest rate? The world interest rate is no more than 5. And yet China, having a higher domestic rate of return, is lending money to the rest of the world. That is a very unnatural thing. What it really shows is that, two things that immediately come to mind – number one, the system is unable to translate the savings into investments; number two, savings could be higher than optimal. Why are savings higher than optimal?

There are three reasons that come very quickly to mind. Number one, there is not enough of an insurance market within China. There is no insurance market for job loss, for health insurance, and pension insurance. So it is the lack of insurance, the uncertainty, there is no insurance market to shelter you, so here's what you do, you save more. There is also a shortage of loans in areas like housing, cars, and education. If there's one thing that surprises me is that China does not have an education loan market. And the third part is why do people save so much? It is that the rate of return to investment is 25 percent. And the rate of return for putting money in the bank is no more than 5 percent. So what is the way that you can get a hold of that the 25 percent. Become your own boss. Become the owner of a small or medium enterprise. So you have got investment motivated savings. And the banks are particularly poor in taking the savings and giving them to the private sector. So given the fact that banks are not lending money to the private sector, the savings leak abroad as surpluses. So here, we can see that what needs to be done on the Chinese side in the long run is certainly develop the financial sector in ways it can provide adequate insurance for pensions, for health, and for education loans. And also to able to intermediate savings more to the private sector. So financial market is what would equate 'I' to 'S.' Many many people say that 'I' in China is really too high because it is over 40 percent, compared to the rest of the world. I think that it is high only because you fail to take into account what is China involved in right now? China is involved in catching up with the richest countries in the world. What is the fundamental difference between the richest countries of the world and China? Level of technology and level of capital. Capital per person in China is much lower than capital per person in the United States. So how can you catch up to the U.S. capital per capita ratio? Invest. A high investment GDP ratio reflects a desire to catch up as quickly as you can. There is this idea that China should move to a new growth path by increasing consumption. That is absolutely impossible and silly. For the simple reason that increases in growth means increases in productive capacity. How could you increase productive capacity if you don't increase investment? You eat more and you invest less and you expect productive capacity to grow? That is not possible. So the elimination of the current account surpluses requires increasing China's 'I', investment, and increasing consumption along with it. It is not to cut investment and increase consumption. It is increase both of them to eliminate this gap.

On the United States side, as I have said of where the pains are, the United States clearly has to reduce its trade deficit. But right now, in the middle of a recession, that is unlikely. But the United States fundamental task is to make the switching of jobs less painful than it is now. It has to improve its social safety nets and facilitate the retraining of workers. So I have just talked about a list of things the Chinese can do and the Americans can do, but what is even more important is what the two countries can do together. Because what we have seen now is that the world faces a possibility of a breakdown in the WTO system. The Doha Rounds is stuck, the world recession is upon us, an din fact at the G-22 meeting, Argentina stood up and said, this is a desperate time, we all should put up tariffs to protect our own economies. What is wrong with the Argentinian decision at the G022 meeting on November 15th is that if we all do it we will all export less and we will all be in worse shape. So what is important right now is focusing on getting the world economy moving without any country increasing its trade imbalance tremendously, and that is

only possible if there is work done on two fronts. The fiscal expansion has to be simultaneous across countries, because if its simultaneous across countries than we all import more. If we all import more then we are all exporting more and that will keep the present status of the trade surplus unchanged. And the second thing is we have to strengthen and move forward the WTO system on multilateral trade.

I think that whenever I talk about these sets of measures, I very commonly hear the following response from the audience. The rise of a big country in the twentieth century has always caused conflict – you look at the rise of Germany, the rise of Japan, and the rise of the Soviet Union. So the rise of China and the rise of trade conflict is but a part of that process. I disagree with that, largely because although it is true that the rise of Germany, Japan, and the Soviet Union countries did cause conflict, but the most important country to rise and prevail in the twentieth century were not these three countries, but the United States. And overall the rise of the United States was a stabilizing force. So with that historical experience, we could say that with international cooperation, the rise of China could be an equally stabilizing force. Therefore, first to be exemplified by a global fiscal stimulus across countries with China leading the way. And this would not only help us out of the current recession but reduce the trade tensions that are present.

Thank you.

王一鸣:

下一位发言的是张燕生先生,他是国家发改委对外经济研究所的所长,他讨论的话题是 "中美贸易摩擦以及未来的展望"。

张燕生:

尊敬的王一鸣院长,尊敬的各位来宾,非常感谢给我一个机会在这儿讨论一下关于中美 贸易摩擦和前景问题。我刚才非常高兴能够聆听了胡永泰先生所做的演讲,确确实实中美之 间的贸易不平衡,我觉得是目前影响中美关系的一个非常重要的问题。中国目前的贸易顺差, 中国自己的统计是加工贸易的顺差超过我们的总顺差,外商投资企业的顺差占我们的顺差三 分之二。那么这样我们会发现,中国的贸易顺差有三分之二是外商企业来华投资创造的,其 中加工贸易这种贸易方式,它的顺差超过了全部的顺差,对中国意味着要减少顺差就必须要 改变加工贸易的这种贸易方式,必须要改变出口导向和招商引资的这种发展的战略和方式, 这个对中国是非常重要的,我非常同意这种观点。那么我们可以问自己一个问题,三十年来 中国为什么会保持这么大的顺差?中国为什么要招商引资?我个人觉得如果放在中国具体 的国情和中国的现实我们会看到,78年到85年中国出口什么?中国为了获得外汇所出口的 是原油、原木、原煤。中国有世界上最多的劳动力资源,为什么我们要出口原煤、原油、原 木,为什么?是因为我们缺少一个能够把我们要素禀赋最丰富的劳动力资源,转化成能够满 足市场需求的产品,我们缺少这种机制,我们称之为"市场经济"的这么一个体制和机制。 我们怎么才能够获得?三十年来,中国的招商引资和出口,绝不是为了仅仅这么一点儿外汇, 实际上是为了获得怎么能够在中国培育市场经济的因素。在中国你会发现,凡是招商引资多 的地方,凡是出口增长快的地方,你会发现外汇对他们重要吗?不重要。对他们最重要的是 什么?最重要的就是开了那些地方的老百姓的窍,明白了什么叫"市场经济"。从这个角度 来讲我个人觉得, 当我们谈中美贸易不平衡的时候, 中国人会怎么想这个问题? 美国人会怎 么想呢?如果美国对世界都持有贸易顺差,那么世界怎么会持有美元呢?所以说这些问题我 个人觉得,我想在座的朋友每一个人都懂这个道理。

我还是回到我准备的一些内容,首先谈一下形势。面对 2008 年的形势,我们会发现在

国际金融危机的打击下,欧、美、目的出口出现了减速,从欧洲的前三个季度,美国的前十个月以及日本的前十个月以及香港的前十一个月的数据中我们会发现,中国对美、日、欧和香港的出口的增速,按照美、日、欧的海关统计,我们的增长率显著地低于欧、美、目的增长,也就是在2008年的时候,中国在美、日、欧,也包括香港转口的市场份额当中,在08年出现了下降。如果再看一下世界的数据我们会发现,美日欧在国际金融危机的条件下,来自于巴西、印度、越南,也就是跟中国是处于一个出口竞争者的地方,他们对于美国的出口的增速、对欧洲的增速、对日本的增速,实际上是保持一个很高的增长。这样一来,再比较一下更长期的数据我们会发现,在2002、2006年,中国对美、日、欧的出口份额,一直都是显著上升的。因此从这个角度来说,从中国目前对外贸易的发展的情况来讲,它产生的冲击和影响,实际上是大于世界其他地方,或者说同等发展程度的国家。为什么?我想每一个学者都会有自己的看法,我也一定有我自己的看法。因为我们发现98年以前中国的份额是上升的,98年以后中国的份额显著下降,因此它中间包含的更多的信息我相信还是08年以来的所发生的一些国内和国际的变化。

第二个我们看一下市场我们会发现,2008年的前11个月,中国对欧洲、美国、日本的出口出现了显著的下降。同时我们会发现中国从日本、东盟、韩国、台湾的进口出现了显著的下降。那么在这种情况下我们说全球化,形成了一个全球的三大生产网络,也就是我们会发现美国的金融危机实际上对东亚的生产网络形成了很大的打击,因此就形成了中国的中间产品、原材料和在华投资的这个部分的生产体系的进口出现了显著的下降和我们的最终产品的出口,对欧美的出口出现了显著的下降。所以从这个角度来讲,当前中国以及我们整个东亚的生产板块,目前实际上是受到了很大的影响。

那么我们看一看我们能够获得的前 11 个月的数据我们会发现,加工贸易确确实实在目前的国际环境影响下,它所受到的影响,要显著地大于一般的贸易。而且我们会发现民营企业在国际金融危机的影响下,外需萎缩的情况下,它的抗击风险的能力实际上是好于国企和外企的。包括我们的调研像在浙江,同样的国际金融危机的冲击,同样受到了很大的影响,但是浙江民营经济比较活跃的地方,他们的出口、他们的抗风险的能力,他们的企业的自强和自立的精神,在同样的外国冲击下,他们的表现要更好。

那么在这种情况下,从目前来讲,从中国的出口,从中国的对外贸易,实际上目前既受到了的美国金融危机的冲击,同时国内也出现了一个结构调整的这么一个时期。因此在目前的中国,外向型程度最高、开放度比较高的地区和部门,目前受到国际金融危机的打击是非常显著的。因此在这个方面我们就必须要考虑到我们的国际环境。胡先生刚才讲到世界经济的一些变化,我还是同意的,但是我觉得对于中国来讲,这次的国际金融危机是上了很好的一课。目前我们的国际环境有三个制度上的问题实际上是需要我们认真对待的。

- 一,我们现在面临的一个问题是什么呢?我们会发现包括 WTO、包括 IMF,也包括我们的七国、二十五国峰会,也就是各种目前在全球化起影响作用的组织或者说机构,实际上在全球治理结构方面所发挥的作用是有限的,也就是我们越来越相互依存。但是谁在管理全球化?如何能够建立起一个能够真正有利于世界和谐发展的这种全球治理结构,我们应当承认是存在严重的缺陷的。
- 二,国际货币体系,它的无序和体制目前所存在的缺位,实际上也是非常严重的。因为研究经济时我们会非常明确地感觉到,凡是全球化发展比较顺利,凡是世界经济增长发展比较快的时期,都是有一个相对比较好的国际货币体系。但是我们现在没有。那么国际货币体系的改革今后会不会能力解决这个问题呢?我认为现在提出来的各种方案,在相当长的一个时期内,不可能产生实质性的进步和结果。
- 三,当全球治理结构缺失,当国际货币体系无序时,作为对世界经济增长影响比较大的大国的表现怎么样?应当讲也是很难令人满意的,也包括最强大的国家一美国。当美国的利

益高于世界的利益的时候,你怎么能够为全球的其他的弱小国家和民族的发展,能够作出牺牲和贡献? 所以从这个角度来讲,全球化所产生的系统风险,将会长期伴随着我们、伴随着中国在这个时期,我们的崛起和我们的发展。

那么在这种情况下,中国的每一个企业家和消费者,必须要考虑用什么样的方式能够对冲全球的系统性风险。像这种国际的金融危机,我个人认为它不会只有这一次。在这种情况下,我们也会非常地明显地发现,在目前的环境下,贸易保护主义的倾向,实际上是抬头的。而在这个过程当中,也包括中国加入WTO以后,实际上我们是贸易保护主义最大的受害者。包括各种新型的贸易保护主义的方式,比如说反补贴和技术壁垒,以及所产生的各个方面的这种贸易保护主义的压力。确实像反倾销,对中国来讲,我们要有第三方的成本,像反补贴,确实中国在市场化改革中间存在很多问题,但是永远不要忘记中国是一个转型中和发展中的国家。想用反补贴、反倾销要打击中国的任何一个产品,实际上都是比较容易做到的,原因很简单,中国的市场化只有三十年。对外经济研究所做了很多这方面的研究,包括对目前中美之间的贸易关系目前的各种问题的研究,由于时间关系我就不去更多说它了,我只想说两句话。

- 一,中美贸易不平衡是全球化的结果。
- 二,中美相互之间的了解和认知是最主要的,我们坐下来想一想五次中美的战略经济对话,我们认认真真地想想它的得和失,实际上要从更长远的角度来看,实际上得和失都是不重要的。我相信等到我们孩子的那一代,中美的关系一定比今天的好。谢谢大家。

王一鸣:

下面第三位演讲人是高海红,来自中国社会科学院国际金融研究中心的副主任,她的题目是"中国在金融领域对纠正中美贸易部平衡的贡献"。

Gao Haihong:

I'm going to look at trade relations from the perspective of the financial relationship between China and the U.S. as well as consider China's financial contribution to the correction of the Sino-U.S. trade imbalance. In doing this, I will address the issue from two perspectives. First I will focus on how to describe the Sino-U.S. financial relationship in relation to the trade imbalance. I am not going to go through all the details of each item and the capital and financial account of the BOP, I am just going to highlight some key points that I think are very important, with a focus on the problems in the relationship. Second, I am going to talk about what China can do financially in order to correct the imbalance. Again I'm not going to detail all of the issues, I will just give some key points that I would like to make that I think are very crucial to understand.

First, I think it is very important to know that the Sino-American financial relationship is actually the mirror image of the trade relationship. When we think about the trade relationship, it is very important to think this way – China and the U.S. are actually on two different sides of one equation. Professor Woo has already pointed this out. Actually there are many discussions of how the Sino-U.S. imbalance evolved and developed into big trouble like this. Some actually take one side and blame the other. For instance, some people believe China is the origin of all the problems. China saves too little and produces cheap goods with the help of its export-led policy. And of course some others believe it is the U.S.'s fault for all the troubles – that the U.S. abused the power of the dollar and was irresponsible in its monetary policy, both of which negatively affected the world. I think that any blame placed on one side just has elucidates one half of the story. In reality it is, I call it a "collective failure of all the participants." This is important.

One crucial point that we must consider is what brought China and the U.S. together in the very beginning. It was not the case that one took advantage over another. I think it was actually mutual benefit that drew the two countries toward one another – China's policy matched the U.S. debt economy. From the perspective of the financial world, China at the beginning of the reform period needed foreign reserves and the U.S. was the only country that has a printing machine. So this is a kind of match and we have to think about the relationship this way.

What happened in this relationship? I think first of all, China has actually become a creditor to the U.S. This is a real trouble, because the direction of the capital flows is not like what the textbook told us. China is the surplus country actually, though according to the textbooks it is supposed to be the debtor, but has somehow turned into a creditor to the U.S. and as a consequence China has to suffer the so-called twin surplus for decades. -You can see from the figure that the trend and magnitude of how China accumulates the twin surpluses. By the end of 2007, the financial account surplus accounted for 2.1 percent of GDP and the current account accounts for 11.3 percent of GDP. This actually reflects the fact that China failed to translate its domestic savings into investment. I think that Professor Woo has already given the reason why this has occurred. The accumulated foreign reserve is also a big danger because China is facing the continued depreciation of the dollar and also the default of U.S. dollar assets.

Apart from being a creditor to the U.S., China, consciously or not, has become a supporter of the dollar's status as the preeminent international currency. I think this is reflected in how China has recycled its foreign reserves. To the Chinese, foreign reserves used to be regarded as treasure, especially at the beginning of the reform. The best and the safest way to keep the value to invest in the U.S. Treasury Bond Market, which is guaranteed by the U.S. government. This table shows the changing of the shares of the Chinese purchase of U.S. Treasury Bonds since 2000. In 2000, China had only 4.74 percent share of all the bonds in issuance. At that time, Japan was the number one biggest holder. Hereafter, China continues to increase its holdings. Finally, by October of last year, China's share increased to 21.46 percent, which surpassed Japan as the number one holder of Treasury Bonds and notes. So, if you wonder why the U.S. dollar still constitutes 63 percent of the world's foreign reserves, I think this could be the answer. I think that China as the principal creditor to the U.S. actually tends to reinforce the U.S. dollar's status as the global currency.

Government pegging adopted by China and many other emerging economies is another factor that supports the U.S. dollar. The table here shows the comparison between *de facto* and *de jure* exchange rate regimes. I'm not going to give the details of each country's weight. The defining message of this table is that there is a big gap between the announced exchange rate and the exchange rate countries adopt in practice. To recognize this gap is very important, because it reflects the fact that many developing countries, of course including China, are still in favor of the dollar as an anchor. This actually is to support the dollar as a currency for public purpose in the world.

The dollar dominance actually is a big problem. First of all, it allowed the U.S. to have a benign neglect policy to the foreign exchange market and also the ability to borrow and even borrow cheap with the shrinking dollar to finance the current account deficit. Secondly, we have to admit that worldwide dollar pegging and the U.S.'s easy monetary policy contributed to the formation of excessive liquidity, which laid the seeds for ongoing financial crisis. When the Fed adopted easy monetary policy, the countries that pegged their currencies to the U.S. dollar had to follow the Fed's footsteps, because this type of exchange rate arrangement allowed the U.S. to

export its monetary policy to the dollar pegging countries. As a result, this type of synchronized monetary policy enlarged the global excessive liquidity. Thirdly, China and the other developing countries are always facing the difficulty of dollar de-linking. This is because in theory we have the "Original sin" (Eichengreen and Hausmann 1999) and "Conflicted virtue" (Mckinnon and Schnabl 2004), which are applied to countries with less-developed financial markets and lack of the use of national currencies in international transaction. Finally, in China and many other developing countries, there is always difficulty in solving so called triangle problems: of a fixed exchange rate, independent monetary policy and an open capital account, they can have only two options at the same time. So sadly as the financial crisis deepens and spreads, the dollar supporters, including China, turn into victims.

Next we will turn to what kind of financial contribution China can make to solve the imbalance. First of all, the immediate thought is how China relocates its \$1.9 trillion foreign reserves. The U.S., of course, needs external funding more than ever. This is not only because the U.S. continues to need external funding to finance its current account deficit, but also because of the bailout plan and fiscal stimulus plan currently in the works. The issue is who will be the providers of this funding. If you look at some new figures, actually Japan has chosen to decrease its holdings of the U.S. debt and reduce its share of dollar holdings in terms of Treasury Bonds and notes to 19 percent of the world total. But China seems to be doing the opposite by increasing its share to 26 percent. So, in this case, China is proving quite cooperative. But of course this is only one month of data. And it is very difficult to predict the tendency of the Chinese government to relocate its reserves. But I think one thing that is clearer than ever is that domestic pressure in China has increased, and how to utilize the money in a profitable way is far beyond an economic option and actually tends to be sentimental in many ways in the circumstance of the sharp economic downturn. I would suggest, don't think too hard about that part of money. It seems to me a little bit misleading because China's financial power is somewhat overestimated by those who simply look at its foreign reserves. As I pointed out earlier, I think just because China has the lending ability doesn't mean that China has the financial power.

The next Chinese contribution to solving the trade imbalance problem is currency appreciation. This is the long-lasting feud between the Chinese government and other countries in deficit. Last December, the RMB depreciated by a very small margin and there was an instant reaction and some doubt that it could be the Chinese government manipulating the currency. I think actually, for the time being, the issue of exchange rate should be off the table for two reasons. One – there are a lot of discussions about how China has already shifted its growth pattern away from the export-led policy. I think that in the future, dollar-pegging aimed at boosting the exports will be less meaningful in the policy tool-kit for the Chinese government. And, two, if we look at the exchange rate in the broad range of tools for imbalance correction it seems to yield to another correction: demand shrinking, which is of course more painful than the change of currency value.

Of course, there are more fundamental issues than reserve allocation and currency value in relation to the potential Chinese financial contribution. The most principal one is whether China can continue to implement financial liberalization and opening. I think the ongoing financial crisis shows a perfect case of market failure. It shows that the market cannot correct itself and can even bring the economy to the brink of disaster. So China should learn from this. Moreover all of the bailout coordinated action in the U.S. and E.U. are actually pointing toward the direction of more government intervention and control. What I am really worried is that this could give the excuse

or reason to the group of thought that China should slow down the pace for the deregulation and liberalization of the economy, especially in the financial sector. So if that happens, there can be no further contribution from China.

China's regional monetary policy is another stabilizing factor to the correction. China's role in Asia cannot be omitted from the complete picture of the global imbalance because China actually is close to the U.S. in running deficit with many of the Asian countries. And China plays the role of hub of vertical production distribution in Asia. So how China exerts its economic and financial influence in the region is very important for both the correction of global imbalances and also the maintenance of global financial stability. Of course this conclusion comes after reflecting on the financial crisis of 1997 and 1998. At that time, China was praised as a big and responsible country for keeping a stable exchange rate. It was the first time China and its neighbors started to realize that China's policy has a strong external effect. The Chinese government also started reflecting its preference in the formation of external financial policies and gave more attention to regional financial cooperation. China's increasing financial integration with Asia has become a strong market force for China to be involved with regional financial institutional arrangement. China has become the second biggest contributor to the bilateral swap arrangements (BSAs) under the Chiang Mai Initiative (CMI). The People's Bank of China also started its first bilateral swap arrangement with the Bank of Korea in December 2008. In this way, China is sharing the burden with Japan and other developed countries and international organizations to help the countries in Asia. This is meaningful for the U.S. because China is playing the role of helping out Asia, which, as a whole, is the U.S.' big creditor.

To correct the imbalance, we need the diversification of the currencies. As china is now the world's number one economy in terms of nominal GDP, number three in terms of trade, and number one in terms of growth, RMB will play an ever-bigger role in global finance. RMB internationalization will be a balancing factor to the dollar dominant international financial regime. Of course, at current stage, there are many domestic constraints for RMB to be used internationally, such as, RMB is not a full convertible currency and the Chinese domestic financial market is under developed. But that won't prevent China from taking some immediate steps, such as, setting up RMB settlement with neighboring countries, promoting Panda bonds and facilitating RMB transactions in Hong Kong and other major Asian cities. Furthermore, as long as China continues to grow, I think the market will definitely vote for the RMB's usage. With the help of the demand of the world and the development of the domestic financial market, others will give Chinese currency a chance to be an international currency in the future.

Perhaps another way of thinking about China's financial contribution, which I think is more constructive and more forward looking, is to look at how China grows its financial power in an international financial system dominated by the U.S. With that thought I conclude my presentation. Thank you.

王一鸣:

谢谢高女士,她讨论了中美贸易不平衡问题,今天上午最后一位演讲人是黄益平先生, 他是花旗集团亚太区首席经济学家。有请黄先生。

黄益平:

谢谢王院长,感谢。我想说的信息其实是一个非常简单的信息,就是在这次金融危机中

中国受到了很大的冲击,但与此同时,其实也是给我们提供了调整外部账户不平衡的一个非常好的机会。道理很简单,美国人不买我们的东西了,这样的话我们对外部市场的过度依赖就会得到调整。当然调整外部账户不平衡的最好办法不是经济萎缩,而是通过增加国内需求。增加国内需求其实有各种不同的办法,有的可以通过建设基础设施推动经济增长,当然更理想的是通过增加消费,我们知道增加消费可能动作会比较慢一点,但其实也是有办法的,尤其是从长期来看,能够更多地给老百姓提供经济保障。我想说的是,其实这两种办法,政府可能都在做,也可能都在考虑做,但是这两种办法对增长和对我们长期增长的意义是不一样的。比如说我们搞很多基础设施在短期内对 GDP 增长的效果非常直接,但是对于我们缓解外部账户的不平衡这个后果可能是短期性的,因为我们知道财政的钱花完了就没有新的项目跟上来,接下去可能要发生的,要么就是经济增长速度下来了,要么我们就希望我们的出口机器重新开动。当然这是一个比较良好的愿望,但是与此同时也可能我们看到的,几年以后当我们的这个机器想再次开动的时候,国外市场可能不像我们过去想象的那么大,刚才萨克斯教授已经提到,美国经济复苏以后,美国的老百姓也会开始存钱,美国的消费也可能增长速度不会像过去那么大,那么外部市场的需求有可能不像以前那么强劲。这个对我们国内的需求,尤其对我们中国的经济增长,可能需要做一个长期的考虑。

首先, 现在有很多人担心怀疑中国能不能保持 8%的经济增长, 我自己是觉得没有问题。 很多人现在很担心,因为刚才今天上午易行长也提到,有很多短期的数据不太好,但是与此 同时我们实际经济的需求,像投资、像消费,像进出口这三块,相对来说还是比较稳定。那 么易行长的说法是说,存货调整可能是使得我们现在短期经济数据大幅度恶化的一个主要的 原因。但是与此相关的是,如果存货调整完成,也许第二季度生产的反弹不是很轻度的反弹, 很可能是一个很快速的反弹,但是这个反弹可能也是过度地夸大经济当中的实际需求。但是 总体来说,我觉得保持8%的增长应该没有问题,尽管我们的经济已经变得相对来说越来越 市场化,但是政府对经济的影响力,无论是看财政收入占 GDP 的比例,看外汇储备的规模, 看政府对固定资产投资和银行资产的这个控制,应该说过去十年,政府影响经济的能力不仅 没有减弱,也可能是增强了。那么反过来的一个问题是,实现8%了以后会怎么样?我想8% 了以后宏观上没有什么问题, 但是不见得微观上仍然是一个良好的情形。 今年我们期待可能 要发生的就是通货紧缩的问题。如果我们回顾在过去十年,曾经有两次出现通货紧缩,第一 次是 1998 年到 1999 年, 第二次是 2001 年到 2002 年, 大家都知道第一次是出现在东亚危机 时,第二次是出现在美国轻度经济衰退时。这两次通货紧缩出现的原因主要是因为我们的出 口增长大幅度地崩溃。出口增长的大幅度下降导致过剩生产能力的形成, 所以出现了通货紧 缩。如果这样的经济关系现在还存在的话,我们可以预期的是,这一次的通货紧缩可能难以 避免,而且有可能比前几次都更加严重。为什么?因为,第一,这一次如果是出口下降,对 我们总体经济的影响就会超过以往,98年的时候出口占 GDP 的比重占到 21%,今天已经占到 37%,因而现在出口的疲软对经济的影响就会比以往大。第二个更重要的原因,无论是 98 年,还是2001年,外部需求萎缩只是一个局部地区的问题,这一次是全线崩溃。在这样的 情况下,我认为今年可能很难避免通货紧缩。尤其是在制造业,通货紧缩意味着企业的盈利 状况会受到影响,意味着投资会受到影响、就业受到影响、收入受到影响。也就是说宏观来 看 8%没有问题,我们紧跟党的路线; 但是从微观来说,很可能我们面临的挑战非常严峻。

那么现在回过头来说我们为什么非得 8%? 很多微观的东西都是不能保证地,为什么我们要在宏观上保证 8%呢? 说实话我本人对 8%的这个数据不是特别理解,我有时候把它看成一种宗教,我们大家都接受 8%是很好的东西,但是我们不知道为什么必须是 8%,而不是 8.5%或者 7.5%。我所听到的合理的解释,是为了保证社会稳定。为什么 8%能保证社会稳定呢?因为 8%可以创造一千万个就业机会,老百姓就不会闹事情,社会就比较安定。这里面有一些具体的问题我想没有时间讨论,但是最根本的一点就是说,经济增长和创造就业之间的关

系,可能不是线性的。如果我们办十个钢铁厂,可能不会给我们一千万个就业,但如果我们办了十个服装厂,它可能会给我们创造两千万个就业。这个相互之间的关系不是简单线性的,完全看经济增长是一种什么样的形式。

但这个还不是最重要的,最重要的问题在我看来是,如果我们的目的是为了保持社会稳 定,那我们是不是可以考虑把钱花在社会稳定上,而不是拐一个弯,把钱花在建设很多基础 设施上,说可以创造就业,可以保证社会稳定。我相信,而且我们现在也能看到,我们政府 已经在做很多工作,在考虑社会福利的问题、民生的问题、社保体系的问题等等,我想在今 后一段时间,在这方面的动作还会越来越多。但是我自己担心是,我们很关注这些问题,但 是一旦说到钱的时候,大部分还是在铁路、公路、机场、码头等等。比如说我们看四万亿的 投资,三万亿是投资项目,剩下的一万亿是其他各种项目,也就是说基础设施的投资永远是 我们的重点。这个本身不是一个太大的问题,但是这个问题是我觉得,这样的投资可以保持 增长,但是在多大程度上能保障社会稳定,我是觉得有一定的担心。也可能我们钱花下去了, 到时候有很多的就业机会没有创造出来,怎么办?而相反的是如果我们把4万亿,或者说很 多各省提出来的投资建议25万亿,把大部分的钱都花到社会福利体系,给民工提供保障, 那么我觉得即使是投资增长速度下来了,到6%、5%甚至是4%、,我们是不是可以设想社会还 是可以稳定的。比如,一个民工丢掉工作以后,他知道我可以到政府每个月拿到500块钱, 可能也不会出现其他的问题。这恰恰是我们过去六七年以来一直想做,但要么就是力不从心, 要么就是工作的重点不是在这儿的事情。所以我想这其实可能是一个重要的机会,我们正好 需要花钱,我们现在也有钱,把这个钱花下去,短期内能不能保证 8%我不能保证,当然我 们也要投好多基础设施,我的建议不是不投资基础设施,但是把更多的钱投在社会福利体系 上也许更好。

最后一点我想说,如果我们这一次不投,那么我们最困难的时期不是在2009年,而是2011年,为什么?到了2011年的年初的时候,我们会发现,中国的经济增长还是保持在8%,但同时我们的坏账比例就开始上升了,经过两年的扩张,我们的政府的公共负债就开始上升了,我们的投资过度的问题就会变得更加突出。前面我说到了,理想的情形是,到那个时候我们的出口机器可以重新开动了,但很不幸的是,很多人已经告诉我们,也许美国人就不买那么多东西了,他们也需要存钱了。到那个时候我们发现出口不能作为一个主要的引进来促为我们经济增长,我们怎么办?我们还是需要刺激国内需求,但那个时候我们可能很难再这样果断地说拿出4万亿,或25万亿钱来重新刺激需求,而且要重新建设我们的社会福利体系,到那时挑战可能就会更大一些。

谢谢大家。

问答 Q&A:

提问:

我对黄益平有一个问题,你刚才提到了社会稳定的问题,就是说即使是经济增长下滑了,但是能够更多地改进民生、提高人民生活水平的话也不会引起社会动荡,那我想提的是,整体战略之一就是分配效益,可以通过劳动力市场进行转移产生巨大的增长需求。那就是从中央政府来向地区政府支出来进行扩张。第二个就是地区层面的社会稳定和服务,总是可能会受到地方腐败的影响,所以我的问题就是有没有政府为基础的增长战略,就是即使有较低的增长率。

黄益平:

谢谢你的问题,我觉得没错,腐败是一个问题,它会限制这两个战略,就是非常担心腐

败的问题,现在有 4 万亿的财政刺激措施,人们就很担心腐败怎么办?那你说的可能是正确的,我们需要更好的人民的福利和社会改善等等这方面的支出管理,我的意见是,如果我们给每个人都建立起一个账户,也就是说给每个人发钱,那不仅仅有助于今年 GDP 的增长,在长期内有助于 GDP 的增长。

提问:

我想咱们考虑中国的增加内需要考虑一个人的问题,要钱干什么?要钱得活着,我们为什么不讨论怎么样增加中国的医生的数量?这次四万亿里面就没有说来扩大医学院的教育,中国什么都有就是医生太少了,什么都便宜药贵。历史上是养儿防老用中草药,现在是中西医结合什么都贵,你不去解决老百姓日常生活的恐惧他怎么花钱?我也不敢花。

黄益平:

您说得非常好,我刚才没时间具体展开,我说的社会保障和社会福利是一个很广义的东西,就是说不光是我们有养老金,有失业保险,有教育保障、有医疗保障等等,它这是一个非常普遍的,只有让老百姓觉得我有经济安全的时候,我觉得社会才能安定。那么在这里我可以给大家推荐一本书,因为过去在放假的时候我一直在读这本书,"Freedom from fails"900多页,它讲的是经济大萧条以后,一直从 1929 年到 1945 年美国政策的变化,这个政策里面有很多,我们大家都很熟悉罗斯福新政,里面有各种各样的政策,我自己认为它里面最关键的一点就是在大衰退、大萧条以后,给美国老百姓逐步地建立了一整套的社会保障体系,这是为什么它可以经济衰退这么严重,它的社会安全问题好像不像我们这么担心。

提问:

非常感谢,我的问题是给胡永泰教授。奥巴马总统马上就要就职了,您估计在一个民主党控制的国会,和一个民主党总统的这样一个形势之下,美国会在哪些问题上对中国发动贸易上的攻势,谢谢。

胡永泰:

你刚才是问在新一届总统当权之后,中美的贸易政策的问题,我觉得贸易保护主义会进一步地抬头,因为我想历史告诉我们,历史往往会重演。第一遍可能是一个悲剧,第二遍就是一个闹剧,我们知道在二十年代的时候,我们就有了一个大萧条,然后现在又有一个全球的经济衰退,我想对于奥巴马总统来说他应该非常清楚,我们应该避免这样的错误,避免再次发生这样的一个悲剧。但是我们应该避免这个贸易保护主义在两条战线上同时抬头,就是说如果我们都采取措施来保护我们的经济,避免经济衰退,那么我们可能就不会特别关注保护主义,或者说我们可能间接地就会促使保护主义抬头,比如说像人民币升值问题。

另外就是在出口退税方面,我觉得可能也会带来其他的一些问题,我们知道中国现在已经增加了这个出口退税,我想对于我们现在来说,我们可能是要暂时地维持以前的贸易政策、贸易机制,而且希望通过我们的努力,使得全球的经济保持一个持续发展、保持一个稳定的发展。

另外我们需要做的工作就是要使得 WTO 继续工作,使得这个多哈会合的谈判能够重新回到谈判桌上能够取得成功,他们也不同意在农业方面这些富裕国家的一些报价。他们希望富裕国家能够在农业方面降低出口的关税,但是这些富的国家他们不愿意,所以这些穷的国家也不愿意降低他们的制造业的关税,这样就使得多哈会合的谈判陷入了一个僵局,但是印度和巴西他们却是答应这样做,因为印度和巴西他们都不害怕来自美国的出口,但是他们却害怕来自中国的出口。中国的立场是什么呢?巴西的立场又是什么?他们希望能够跟美国还有

欧盟之间签署自由贸易协定,也就是说以双边的方法来解决这个问题,而不是说以多边的形式来解决这个问题,但是在这种情况下,中国和其他的一些发展中国家,可能就会受到影响了,所以我想我们希望能够在这种区域的贸易协议当中,能够取得一定的进展,只有这样才能够使得大家都能够从中受益,而且我也希望中国的WTO的专家或者是说多哈会合谈判的代表能够促使多哈会合谈判成功。

谢谢。

第三场讨论会 PanelⅢ

胡鞍钢:

下午的讨论会现在开始。我是胡鞍钢,中国社科院-清华大学国情研究中心主任,也是 公共管理学院的教授。今天下午我们讨论的主题,可以说是中国也是世界目前面临的最大的 挑战。我们自己曾经在1989年,也就是二十年前,写了一份国情报告,标题就叫做《生态 赤字——二十一世纪中国面对的最大的生存危机》。那么二十年以后我们来看一看温总理是 怎么来认识中国的这一挑战的。他最近刚刚发表了一篇重要的文章指出,"长期形成的高投 入、高消耗、高污染、低产出、低效益的状况仍未根本改变,由此带来水质、大气、土壤等 污染严重,化学需氧量(COD)、二氧化硫(SO2)等主要污染物的排放量居世界前列"。这就 告诉我们中国政府已经承认了中国成为世界上排放污染最大的国家,也就是说中国还没有成 为经济的超级大国,就已经成为了污染排放的超级大国。温家宝总理还认为,"发达国家在 二百多年的工业化过程中,分阶段出现的资源环境问题,我国现阶段集中显现出来"。也就 是说发达国家花了二百多年形成的长期排放,中国在短短的几十年集中排放。温家宝总理还 指出,"发达国家在经济高度发达后花几十年解决这些问题,而我们要在五年到十年里解决 这些问题,难度之大前所未有"。也就是说我们今天所面对的问题是发达国家的问题,我们 今天所要解决的发展问题是要解决发达国家发达之后的发达问题,也就是环境问题。因此全 世界已经从自由市场到自由排放,现在又转向到工业化国家公开承诺排放,就等美国了。新 兴工业化国家约束性排放还必须集中治理,为此中国领导人已应意识到,中国的挑战是世界

今天尽管我们只有几百人在这里讨论这样一个话题,但是不仅关系到中国十几亿人口的 生存问题、发展问题,也关系到世界六十几亿人口生存问题、发展问题。我们今天请来国内 外四位学者,就这一问题进行讨论。

那么下午的时间由我来主持,我希望每个人的讨论不要超过 15 分钟,要给我们留下半个小时,请大家在座的提问。因为我们在座的很多人都是专业人员,我们可以进行互动,这样的话包括我也会提出专业性的问题,请在座的四位给予讨论,这涉及到中国、也涉及到世界。

第一个我们请韩文科来就"积极应对国际金融危机和坚持能源可持续发展"做一个简要的 15 分钟的介绍。谢谢。

韩文科:

大家下午好,我想我们今天讨论的话题主要是在全球经济动荡和环境挑战背景下,中国如何发展。从能源的角度来讲,能源是一个长期的挑战,因为今天讨论话题的特殊性,我提出出一个题目叫做讨论近期中国如何应对金融危机,同时又坚持能源可持续发展。这个问题是怎么提出来的?从进入本世纪以来,中国在能源发展方面,已经面临一些主要的问题,同时现在又叠加了一个全球金融危机,因而中国能源发展面临的形势,目前来讲就特别地严峻。在这种形势下,我们怎样应对这个危机,这是中国发展的一个大局;但是同时又要坚持能源的可持续发展,是因为能源是一个长期的挑战,所以我们在当前做的事情也要兼顾长远。同时在这种背景下,中国的能源能不能发展?我的看法是金融危机下中国的能源发展还是有好多的机遇。今天就集中地想讨论一下这方面的问题。

那么中国在能源发展方面,从这个本世纪以来面临的这个问题比较多,我把它简要地归纳成两个主要问题。

第一个问题,从 2000 年以来,中国能源消费增长过快,这是有一些数据可以支撑的。一个就是从 2001 年到 2007 年,中国的一次能源消费增长平均是 9.7%,基本上和 GDP 增长

同步。那么这种发展,回顾和中国过去,就是说从达到初步小康社会,是用一番的能源实现 GDP 翻两番是不可能的,能耗的强度大大增加了,这样能源的消费总量就上去了。刚才胡教 授提到了,现在的中国是仅次于美国的能源消费大国,当然国内的生产量已经超过美国了。这是一个问题,实际上能源消费的增长是由经济发展决定的,因为经济发展非常快,同时加上工业化、城镇化还有生活水平的提高、消费结构升级。但是能源消费增长过快引起的主要问题,一是能源供不应求,同时对世界能源格局产生的影响也比较大。当然也带来一些其他的问题,比如说能源价格高涨,环境问题等等。这样的在最近几年中国也有好多学者,包括 政府官员都认为能源现在增长过快,这是不可持续的,应该降低一些。

从这张图可以看见[PPT],从这个轨迹来看,2001 年中国能源消费增长(这里指的是一次能源),是 3.4%,到 03 年或 04 年的时候,一下子就跃升到 15.3%或者 16.1%,它的增长就一下子超过了 GDP 的增长了。所以说从 2003 年到 2004 年,宏观经济政策包括宏观能源政策的取向是在逐步地打压能源消费增长,是希望把增长给降下来。结果能源消费增长是逐年在降低的,到 07 年是 7.8%,那么去年 08 年可能要更低一些,当然这个数还没出来。这是一个趋势。

现在面临金融危机,能源消费增长就有几个走向了。一个,它是肯定要往下滑的,但是 也可能再过两三年以后,又有一个高增长期,这是我们不希望看到的。那么另外一个问题就 是今后保持怎样的一个增长是比较合理的,是不叫可持续的,那是需要探讨的。

第二个主要问题就是中国的能源消费结构,这几年实际上以煤炭为主的趋势在加强,就是从 03、04 年开始。那么我这个幻灯片列的能源消费还是以煤为主,但是实际上我们要讨论的问题就是,中国现在在能源领域面临的第二个主要挑战就是能源没有实现多元化,多元化的这个路途非常艰巨。这是第二个影响能源可持续发展的问题,今后中国的趋势就是,能源需求还是要增长,比如说到 2020 年、2030 年还是要增长的,不增长是不可能的,因为中国人多发展的空间比较大。但是在这种发展的过程中,能源的供应应该是不断地多元化。但是我们从 03 年到 04 年的数据来看,实际上是煤炭的趋势加强了,煤炭占的比例上去了,多元化却倒退了。这个就是我们这一次在应对国际金融危机,政府拿出来 4 万亿的投资,要投向的时候就要认真思考的问题。就是说我们现在要刺激经济发展,要刺激基础产业投资,要在能源部门也要推动,那么我们的任务就是要看到这是一个巨大的挑战,就是要应对这个挑战。

那么在金融危机情况下,中国的能源发展也还有一些新的趋势,除了刚才这两个主要的挑战以外,现在还有一些新的趋势,这些趋势就影响到当前中国的能源的供求关系,影响到中国的宏观经济的发展。

- 第一,能源需求下降。上午王院长也讲到了,电力需求下降非常快,中国的电力需求在 前半年的时候是供不应求,现在电力需求下降很快,带来一些问题。
- 1) 电力的设备利用小时数在急剧地下降,就隐含着劳动生产率也要下降,同时因为这个需求下降,过去提出来一些优化发展结构、清洁能源多发电等政策就受到冲击了;
- 2) 石油需求下降,产生了一些问题,它转化比较快,由前半年的供不应求转化为需求略不足,这样也出现了石油公司压库等问题。这些也会带来一些影响。像石油的成品油是由炼油行业提供的,现在炼油行业很多产能的扩张在这里受到了很大的压制。是扩张还是不扩张?这些就涉及到今后的发展。
 - 3) 煤炭需求下降。

第二,能源价格下行。国际的价格在下行,但是国内的价格下降幅度不是很大,给政府出了一些难题,也对政策的选择提出了一些问题。比如说从2003、2004年,中国探讨的这个政策趋势,就是希望通过这种经济刺激,通过调整能源价格,理顺能源价格,进一步地表达资源的稀缺性,来促进节能减排,推动能源资源的节约等等。但是能源价格现在下降,因

为需求下降了价格也在下降,这样就带来一些问题:这个价格改革的方向到底是什么?怎么样去走得更好?

第三,能源行业的效益也在下滑,有一些企业经营困难,比如煤炭、电力、石油企业都普遍的遇到一些困难,尤其是像电力企业。这些企业的困难又会因为能源是一个长期的挑战,这个能源行业的投资周期性的,有些是相对比较长的,比如说电力行业的投资,现在在缩短,可能投一个电力行业要两三年,但是对海上石油投资周期时间更长,所以说效益下滑就影响新一轮的投入,这样对能源的可持续发展也会产生影响。

我们把这些因素要考虑进去,那么对中国的应对金融危机就提出了一些挑战,所以我的看法就是,中国目前既要应对金融危机,同时又要坚持能源的可持续发展,这个应该是当前能源政策的主要取向。政府的政策包括我们研究的政策,也应该往这个方向去多加思考,如果这个走好了,我们就要在全球经济动荡的情况下,在能源领域给中国选择一条比较好的道路。

那么怎么样才能做到这一点,或者说判断的标准是什么?

- 一,我们的政策着眼点或者说今后发展,首先要注意到能源行业的可持续发展,既要防止能源消费的快速增长,同时又从宏观的这个角度,不要叫它下降很快,下降太快以后就是反馈回去对这个能源行业的发展,就会积累更多的问题,同时也对当前刺激经济不利。
- 二,要坚持节能减排的政策,节能减排的这些政策,现在在这个金融危机以后遇到了很大的挑战。比如说过去抑制高耗能行业出口的政策,抑制高污染的这些出口的政策,现在都在放松,都在改变。那么这些改变了以后节能减排的力度就会减少,所以说坚持节能减排就是要调整这些政策,把这些政策的实施要调整上来,把这个减弱的东西要有新的政策要去补上。
- 三,同时要把调整能源结构作为一个主攻的方向,作为一个主线。增加新的投资,考虑 新的这种投入,必须要考虑能源结构调整。当然这儿有一些具体的内容,时间关系我就不展 开来讨论这个了。

在金融危机下中国的能源发展面临这么一些问题,怎么样去选择这些政策?怎么样去考虑这些政策?上面我谈了我的一些看法,但是我认为也是可以选择的,也是可以做到的,为什么?虽然有全球的金融危机,但是结合中国过去的发展,中国在当前的这个金融危机下能源发展也还是有一些机遇,这个机遇为:

第一个方面就是拉内需保增长,它给加大能源行业的投入带来了机会。国家确定了拉内需保增长的政策,也确定了货币政策、投资政策,所以说在投资领域已经把能源确定为一个投资的重点。但是现在的可能要讨论的,或者说要进一步解决的问题,就是说从能源领域来讲,新一轮的投资重点应该包括哪个方面,能源的主管部门已经确定了加大对核电的投入,对可再生能源的投入,这些都是没有争议的,但是比如说对水电的投入,对电力行业的投入,现在还要做进一步的判断,我想这是应该讨论的。有些人认为电力行业现在是不是投资过大了,再投资会不会产生过剩?刚才在讲电力需求在下降。所以这些我想应该是深入研究讨论的问题。

第二个方面就是要投入考虑长远,考虑能源行业今后的发展,比如说石油行业,要考虑 它以后要利用国际资源走出去。

第三个方面,对能源结构的调整也是一个机遇,也有利于能源体制的改革。现在我们的 能源体制改革前几年能源供求关系比较紧,大家注意力全都在应付煤、电、运这些应急的事 情,现在可以静下心来考虑推出一些体制机制,这就要抓住机会。

时间到了主要就讲这么一些观点,谢谢。

宋立刚:

谢谢胡鞍钢教授。大家下午好。众所周知中国面临着巨大的环境挑战,为此中国政府也制订了一些长期的发展战略来迎接这个挑战。但是据我们观察,在整个的讨论过程当中忽略了一个很重要的现象或者说内容,即中国的区域发展。由于中国区域发展的不平衡,导致在实施综合减排和应对环境挑战的过程中,可能会有一些负面的影响。我的发言,就想提供一个分析的视角,即如何把区域发展战略融入到应对环境气候变化的挑战的战略中去。

首先我来简单梳理一下本次讨论的背景。中国的增长基本上是处于工业化中后期,在这个过程中基本上是以石油和煤炭为动力的这样一种增长模式。这个模式对环境和经济的影响有很多。同时随着收入的增加,随着条件的改善,大家对环境改善的要求也不断提高。但是中国有一个很大的特点就是它的区域发展不平衡,沿海、中部和西部。那么在这个过程当中,地方政府的考虑是如何,它的担心是如何?减排的成本以及对地方经济,特别是相对落后的地区的经济影响如何?这些在实施中国总体综合战略的时候是必须要考虑的。那么政策选择及其影响又如何?以上是讨论的背景。

问题的提出主要是,地方政府面临的问题是什么?首先一点地方政府的经济增长目标和改善环境的要求,它们中间是协调还是矛盾还是冲突的?第二点,这是可以肯定的,即任何意义上的减排和政策行动,都是要付出代价的。所以说特别是对次发达地区,它是有一个成本在里面,所以这就提出来在政策上不同的政策路径的选择,从而使其经济增长的影响最小化。在个过程里面可以有一种采取事前的政策行动,也可以采取事后的政策行动,同时也可以不采取行动。从中国的区域发展情况来讲主要集中在前两条,即采取事前的行动或事后的行动。我想提供一个分析的框架,即区域发展如何处理这个关系。同时最后一个问题,因为是比较大的问题,就是是否存在着区域经济发展的一个最佳的政策组合,这个所谓最佳的政策组合就把它柔到减排和迎接气候环境挑战的这个过程里。

好了我想简单介绍一下"影响链"。从气候和环境变化的视角看今天的经济行为对未来的环境影响存在一个影响链,这个影响链对我下面要讲的问题很重要。这个影响链基本上是从经济活动开始,然后增加排放,随着二氧化碳浓度的增加,气候环境的变化,从而对物质和生态系统产生影响,最后反过头来影响经济。现在如果要计算一下环境变化恶劣对经济增长的影响,实际上是负面的。那么我们就可以想政策上的选择有两种,一个就是在影响链的开端上采取的政策,这个为减排措施,其目的是在事前避免、使气候变化的影响最小化。还有一个,开始时要考虑别的重点,要发展经济、提高收入等等,所以可能会采取措施,在影响链的末端上采取政策调整,这种措施它是一种反应性的措施,其目的是在事后对气候变化对经济影响的作出反应。当然,多数情况下是事后的,事先的比较少。但是在中国这种区域发展不平衡的条件下就提出了这么一个政策上的选择,就是中国对次区域发展,特别是比较落后的区域发展,是采取哪种政策的?是在影响链的开端还是在这个影响链的末端来采取措施?这里面反映出来两种分类,一种是被动性的对负面影响所采取的反应措施,还有一种是主动性的措施,就是旨在为降低事前的调整成本所采取的措施,它的政策成本是事先采取措施以减少气候变化、环境变化所带来的破坏,或者说减少被动式政策调整的程度。

在这种条件下我们知道国家有很多的政策,现在有价格的、税收的、补贴的、减排市场的、甚至是行政干预的,有针对家庭、针对企业、针对地方政府的,因为时间关系我们现在就集中在政府上。政府怎么选择,特别是这些次区域发展的地方。政府政策的这种两难选择我们可以用一种理论的框架进行分析。这个框架是用来进行发达国家和发展中国家的分析的,广泛用在国际贸易上,但是我想可以用在发达地区和次发达地区,也是可以同样见效的。

首先是库兹涅斯的倒 U 型曲线,它意味着随着一个国家或地区人均收入的增加,污染会恶化,但是达到一定点后污染会变好。中国的情况表现得很复杂。中国沿海地区会接近临界点,但是中部和西部可能离临界点还很远,所以说一样的政策下来反应是不一样的。还有一

个是污染天堂假说。什么意思呢?比如说次发达地区和国家,它们的目标是发展,环境保护等等相对来讲是次要的地位,在这种情况下我可以放松管制,放松所谓气候、环境这方面的管制。在这方面的做法上,中国地方政府的行为可以表现为两个方面:

- 一,可以通过放松环境来吸引外资,我指的是其他省份的内资和海外的投资。
- 二,用土地政策来吸引。

这两个是地方政府吸引外资的两个法宝。在这种情况下可能次发达的地区会采取这种政策,这样增长的目标和环境的目标就形成了一种冲突。但是还有一点就是人均收入的增加和环境质量要求的改善。我们把环境质量作为一种正常的商品,这就意味着,随着收入的提高人们会对环境的质量的要求也会提高,他们会迫使政府来改善,提高环境的这种标准等等。这样的话政府的行为被内生化了。在这种条件下,随着收入的提高,也会迫使着这些次发达地区的政府采取行动,这一点非常重要。这不是一种由官方的行政的干预和约束,实际上地方政府行为可以通过内生化的变化来作出这么一种反映。

那么区域发展的差异和国家综合目标又会有什么影响呢?我给大家看两个表,这是中国气候变化蓝皮书里面的数据,主要是人均收入,GDP 的年增长速度,同时包括能源消费的增长率,以及能源消费的这种弹性,还有这个每年在减排,在能源强度的降低率等等这些。我想提出什么?这是一个长期的计划,这是国家定的从2000年到2020年,同时从2020年到2050年的一个计划。我认为,这里面有一个很强的假设,即它把中国是作为一个什么?作为一个整体来对待。但我们知道,由于区域发展的不平衡,会导致在政策实施过程当中有很多的变化。所以说我觉得下一步我们要考虑什么,要把中国的所谓区域发展放进去。这个图给出了两条线,蓝线是人均GNP的收入,以美元计价的,这个浅蓝色的线是所谓钢铁的人均消费量。大家可以看一看中国的所谓地区发展的这种差距是巨大的,改革三十年没有一个收敛的趋势。这是2006年的数据,你如果用2007年的数据看一眼的话这个差距还在扩大,现在大概是七倍,上海和贵州人均收入相差七倍;你如果按照07年大概收入相差九倍,这个差距还在扩大,这是一个方面。大家可以很明显地看出发达地区中部和西部这么一个阶梯过程。

根据刚才我们的分析,个个地方政府的优先权是不一样的。政府的行为和增长的目标等等这些都导致它的优先权不一样。钢铁是一个很好的例子。[图上]最左面的上海、北京、天津,它的人均钢铁量已经达到了800公斤,相当于北美发达国家70年代初的水平,人均钢铁水平不低;但是对中部和西部来讲,人均钢铁消费量还远远不够,差距还非常大。所以说在这个方面上就有两个影响。

- 一,区域发展的这种巨大的差异,它增加了在影响链开端上的采取政策的难度。因为众多的地区还处在相对比较贫困的状态,发展还是首要目标,你再让它在气候环境影响链的开端上,经济活动开始就采取措施,它很难做到,所以说增加了这种难度。
- 二,同时区域发展的差异,又增加了链条末端采取政策的可能性,政府都愿意先发展经济再治理环境,所以就跑到末端去采取措施。这样做的客观结果是什么?就是这种区域发展水平的长期趋势,会导致环境的库兹涅斯倒 U 形曲线的平移,像一般的国家,如日本或韩国达到那个顶点后就开始下降了,环境就开始改善了。但是中国的情况可能不一样,因为沿海达到临界点以后,中部和西部由于这种巨大的差距,顶点还在慢慢推移,也就意味着中国的环境的恶化,可能不是一个短时间现象,可能由于区域发展的特点是一个长期的过程。所以这就增加了实现国家综合减排和改善环境目标的难度。

由于有这种差别,所以政策的目标和选择,它会由什么来决定呢?

一,首先我觉得目标是这样,即可以采取增加地方政府、特别是落后地区政府在影响链 开端上采取政策的激励机制。你[地方政府]不是有你的优先权吗?你要增长、要发展、要提 高你的收入等,但是如果你要采取措施的话,我[中央政府]给你激励机制,让你有效地去做, 这个非常重要。因为没有这个激励机制,次发达地区很难有这种动机去主动地在这个链条的 开端上去采取措施,因为它的目标是要增长要发展;

二,降低在链条末端上所采取政策的成本,因为如果是污染大了,要去治理污染,这方面的成本可能很大,可以通过一些方法和手段来使他降低这个成本,主要是企业治理污染的成本最小化,这是政策的目标。

有哪些选择呢? 主要是针对政府、企业和个人。

- 一,地方政府他的职能和目标的改变。我知道大家都知道,上午学者们的讨论,中国保 8 增长,因为增长对于转型期的中国经济来讲至关重要,地方政府尤其如此,实际上前几年 由于经济过热,中央政府在控制地方政府行为。所以说地方政府的职能要转变,这是一个长期的任务,在转变过程中,能不能和经济增长本身割裂开,经济增长不是它的主要功能,政府的主要功能是提供公共服务、社会保证等等,包括一些基础设施等等。但是这个我承认是一个长期的任务;
- 二,财政体制改革,这个是一个大题目,但是要解决政府的财政收入的问题,来源的问题:
- 三,资金和技术支持,资金我想稍微插一句,资金技术的支持不光是在减排上,而是在 经济发展的过程当中,资金是非常重要的,这是我们的另外一个研究。 谢谢大家。

问答 Q&A

胡鞍钢:

我提两个问题。

第一个问题:我提给韩所长,我们也发现上一次亚洲金融危机给我们创造了一次机会,就是从能源的消费结构发生重大变化,如果我们看一下官方的数据可以看出来,就是 1996 年中国的煤炭占整个能源消费量比重是 74.7%。那么到了 2001 年就降到了 66.7%,也就是下降了 5%。我的问题是,如果 2007 年 69.4%,我们再过五年如果我们利用这次金融危机的话,这个比重如何进一步下降?这是第一个问题。

第二个问题我提给宋立刚。刚才你提的思路框架都很好,但我更关心你做没做实证分析, 比如说广东和山西,我们已经发现 1978 年广东和山西的人均 GDP 是一样的,但是现在广东 是山西的两倍,我们采取什么样的方式让它们又经济增长,又能做到减排?现在你们俩分别 回答。

韩文科:

胡教授提的问题是能源结构调整的核心问题。我们能源结构调整是否有效果,就是看煤炭的比重,一次能源供应比重中能下降多少,优质能源像油气能上升多少。但是这个现在面临着巨大的挑战,有一些困难,我把我知道的和思考的问题来讲。

一个就是现在和过去还有一些不同。亚洲金融危机以后就是到 2003、2004 年,我们的这个煤炭为什么上来?就是因为大量地增加了这个发电的容量,就是说发电增长很快,中国的发电主要是以煤驱动的,所以这是大量的增长了。这一轮亚洲金融危机和从现在开始,我们从这个降低煤炭的比重方面又遇到一些新的问题,就是说在发电方面我们已经有一个清晰的考虑了,大家都比较赞成这个,就是说中国要发展清洁能源发电,比如说风电和其他的能源发电,包括水电,这样就会替代一部分煤炭,包括核电这些。

但是现在中国面临一个问题,比如说天然气的发展,天然气在中国的发展,实际上产量增加很快,但是用量的增加它和能源结构优化和老百姓的这种需求是不对称的,城市里面大

量要用气,好多中小城市也要用气,现在国家从政策上开始允许煤炭公司搞一些气化的项目,就是搞这个城市气化,这样就会占掉一部分煤炭资源,同时还有清洁能源。这些问题一加起来,这样的话就是说这个煤炭的用途和过去就不一样了,所以它到底能下降多少还是要继续进行核算的,而且这里面还有一个复杂的问题,就是应对气候变化,就是减少温室气体排放的,就是大量的能源集中转换,对环境造成的危害和温室气体排放现在还没有搞清楚。

提问:

韩所长你刚才说到水电的继续发展还需要论证,为什么?

韩文科:

实际上不是论证的问题,现在水电发展面临一些困难,一个就是移民的问题,一个是环境的问题,就是和这个环境协调。但是水电发展从国家的方针上是一个大力发展没有什么犹豫,但是实际上现在的一些水电项目还没有批,也批不下来,实际上在停顿着,所以在面临着怎么样调整政策。

宋立刚:

我回答刚才胡鞍钢教授的问题刚才他问我有实证,我想举一个例子,大家知道十年前中国的西部开发,大部分的资金往西部移动,但是通过实证研究我们可以看到,在资金流入的过程当中,有一个对环境的综合影响,我们可以把这个综合影响分解成为三部分。

- 一,规模,你资本越多经济规模越大污染就会越强,有一个正相关的关系。
- 二,结构,也就是说资本和劳动比越高的时候,你的重化工业的比重也越高,所以污染也越高。
 - 三,技术因素。

这三个因素综合影响,在我们的那个实证分析里面,综合的第三部分,就是技术的这个 含量可以使环境达到改善,而这个综合的这种规模,还有行业的这种比例变化的话,都会恶 化。

所以说在这里面提出一个什么问题?如果中国继续实施西部开发战略,或者说就是西部、中部引资,包括内资和外资,在这个过程当中如果有一个政策,鼓励这种在政策含量比较高的,而不是淘汰落后的。你如果淘汰了就跟国际上是一样,发达国家把污染型企业转向发展中国家,仍然会造成这种现象,所以说在这种情况下可以有一种协调的办法。

最后我补充一点,有关公共意识和大众意识,大众意识是怎么来的?环境质量是一个正常产品,所谓正常产品就是人均收入高我要求它改善,但是在次发达国家由于人均收入低,所以说它的要求就不强烈,这个不强烈可以通过什么来弥补?可以通过提高大众意识,让大家意识到环境恶化造成的危害,从而形成对政府、对企业的压力,要求他们来处理、对待这种环境上的挑战。

提问:

我问一下宋立刚先生,中国能打破你所说的环境曲线吗?我给你举一个例子,中国有 1.23 亿头牛,农民要养牛,要放屁,屁里面有甲烷,怎么做?

提问:

我的问题是问韩所长,刚才说到了经济增长和能源环境在目前的这个金融危机下,有一个怎么协调的问题,我问一个非常具体的问题,在这个金融危机或者说中国经济下行的这个周期,现在受影响最大的就是钢铁行业,咱们国家的钢铁和产能大概有6亿吨,可能过剩了

一亿吨,我知道现在国务院在出台振兴几大行业的计划,其中很有可能五亿吨产能要淘汰掉,政府有没有打算、有决心真正能实施,又能保证环境的发展,又能真正地关停这些污染的企业。

提问:

问一下宋教授。你说的政策链的激励,指的具体是什么政策?是转移支付?是个什么政策?这是一个。

第二个就是你刚才说向西部转移,就提高技术含量有利于降低环境排放,这个没有问题,但是高技术含量的企业到西部去,他马上就面临一个问题,就是人力资本能不能跟上?产业链条能不能建立起来?因为我们发现到西部更多的行业都是资源性行业,因为西部有资源,所以说资源性行业发展肯定会带来环境的恶化,这个矛盾怎么办?

提问:

问一下韩所长刚才提到就是说我们在能源新的解决方案里面,包括有再生能源,我不知道里面是不是包含所谓的生物智能,因为目前我们知道生物智能是一个方向,但是它和我们的粮食危机有一定的关系。

宋立刚:

激励机制是方方面面的。政府现在在减排方面的财政支出以后有了,这就是一种激励机制。对于企业来说也是如此,本来开发西部等等这些,就是向西部的这种转移等等,是不是也会有一些。我想就是说,当然最好的办法就是采取市场化的行为,就是包括排放交易、市场的确立,也是一种办法。

第二个问题就是说中西部地区可能缺乏人力资本甚至基础设施,怎么吸引高精尖,我讲的就是西部像成都、西安等等,你要给转移一些污染企业他们不要的,我跟他们开发区的负责人谈,他们根本不要的,他们需要的就是高精尖,这些重点城市是可以做到的,但是对于企业地区来讲不是那么容易。所以说提高技术含量它是一个渐进的过程,不是一股脑把高科技的企业转移过去,这也不太可能。

韩文科:

这个钢铁行业就是因为我是从能源的这个角度谈一点儿我的看法,因为钢铁它属于工业,不属于我的研究的范畴。就是从能源的角度来讲,我们这几年在抑制高耗能行业过快地增长,钢铁确实就是高耗能的行业,我想这个调整的空间肯定是很大的,我没看见,振兴方案还没出来,但是我的猜想,就是政府的这个振兴,肯定包括两个方面。

- 一,调结构,要把结构调整调整。
- 二, 使行业要健康地向上发展。

从能源的角度我理解就是说,过去钢铁行业有一些效率很低的,这样就拉动了一些土炼 焦的生产,也提供了市场。所以好多能源的这个效率就很低。

那么钢铁行业如果集中化程度将来比较高,技术比较先进,对能源来讲,就是用比较高效的能源,比如说先进的焦炭或者什么,同时通过振兴,可能增加一些技术进步,就是对能源的这个循环利用,包括一些废气等等,就能够更进一步。

那么在节能减排中间有一个对标,就是选择最好的、国外最先进的这样一种钢铁企业做 模板,叫那些企业去参考,我觉得这也是将来振兴的一个参照吧。

所以说这个生物质能我想,生物质能有一些政策是明确的,我也是很清楚的,比如说不 用粮食做这个生物质能源这点是很明确的。其他的根据我的研究和我们能源所的研究,中国 发展生物质能源,应该因地制宜,根据中国的情况要发展垃圾发电、秸秆发电,再一些农业大县,同时适当地发展一些种植型的生物质能源等等。

宋立刚:

我刚刚做完一个钢铁项目,非常有意思。中国有1千家钢铁企业,最大的四家钢铁企业 占总的钢铁企业的比重是19%不到20,韩国、日本发达国家,前三两家企业占总的产量里面 70%到80%,所以中国这个改革,提高产业集中度是势在必行的,一定要做。而且大家看到 钢铁业集中的时候,和水的资源的利用、能源的利用都是正相关关系,就是产业度越高,节 能、节水方面的效果就越好。谢谢。

胡鞍钢:

下面请任勇演讲。他的题目是"中国环境与发展战略转型的对策"。

任勇:

今天想跟各位探讨的观点是,尽管中国的环境形势非常严峻,而且金融危机给我们带来了一系列的挑战,但是从战略上看、从长远的角度看,应该说中国环境保护和协调环境与经济发展的这样的主流是比较乐观的。我想说这样乐观的观点是因为,当大家都在说挑战的时候,我们从积极的方面来看待这些问题,可能对鼓励我们前进还是很有好处的。那么为什么这么说?总体的判断是我们目前中国的环境与发展进入了一个战略转型的时期,下面我想主要就围绕这样一个问题说一些观点,大家有兴趣可以脖子扭的角度大一点儿,眼睛放大一点儿,看看我的 PPT 的内容还是挺多的。

第一个就是什么叫环境与发展的战略转型。从本世纪初或者说 03 年以后,种种迹象表明,中国在处理环境问题上,从它在政治议程上的地位,社会经济发展考虑环境问题的程度等方面看,是处在一个新的时期。而且这样一种战略上的调整应该说不仅仅是中国独有的现象,而且世界其他国家也曾经出现过。中国为什么要进行这样一种战略转型呢?主要是由中国的经济和环境的关系的若干特征来决定的。那么比如说环境与经济的关系,实际上按照我们中国政府的说法,就是我们过去经济增长的资源环境代价过大。这是什么原因?大概是这么几个方面的特点。

- 一,刚才胡鞍钢教授也讲到,我们快速扩张的经济总量带来了大量的污染排放,我们现在的 COD 和二氧化硫的排放,远远超过我们环境自净的能力。
- 二,我们整个经济发展、工业化发展的阶段决定了我们目前环境污染的态势。当我们在解决中国人的吃和穿的时候,轻工业发展阶段,我们基本上是局部污染,整体上还是相对比较稳定。
- 三,进入重化工以后,就是解决我们的住和行的时候,整个的污染形势整体上在加剧。 另外我们走的压缩型的工业化的过程带来的复合性的环境问题。
- 四,二元经济发展的特点,决定了我们现在的环境问题在东西部之间、城乡之间、流域上下游之间,也出现了二元化的这样一种趋势。当然我们中国的资源效率、环境效率或者叫生态效率低这是大家共知的。

比如说我们现在的污染排放的强度,大概与 OECD 国家相比,大概二氧化硫和氮氧化物要高它七到九倍。更有甚者,从整个污染的情况和生态破坏的情况对经济的影响来看,数家机构都做过一些经济评价,总体上对经济的影响大概是占 GDP 的 3%到 9%。另外一个情况,污染的形势和生态退化的形势,对我们生活的质量产生了较大的负面影响。比如说我们近几年来信来访的数量以 30%的速度在增加,实际上更为严重的是,在 05 年松花江事件以后,我们进入了一个环境污染事件的高发期。在几年前,国内有学者曾经预测,中国实现全面小

康社会,我们的资源效率、生态效率要提高 4 到 5 倍,如果说我们保持比较好的环境状况,那么可能要提高八倍左右。刚才说的特征,实际上是我们国内环境发展与自身的特点。但在经济全球化背景下,我们面临更多的挑战。比如说世界贸易工厂的问题。世界银行有一个非常好的研究的结果,说 28 各行业里面,重污染的七大行业它的排放的比例 30 年没有变化,所变化的是从一个地方到另外一个地方,现在到了哪儿了?到中国。另外在过去我们有巨大的贸易顺差的同时,我们其实遭受着巨大的生态逆差,即所谓的转移排放问题。各家机构算大概我们进出口产品的内含能源占到一次能源消费的三分之一左右,它产生的二氧化碳的排放量的概念相当于目前日本温室气体排放的总量。同时还有二氧化硫和其他的问题,全球化也带给了我们巨大的危险废气越境转移的问题。

中国作为一个大的经济体,对于世界和全球的环境也带来了一定的不利的影响,所以总的来看中国如果不实行调整环境发展的战略转型,无论从对内、对外来讲,我们都是无路可走的。基于此,这几年我们构建一个调整环境发展战略转型的很好的路线图。

那么这张片子[PPT]大家看的,总体上我们国家从最高的发展观入手,确定了对内建立和谐社会,对外实现和平发展。那么我们遵循对内的路径是走新兴工业化道路,对外是和平发展道路,同时我们确定一系列的新的原则,而且有一系列新的行动。

从资源环境的角度来看,我们同样有这样一个路线图。我们有生态文明作为一个,我们叫文化的基础也好,叫方法学的基础也好,应该说是整个未来环境与发展战略转型的基础的方法和理论,我们有两型社会建设的目标,我们也有一些重要的战略的原则的调整,比如说又好又快的方面,那么也有一系列具体的行动,比如说我们十一五的节能减排。实际上大家关注节能减排的同时,我们22个规划指标里面,有七项实际上是约束性指标,而且目前应该说尽管我们面临严峻的挑战,但是进展还是比较好的。

另外我们从本世纪初开始推行循环经济。从 05 年开始,国家进入全面的循环经济试点示范的阶段,更可喜的是今年 1 月 1 号循环经济法进入实施阶段。另外我们国家颁布了应对气候变化的方案,还有从 07 年开始环保部、发改委包括财政部和税务总局,正在倡导和建立中国环境经济政策的体系。我们是按照再生产的全过程,就是从资源开发,从这个生产、从消费、从流通的各个环节,大概包括十项的经济政策,有的已经到位,有的正在积极探索。

最后我说一下金融危机到底对环境保护是什么样的含义?有挑战,但是也要看到机遇。比如说今年从政治意愿上来讲中国没有改变。今年温家宝总理在接见国务会外方委员的时候,当时我也在场,总理就讲:我们在应对金融危机过程当中有两个坚定不移,一个是节能减排,一个是应对气候变化。从我国整体应对金融危机的策略来讲,这次中央经济工作会议叫扩大内需、保增长、调结构,所以说这三个方面有两个方面对环境保护带来很多的机遇。比如说我们4万亿的投资,四个领域有三个领域涉及到环境保护。整体上从长远的看,我们应该说如果能够保持这样的一个趋势,将来中国在环境与发展战略转型的结果,或者我们的远景是对经济增长和资源环境的压力实行脱钩。目前我们算了几个指标,使处于相对落后的阶段。在我们工业化或者说城市化基本完成的时候,我们认为可能中国绝对的脱钩就相对比较容易。

最后的结论就是说,尽管我们面临的挑战很大,但是中国正处在前所未有的一种环境与 发展的战略转型的阶段,这样一个主流,尽管金融危机会带来一系列的挑战,但是从长远来 看机遇可能大于挑战,好。谢谢大家。

胡鞍钢:下面我们就请齐晔教授来演讲。他的题目是"中国的能源和环境挑战和国际社会对 2009 年哥本哈根会议的期望"。

齐晔:

我有点儿紧张,我也顺着刚才的结论,谈一下。

基本上就是一个观点,是说中国的发展模式的形成和发展,它跟近年来全球的发展模式的形成和发展是密切相关的。这是一点。第二,现在的经济动荡将会改变全球的这种发展模式,为此也为我们中国发展模式的改变,提供了一个战略机遇。最后的一句话就是,能否把握住这个战略的机遇,对我们中国政府和人民,对我们的专家学者,是一个我们的智慧上的一个考验。我想从四个方面来谈。

一,我从环境研究者的角度来观察和理解当前全球的经济动荡和全球的发展模式。你看我这个题目就是说,从外行的角度来看这个问题,我们怎么认识?我们认为在这个全球化的过程当中所形成的过度消费、透支未来的这种模式,它同时也是对自然资源和环境透支的这么一种模式,它是一种典型的不可持续的发展模式。今天早上杰弗里萨克斯教授谈到全球的金融危机的根源的时候,他谈到了美国的消费者通过借贷提前消费,今年把明年、后年,乃至三十年之后的钱提前都花了。这种的模式有一个基本的前提,要有银行等金融机构的帮助,有这个信贷的体系,它才能够使得这种消费从未来提前到现在。假如说没有这种信贷的体系,你现在就不能够买房,我现在就不能够买房,除非学校给我分一个。有了这种信贷体系之后,它就可以使得,像买房子这种事情,在现在就变得轻而易举。

然而这种信贷本身是有风险的,当你的支付能力不足时,这种信贷就变成了银行的一种 坏帐,用我们非专业人士的理解,即这种风险和借贷的难易程度相匹配,这是一个基本的原则。所以当风险很高,而借贷又很容易的时候,出现问题也就不足为奇了。

从这个意义上来说所谓的次贷危机、金融危机或者说我们说的经济动荡,你可以说它不是因为消费者的这个消费造成的,也不是因为消费者通过借贷而消费者种模式造成的,而是金融机构过分轻易地把钱借给了消费者所导致的。所以说这个金融机构不是慈善机构,更不是傻瓜。事实上我们都知道,世界上最好的头脑都是在金融机构当中,他们有着非常强烈的盈利的动机,同时这些机构本身之所以这样做是因为有货币的存在,而这种货币是由货币的供给的机构和货币供给的其他的国家,比如说中国,这种借贷造成的。

前几天美国的财政部长曾经说,中国的这种过度的储蓄不消费,本身也是造成我们目前 经济动荡的原因之一。尽管逻辑比较荒谬,但是现象还是被他给说准了。

所以在这种情况之下,今天早上韩龙先生也提到了,消费者之所以选择消费、选择过度的消费,是基于对自己本身财富现状的认识。其实这种认识不一定是真正具有。所以当市场充满了大量的货币,资产的价格就会被高估,更重要的是对资产的升值的预期的高估,导致了消费者目前对于过度的消费,不断攀升的这种需求 (demand),远远大于他的需要 (need)。可是天下没有免费的午餐,无论虚拟的经济有多么地繁荣,财富的增长它是依赖于物质的生产,而物质的生产又必然基于对自然资源的消耗,同时伴随着废弃物的产生、能量的耗散和环境的退化,这一点在热力学第二定律已经明确无误地表明了。所以说这种不断攀升的需求远远大于需要的过度消费,这是问题的本身。道理也非常简单,你过度的消费预支了未来、透支了自然,这种全球经济的发展模式是不可持续的,经济的全球化使得这种模式从个别的国家推广到了全球。

第二个问题,在这一种认识的基础之上来看一看,经济动荡对环境的影响,特别是对中国环境的影响。讨论这个问题之前我们要看一看,在危机之前全球经济的发展模式对于中国的环境有什么样的影响。通常我们说中国的经济发展模式是出口拉动,投资驱动、资源消耗、环境破坏。统计数据已经表明,无论是出口、投资、资源消耗和环境破坏,都在过去的这些年,就是在大幅度地上升。这种增长模式其结果就是胡主席在十七大报告中所总结的两句话,一句话就是改革开放的新时期,发展最重要的成就是经济的高速发展;第二句话就是最严重的问题,是经济发展资源环境过大。当然了正如易纲先生所说的,不能把这些问题全部归因

于贸易,但是贸易依赖型的增长,的确是中国经济增长模式最显著的特征。在中国我们说全球化这个词是基于它的基本的含义,恐怕就是指中国与世界,特别是与主要贸易伙伴之间的这个经贸的联系。既然如此那么在目前全球金融危机的背景之下,出口的下降、外资的减少应该是对中国的资源环境,有着一个非常正面的效应,理论上的确如此。比如刚才说得库兹涅斯曲线,我们现在是处于顶点的左端,经济水平和我们的环境的破坏呈正比的关系。从市政的数据上来看也显然支持这样一个结论。最近的几个月发电量的减少、钢铁生产的减少、建筑材料生产的减少,无疑减少了污染物产生的总量和速度。发电的减少就必然伴随着燃煤消耗的减少,意味着二氧化硫排放的增速,甚至于绝对量的下降,而煤炭生产也相应地下调,这的确为中国环境的保护提供了一个难得的喘息的机会。但是中国有一句古话叫做祸兮福所倚,福兮祸所伏。经济的这种下滑对中国的环境保护,还会有一些其他方面的,有可能是负面的影响,这就包括:

- 一,地方政府对保护和治理的投资的减少,原因可能是企业利润的减少,政府税收、排污收费的减少和对于其他投资的挤占。
 - 二,可能是支持环境保护的队伍和能力建设方面的资金的减少。
- 三,方兴未艾的环保产业可能变得更加脆弱,而这些因素在我们刚才所说的理论模型当中,显然是没有包括。

四,应对经济下滑的这些措施,本身对于环境保护是有一个什么样的影响?这其中包括刚才几位专家提到的,中央政府的四万亿和媒体上所出现的地方政府的十八万亿的这种应对措施,这种应对措施包括了林业生态建设,刚才那个任勇主任谈到了,环境、公共设施的投资,节能减排的投资以及能力建设的投资。那么对基础设施建设投资,对这种旨在拉动经济增长的这种措施,本身它可以使我们对于诸如钢铁、水泥、建材等行业的刺激,并迅速地传导到电力、交通、煤炭等国民经济的命脉部门。同时也必须认识到,这些产业、行业甚至企业,几乎无一例外的都属于高投入、高消耗、高排放、高污染的行业。如果不加控制,中央的四万亿加上地方政府的十八万亿的投资,将有可能使得环境保护当中出现的难得的喘息的机会,迅速变为雪上加霜。刚才韩所长也提到了,原来有利于节能减排的有一些政策措施、一些控制措施,现在又重新地开放,本身也就是这种现象的反映。

另外的一个方面就是,在我们的这个控制措施当中,主要是项目的审批和环评,而我们现在大规模的跑步前进的上项目的这个过程当中,这个无论是发改委还是环保部,已经倍感压力,其环评的标准、质量和措施,有可能会大打折扣,所以有些应对措施更像是恐慌之下的反映,是缺乏深思熟虑的这种反映。

最后一点就是当前的全球金融动荡,能不能转化为落实为科学发展观,转变发展方式,保护生态环境、构建生态文明的战略机遇?我们国家的经济发展模式有三个要素,除了出口导向之外还包括粗放生产和增长导向。这里面我着重谈增长导向。中央政府、媒体和学界,通常批评地方政府 GDP 挂帅,过份地注重经济增长,忽视环境保护,这当然是事实。但是同时对地方政府也有失公允,地方政府之所以过分注重 GDP 的增长,忽视环境保护以及其他的社会事业,是有其深刻的制度根源的。这些制度本身不是地方政府所能改变的。如果说制度就是游戏规则,那么地方政府更多地是游戏的参与者,而不是规则的制订者。相反中央政府在规则的制订中发挥着关键的作用。尽管这是老生常谈,但是现在的背景之下,重新强调这一点是有其重要意义的。在全球经济动荡背景之下,中央政府的作用不仅限于投资拉动内需以振兴经济,更重要的是要借机深刻地认识,并充分利用这次危机所提供的机遇调整规则,优化政策、调整政策、完善制度、加快我国经济发展模式的转变,保护资源和环境。具体怎么做呢?待会儿讨论的时候我们再接着讲,谢谢。

胡鞍钢:

下面我们先请两位学者对中国的环境问题作一下点评。第一位是王慧炯先生,第二位是 杰弗里萨克斯教授。先请王先生。

胡鞍钢:

我们下面请萨克斯教授评论一下。萨克斯教授曾有一句名言:给一个成功的政府提供一个成功的政策咨询时非常重要的。有请萨克斯教授作一点评论。

王先生:

非常高兴参加今天的会。我们研究政策的应当有一个价值取向,经济增长是一个价值取向。我非常高兴今天早上朱之鑫同志强调,我们不仅要关注经济增长,更要看到社会和谐问题。这就是一个价值取向问题。我搞了将近30年的政策研究,在考虑一个政策问题的时候,需要考虑长期和近期的问题。长期和近期的目标,总体来说总会是会有一点儿矛盾的。谢谢。

萨克斯:

非常感谢,刚才大家讨论得非常有意思,我想问一下,有谁能够评论一下,就是中国和美国应该达成什么样的协议。关于这个气候变化在今年达成怎样的协议,因为今年是要谈判新的一个协议的一年了,那么中美之间的关系可以说是最重要的关系之一。他们对于制订全球的环保政策,或者说环保协议是非常重要的,那么你们认为中国会不会通过一些具体的环保的目标,那么他和美国如何合作?来制订环保的战略呢?这对于中国是很好的,也对于全球制订一个环保的目标也是很好的,这是我的一个问题。

我还有第二个问题,就是中国的煤炭政策,中国是最大的以煤炭为主要能源的国家,还是二氧化碳的最大的排放国,我们也希望炭捕捉和炭贮存,在火电厂的炭捕捉和炭贮存可以用,但是这个技术很贵还没有得到尝试,所以我想知道人们会,就是在座的各位你们会建议怎样的措施来实行炭捕捉和炭沉降,谁为这个付费?怎样开展实验?它是一个积极的技术吗?除了这个技术之外还有其他的技术吗?因为中国对炭的依赖度太高了,所以要考虑。

查道炯:

在我来看,炭捕捉和炭贮存在目前来说,还并不是十分,还是太理论化了。我们并没有看到一个,过多的试点项目,只有两个,一个是在澳大利亚,一个是在德国,所以必须要找到资金来源才能对它进行实验。现在有九项战略实现关于中美关于炭排放的协议。在我看来需要克服两个问题。

- 一,明确地来进行炭捕捉的协议。
- 二,就是炭交易机制必须明确。

提问:

我对萨克斯教授进行一下评论,他是关于中美在气候变化方面如何进行合作的,如果我们看一下中国的情况,从 ERI 还有发改委的各个专家都可以证明,中国在减排方面已经做了很多,减排是中国一直十分关注的一个领域,那二氧化碳的直接排放方面也有这么一种理论,就是中美能够合作来利用节能的领域,中国也受制于某种框架,因为中国没有受到严格的气候变化协议的约束,但是中国也非常努力地来进行减排节能。

提问:

我问任勇和齐晔两个问题,你们刚才谈到中国经济要面临巨大转型,但是中国面临的巨

大挑战是什么? 工业化远没有完成, 我们还有二十年的路要走。

刚才宋立刚教授也谈到了如何减排的问题,我现在提到的问题是说,中国现在面临的是相对的效率提高,降低它的污染的问题,还是我们总体来讲,因为我们现在人均 GDP 才 2500 美元不到,我们要 5000 美元,我们要 1 万美元,我们要建更多的钢厂、更多的电厂,我们的目的是面对着更多的污染,而不是说污染减少下去,这个问题怎么解决?

提问:

各位老师好,我有两个问题是关于节能减排方面的。

- 一,首先国家制订单位 GDP 能耗降低 20%,到各个省进行考核,但是我们到各个省进行调研的时候都有一些问题,其中一个问题是希望有节能减排专项基金,比如说宁夏是一个高耗能的省,前几年搞了一些项目,这些项目有很大的能耗,现在搞节能减排到底是做还是不做,比如说汶川经历过地震要建立家园,这必须要拉动钢铁、水泥等高耗能产业的生产怎么做?
- 二,中小企业的节能减排,我这里主要想知道,国内对高耗能的中小企业到底是怎么界 定的?

韩文科:

我想先说说萨克斯先生的评论,关于这个煤炭的问题,我和美国的好多同行也讨论过这个问题,中国大量地应用煤炭,这个它是怎么来看?对世界来讲它是一个贡献,中国不用油去发电,不用天然气去发电,在限制化石能源的结构过程当中,就是中国只是把煤炭用于发电,把其他的石油、天然气,这样对中国的石油消费增长的前景就有一个限制,这是好的一方面。不好的就是煤炭用量很大,对环境、对温室气体有贡献,但是这一点中国的这个政策,我觉得已经是比较明朗的。

第一,在煤炭的生产行业,现在通过关小的,把小的煤矿关掉,发展大型煤矿,提高煤炭的资源利用效率,这些来解决使煤炭生产效率提高。

第二,煤炭基本上大量地今后是用于发电的,像钢铁这种工业、水泥这种使用,而且这些使用的像电力行业的制订比较严格的这种环境保护的政策,比如说二氧化硫、二氧化碳,这个环保部都有严格的政策,而且也有目标,就是行业这一块都比较清楚的。基本上就是这样的前景。

说到中美合作,我想合作是相互的,包括气候变化什么的,我最近在写一篇文章还没有写出来,美国要对中国人开放节能市场,比如说美国的好多房子、建筑效率也不高,那么我们中国有先进的家用电器产品,经济危机可以到美国去卖,这对全球是有贡献的,所以这是一个双向的。

任勇:

中美在气候变化问题是不是要达成一个协议来影响国际进程,这个从两个方面看。

- 一,中美在国情上有一定的相似性。
- 二,各自国家在应对气候变化上各有自己的做法。

中美在气候变化方面的合作也挺多,我们有能源环境的合作,现在有十年规划,我们有中美气候变化的工作小组等等,当然是不是在哥本哈根进程上,中美一定要达成一定的立场,这个我觉得是中美最大的区别,国情又不一样,主要是发展的阶段不一样,而且哥本哈根进程的达成与否,不完成取决于中美,而是取决于163个缔约方的态度。

第二个问题就是效率,我们现在要保护好环境,转变经济增长方式我们办法很多,我同意您的观点效率是核心,大家都知道四倍跃进,实际上现在国际上有一个中心的思想,如果

我们整个的产业的发展的模式不能有根本性的变化的时候,我们提高效率可能是现阶段我们的一个核心的出发点,谢谢。

齐晔:

同意刚才任勇主任说的效率的问题,所以不再重复。

刚才所说的咱们现在应对经济危机的这个方案当中刚才也说了,你是怎么从恐慌然后到深思熟虑,然后到深谋远虑,把握这个机会,实际上是非常重要的,这是一点,另外的一个就是我想回应一下刚才萨克斯教授刚才所说的这个问题,事实上我想中美之间在节能减排方面,是不是可以达成一个合作协议,我想这是对于这个合作的重要性是毫无疑问的,大家都知道。但是问题是如何来进行合作。那么另外我们也是要强调使用一些清洁煤的技术来保护环境,另外我们是不是要制定这个哥本哈根进程的一个具体的目标,我想这是一个可行的做法。那么我们可以看一下 1990 年的时间,美国的这个炭排放量是增加了 25%左右,那么现在他们也希望能够使得这个在 2020 年的时候,他的炭排放量能够达到 1990 年的水平。

我觉得可能还行吧,希望我们的专家随后再会解释一下。

胡鞍钢:

下来还可以再进一步讨论一下。现在我们休息。

第四场讨论会 PanelIV

Jeffrey Sachs:

We are coming to the final session now. We are looking forward to very interesting remarks. We are going to start with Professor Ross Garnaut. Our whole panel is about China's economic prospect, so it is a big subject. And Professor Ross Garnaut is going to talk about 'the crash of 2008: the pluses and minuses for reform'. Please.

Ross Garnaut:

Thanks Jeff, The problems of the global financial crisis began to seep out of Wall Street late in 2007. But for a while, people thought these were problems of the financial sector, and of the United States. And maybe a lot of other countries that had been doing very well, including China might not be badly affected. But gradually through 2008 we realized that was not the case.

The channels of transmission of the problems from the financial sector in the United States and Europe to the whole world were several. By the second half of 2008, they included very powerful transmission through diminution of trade opportunities. As we discussed in the first session this morning, that had large effects on Chinese growth.

Before talking about the effects of the crash of 2008 on economic reform, the minuses and some pluses, I think we should reflect on what a wonderful period has come to an end. From the early 1990's until 2007, into early 2008, the world economy as a whole went through a period of exceptional expansion. For China, following the crisis of 1989 and 1990, there were political factors, interacting with economic problems, and for two years you had low economic growth by Chinese standards, down around 5%. Following that, there has been sustained rapid economic growth at rates that have no historical precedent over such a long period of time for a large economy.

At the beginning, as China came out of the downturn of 1989 and 1990, growth was so rapid that for the first time in the modern era, China's economic growth had a big beneficial effect on global economic performance. There was one reason why growth right through developing East Asia kept going strongly through developed countries' recession through the 1990's.

Through the 1990's and the first half dozen years of the new century, we saw quite an exceptional period of global economic integration. China was central to that, the end of central planning in the old style in China, and in the former Soviet Union, and in Vietnam, which greatly increased the numbers of people whose economic activities were deeply integrated into global economic activities. And beyond the centrally planned economies it became a remarkable period of opening and reform in much of the developing world.

Through much of East Asia, you had an exceptional period of unilateral trade liberalization with countries deciding for their own reasons to reduce their barriers to trade up until the financial crisis of '97 to '98. This was a period of the information technology revolution, which greatly reduced the costs of international economic transactions of many kinds. It was a period of the ambitious Uruguay round and China's entry into the WTO- the institutional framework for globalization became more comprehensive and stronger.

By the early 21st century we were experiencing global economic growth at a rate the world had not seen before. Through 2004, 05, 06, 07, aggregate global economic growth was stronger than even in the period we call the golden age- the post-War period of strong economic growth.

But this time it wasn't strong economic growth confined to the developed countries; it was very broadly spread. China was at the center of it, but it was not only China, in other large developing economies, especially India you had lifts to much higher rates of economic growth. Even Africa which is seen as the biggest challenge of global economic development, in the first 7 years of this century grew more rapidly than any ever before in the history of Africa; both colonial and post-colonial times.

This, a period in which the world became optimistic enough about global development to articulate the millennial goals of the United Nations- bringing very large numbers of people out of poverty, and so far in the 21st century on an aggregate level we've been meeting those goals, although we've been meeting them mainly because of very great success in some large developing countries, again led by China. This has been a long period of strong growth with moderate inflation.

Don Hanna, this morning, told us how that created circumstances in which there was such general optimism, and expectations of lower interest rates that asset values inflated in values. It may be that such a long, successful period expansion in market economies contains the seeds of its own destruction- again for reasons that we discussed in the section this morning. This used to be view of the economics profession, that cycles were a normal part of global economic development, although again as we discussed this morning as some aspects of the collapse of 2007, and the crash of 2008 do seem to be in retrospect to have been avoidable. But long periods of steady economic growth do contain in themselves tendencies towards euphoria that lead to asset booms, that some analysts think that can only be corrected by the bursting of asset price bubbles.

So, that is what we have come out of. It has been a wonderful period of rising living standards in much of the world, first of all for China, but by no means only China. It would be a pity were it to come to an end as a result of the great crash.

The period of exceptional expansion, what I have called the platinum age- because the average growth ended up being faster than in the golden age and more people of the world were involved in the rapid growth- was associated with some quite large imbalances that were going to require correction, or there were going to be problems of sustainability. We have talked this morning about the large trans-pacific imbalances in savings and investments, inevitably reflected in the current account and trade imbalances. These have been growing rapidly through the later period of expansion and continued growth in net exports and continued decline in net exports in others, obviously is not sustainable, it is not a sustainable pattern of growth.

In China, the exclusion of some important areas of the country, especially rural areas, from the general rise in prosperity had elements that were not sustainable and some of the international political tension associated with the trade imbalances put continued growth at risk. This afternoon I was very pleased that the session focused on some environmental problems and economic growth. There was a time in China when discussion of economic development hardly touched upon economic problems. I am delighted that we have left those days behind and now serious discussions of economic problems invariably do spend part of their time on environmental problems- and that is what we have done today.

The period of rapid global economic growth was associated with some large environmental imbalances, which meant that old patterns of growth were not sustainable. Some of these are local problems, and the history of economic development tells us that as countries get richer, sooner or later they put the resources that are necessary into improving the local environmental problems.

But the big environmental problems are not cured as countries get richer without some special effort- as is the problem of global warming.

The exceptional period of economic growth of the early 21st century has been associated with the acceleration of the accumulation greenhouse gases in the atmosphere at a rate that mainstream science tells us could not continue for very long without dangerous, probably catastrophic consequences for the global economy. There would be consequences for China, as much and perhaps more than many other countries. The intelligent discussion of this issue within the Chinese scientific community has emphasized the vulnerability of the heavily industrialized river deltas of coastal China to sea level rise, the vulnerability of the north China plane to further drying, the vulnerability of those huge populations right along the Yellow River and the Yangtze river to any destabilization of river flows in the great rivers as a result of contraction of the glaciated areas of the Tibetan plateau; identifying at least these three very large areas of vulnerability in China to global warming.

The period of rapid economic growth, the platinum age of the 21st century was characterized by exceptional growth in greenhouse gas emissions, first, because the world economy was growing very rapidly. Second because the most rapidly parts of the world economy were the big developing countries, which were at a state of development where there was a very high elasticity of energy use with respect to growth in income. China, Indonesia, India were all in that category. Third, because it just happens by accident. The developing countries which where responsible for such a high proportion of economic growth, and growth in energy use, first of all China, but also India and Indonesia- were countries were at the margin had coal as the most readily available and cheapest source of expansion of energy supplies.

As a result, greenhouse gas emissions have been growing in the early 21st century, far more rapidly than the analysis of the IPCC suggested that they would and the stern report that was based on the IPCC said that they would. So the imbalance in the global environment associated with the era of rapid economic growth of the early 21st century was not sustainable.

Well, the crisis is upon us and business as usual is not continuing and cannot continue. So it is a good time to reflect on how the crisis can affect reform including reform directed at removing the imbalances that introduced elements of unsustainability in to the old patterns of economic growth. I have mentioned and we discussed this morning just as a matter of logic how it is not possible for China to remain reliant on continued growth of net exports. Sooner or later there would have to be a change in emphasis from net export growth to greater reliance on domestic demand growth. Well, it has come sooner rather than later.

The global financial crisis means that right now we are having to face up to that adjustment, which was going to come sooner or later, which we all would have preferred to have come gradually. As Jeff Sachs mentioned this morning we should see this not as some temporary phenomenon requiring some short-term expedience but as the reduced opportunity for increasing net exports, and for a period, the need to live with declining net exports is just part of the reality that is on us now and will stay with us for a long time. Economic strategy has to take this into account. On top of that big challenge of reducing net exports and replacing it by domestic demand growth, there is a special additional challenge of dealing with the effects on demand of a huge stock adjustment.

When there are high expectations of continued economic growth then stocks of raw materials, semi-processed materials and of final goods are held at levels that make sense in terms of

continued growth. If there is a disappointment in expectations of economic growth then there is a large downward adjustments in the stocks that businesses want to hold and that can lead to radical sudden reductions in demand. That reduction will continue until businesses have brought stocks down that are consistent with new levels of expectations.

China has been going through that adjustment over the past six months, which has led the economic crunch coming from the external economic impact being much large than what one might expect. Xiao Geng told us this morning that the process has gone a long way; it has been very powerful, it has been very painful, but he said that in February or March we will see an end to that process. If he is right, and I hope he is, then there will be an easing of pressure after Feb and March, but we will still have to face the adjustments associated with the need to shift reliance on growth in net exports to reliance on domestic demand.

It has not been particularly helpful to long-term economic growth tin China for net exports to be so large, and such a high proportion of Chinese resources to be locked up in low-yielding foreign financial assets. Even a strategy that shifted that part of expenditure that is going into the production of net exports into social services and so on, which are in themselves not generating high levels of growth- that shift in itself need not be negative for economic growth. China might want to go further than and reduce investment in other activities, but certainly China can make the macroeconomic adjustment and go quite a long way to raising rural living standards simply through shifting resources from net exports into public expenditure on general services, especially rural services without sacrificing economic growth. It's very reason to expect that alone to sacrifice growth. And of course that shift, if it includes successful refocusing on investment in rural services; social security, education, health in rural areas removes, if it is successful, one of the imbalances of the old pattern of growth- the leaving behind of large parts of the Chinese population from the growth process.

As came out in the discussion of Yiming Wang's paper earlier today, the big challenge here is the administrative and governance challenge, finding the mechanisms for delivering the effective resources and services to rural areas. There are all sorts of weaknesses in the current pattern of public administration that will make that difficult. The key to the success of the transformation that has to be made will be China's success, or otherwise, in dealing with these local administrative and governance problems.

This alternative pattern of growth, with less emphasis on production of goods for export and more emphasis on rural services will in itself be a less emissions intensive pattern of growth. And so in itself will be helpful to the adjustment in environmental pressure on the global economy that China will need to contribute to the global effort. China's success in doing this, and going further than that with incentives that have the effect of reducing the energy and emissions intensity of consumption and expenditure patterns more generally will allow China to play a constructive part in the international discussion of the environmental problems which will be so important in the two years ahead.

If China were not able to make that adjustment in ways that reduce growth in emissions as part of a global effort, I think we would find that international tensions over environmental questions would join the international trade questions over trade imbalances. And together create the most difficult situation we have ever seen for China's trade relations with the large western countries, especially the United States. So, there are a number of ways in which dealing well with the basic economic problems of adjustment will be helpful to the emissions, the environmental

problem. But dealing with the environmental problem is also going to be an important part of dealing with the economic problems- just basically its international dimension.

They are all positive points, all ways in which the crisis may be helpful to the next stage of reform and help China address the unsustainable features of the old pattern of growth economic growth that were going to have to be dealt with sooner later anyway, which are going to be difficult. But one has to recognized ways in which the crisis will make continued market-oriented, international-oriented reform to improve conditions in rural areas and improve environmental impacts more difficult. We are gong to have a more difficult international situation for cooperation over trade and other matters. Many countries will find themselves defensive about loss of employment, tensions in the international sphere will go up and we will all have to work harder to maintain a cooperative atmosphere conducive to growth.

In some countries it is possible, even in China that the urgency of the need to restore to growth may reduce the sense of urgency in dealing with environmental problems which could be disastrous at a crucial time for international cooperation in this area. In China as elsewhere, as concern about unemployment grows there is usually less tolerance for structural change, and for welfare increasing policy which require structural change- and that always requires very effective leadership to keep the communities' views on longer-term outcomes rather than on short term pain.

It must be said that in the world as a whole and individual countries, these will be dangerous times politically, times of stress in which there is an ever-present danger of extreme political reactions to domestic tensions. We are in the early stages of the international adjustment and we shouldn't be naïve about the risk that this poses to political stability in many places.

To sum up, in this period ahead it is crucially important that we ensure that the fiscal expansion that is going to be necessary to maintain strong growth is oriented strongly in China towards the expansion of rural services and opportunities for rural development. This is going to require a strong commitment to improving administrative and governance mechanisms at the local level. I think it is useful, and this echoes a point that Wing Thye Woo made strongly- that there is no necessary reason for investment to fall, although there needs to be some reorientation of investment- and therefore there is no necessary reason for growth rates to fall below what they have been.

International cooperation in many spheres is going to be crucial to a successful outcome for every one of our countries. There is going to be a need for China to participate actively in improvement of the global trade regime, of the global fiscal regime, joining in discussions with other countries on the advantages of mutual fiscal expansion- on the global financial regime as we all come to grips of the optimal regulatory response to the problems which have emerged over the past two years. Donald Hanna warned us of knee jerk reactions towards overregulation, but we do need intelligent new regulation and there needs be international cooperation on that because the main financial issues are global. And there needs to be active Chinese participation in the shaping of the global environmental regime. In some ways reform will be more difficult in the new circumstances of pressure on employment- anxiety about employment and growth. But the policies that are likely to be most successful in getting China through this period will be reform policies that lay a basis for a more sustainable pattern of growth in the future.

萨克斯:

郜若素先生刚才总结了一下,很细微又很广泛地,中国所面临的问题,如果把中国以前 出到海外的那些资源可以用于国内的增长,可以增加对农村的服务,也可以更加有效地利用 资源保护环境,并且中国要有效地进行国际合作。所以这样的话有效地利用资源,而不是失 去资源的机会,还能够透过国内的增长,这是一个很好的建议。

下一位我们的演讲嘉宾是马晓河先生,他是中国发改委宏观经济研究院的副院长。

马晓河:

谢谢萨克斯先生。我说三个观点。

第一个观点是,在近期要高度关注和防止 09 年经济可能发生深度下降。这是我的第一句话,为什么这么讲?我认为第一个从周期看,这一次中国经济增长周期跟 90 年代相比,它的下滑的速度快,下滑的深度深,持续的时间有可能要长,就是这一次的周期大家注意。上次的周期是从 92 年的 14.2 下降到 99 年的 7.6,我认为这一次要按周期降,它的持续的深度要深,有可能会跌破 7.6%。第二,从国际需求看,跟亚洲金融危机相比,这次金融危机中世界对中国的需求量的减少,速度的下滑,要比亚洲危机大。亚洲危机是发展经济体小国,对中国影响不大,而这次发生在美国以及欧洲国家的危机,对中国的影响要大得多,这是第一点。

第二个小观点是这次事情对中国造成的世界需求的下降想要靠国内需求来弥补根本不可能。即是能弥补,也是长期的。为什么这么讲?比如说 07 年中国人生产了 170 亿件服装,如果这些服装让全国人民一年之内消费掉,消费不掉,还有我们 07 年生产了 6 亿部手机,我们全部让中国人持有行吗?所以说在这种情况下如果国内生产的产能,国际需求减少,国内又弥补不了,将有可能大量的资产就产生闲置,这是我要告诉大家的一个观点。

第三个小观点是,大家注意中国出口减少不但影响中国,而且还在很大程度上影响世界。因为中国是出口加工型,中国出口每下降一个点,带来的进口的下降不是一个点,是一种放大效益,对国际的影响非常大。所以说,中国降低出口也就降低了需求,这一点是要高度关注的。中国的需求尽管说这两年需求上升很快,但是当前中国的需求已经出现了下降趋势,所以说在 09 年我们要高度关注农民和低收入群体,他们的需求有可能下降,要比一般的人下降要快。因为这些人是在就业第一线,他们没有了就业,没有了收入,首先就会降低消费。他们的边际消费倾向要比我们一般人高。他们减少单位收入带来的消费比重的下降要比我们高,我们的边际消费取向低、消费取向高。

第四个小观点,中国目前现在几个大的市场在下滑要注意,房市在下滑、车市在下滑, 股市在波动,这几个大的市场会给中国带来直接的和间接的影响下。所以我认为如果在这四 个方面我们没有一个大的措施,那么中国这次经济下滑是要高度关注的。

第二个观点是从长期看,中国的长期高增长趋势并没有结束。我对中国长期增长是有信心的。因为当前中国的经济下滑只是一种周期性和阶段性的。改革开放以来中国经济经过了三个中周期[长周期是 50 年,中周期是 10 年左右,短周期是 3-5 年],这次中国正好处于新的周期,一个下滑阶段,收缩期。这个收缩期我认为会结束的。所以说长期中国的增长趋势是上升的,那么当前面临的问题是成长发育过快造成的。通过改革是可以得到解决的。我曾经算过帐,如果到 2020 年中国的经济平均每年增长 6%,那么中国的 GDP 将会达到 52 万亿。如果增长 7%,则会超过 60 万亿。按照人民币和美元 5: 1 的比例算,即为十几万亿美元。到 2020 年中国人口约为 14.5 亿人,那么人均 GDP 是 7000 到 8000 美元。为什么是这样呢,有以下几个理由:

第一,因为中国现在市场增长潜力巨大。中国现在是 13 亿人,将来是 14 亿人,消费潜力是巨大的。

第二,中国还具有制造业的比较优势。中国现在目前每小时劳动工人的制造业的成本是 1美元左右,比世界发达国家要低,是其十六分之一到十八分之一。

第三,中国的工业化还没有完成。还有增长的空间。

第四,中国的社会结构正处于快速转型时期,在这个转型时期制度创新仍然可以带来高增长。三十年中国为什么取得的举世瞩目的成就,一个最大因素就是改革和创新。今后的改革创新还没有完,这样的一个经济会实现较长的增长。

我讲的第三个问题(观点)是,我对当前政策的看法。中国这次推出十大举措,4万亿的投资,我认为是非常及时,非常正确的。有人说这十大项投资多、基础设施多、消费少等等一些看法,我认为应从两方面看。

- (1) 投资这次投资跟上次投资是不一样的,这次投资许多是消费直接有关的。我给大家讲一个故事,我来自农村,我是农村的放羊娃,路没修的时候,老百姓很少有人买摩托车的。政府修了路之后,50%的人都去买摩托车。什么道理?没有路可走怎么去买摩托车,所以说修一条路带动了一个2000人口的摩托车消费。再看,我去延安一个村调查,这个村原来不能架通信电话,后来移动电信在那搞了一个擦转台后,那个村的人大部分人都去买手机。你们要知道中国每年产6亿部手机,国内消费1亿部,其中70%在农村消费。修一条路摩托车消费了,架一个擦转台手机消费了,那要是再通一个水呢?所以说基础设施建设也能拉动消费。再和大家说一个故事,中国当前有3.7万座病险水库,应该全部给它改造掉,你说这有没有必要,是不是浪费投资?我告诉大家中国农村现在有2.3亿农民饮水困难,解决一个农民的饮水问题需要409块钱。这些投资要不要?这些是非常重要的。所以说基础设施投资可以直接拉动消费。
- (2) 就当前来说中国的投资还不够,还没有到位,此次危机中中央投资还是少的。我认为下一步应该继续增加投资规模。如果财政减少,可以发行国债,把这些钱投到最需要的、最能解决老百姓困难的地方。
- (3) 我认为在消费上目前的举措还是要加强。消费上还要再下大力气。消费不是没有空间。我曾经过一个帐,如果把中国当前的消费从 50%提到 60%的水平,全国人就会增加 3 万亿的消费,尽管不能替代出口,但是能拉动内需。所以说在这种情况下,我们应该出台一些积极措施。比如说去年中央政府对全国 12 个省,农村的家电消费消费者,搞 13%的补贴,我认为这种政策非常好。中央补贴 48 亿,地方配套 12 亿,一共 60 亿。我计算了一下,拉动的消费大概是 500 亿。那么这种措施能不能扩大?能不能从 12 个省扩大到 31 个省。补贴额能不能超过 100 亿?如果能够超过 100 亿,可以产生 1000 亿的消费额。这种补贴的品种能不能扩大?从四个品种向更多的品种去扩展。能不能让每户农户享受一个补贴向享受三个补贴扩展?对城市低收入者,能不能也享受同等政策?最后一条,利用这次国家启动内需的机会发行国债,建立城乡一体的社会保障体系。我认为在当前建立城乡一体的社会保障体系,成本最低、时机最佳。因为现在农民的需求层次低,建议政府赶紧用小钱保证稳定。谢谢。

萨克斯:

谢谢马教授,我们要抓住投资来形成这样的一个统一的社会保障体系。我想这就需要我们在经济当中进行一个结构的调整,只有这样才能实现长期的经济增长,所以我想根据你的调查,很多的人都要买更多的鞋,还要买更多的手机。

所以非常感谢您刚才给我们做的精彩的发言,接下来我们还有两个发言人,是我们这次 讨论会的主办方的代表。

第一个是肖耿教授,他是清华布鲁金斯公共研究中心的主任,也是美国布鲁金斯学会约翰·桑顿中国中心资深的研究员,非常感谢他在组织这次会议过程当中所付出的巨大努力。

肖耿:

非常感谢你们的支持,我知道这个会议开一天,很辛苦,但是看到还有这么多人在这儿我很高兴。刚才很多的发言人已经给了我们很好的观点,有一些观点是非常新的,让我难以再说出一些新的观点。那么刚才马教授也是给了我们一个非常生动的发言。我接下来会用中文来发言。我的这个 PPT 是用中文准备的,而且我觉得这个翻译也翻得很好,所以我会用中文讲得比较快一些。

全球金融危机对中国的影响,我们今天讲了很多。我个人认为对中国的实体经济的影响,应该说在全球来讲影响是最大的。为什么这么看?实体经济当中最重要的是就业,那么美国讲来讲去几百万就业的问题,中国是几千万就业的问题,所以从实体经济来讲,我们受到的影响远远大于任何其他国家。而且我们跟其他的发展中国家还不一样,我们的国家的就业是在外面打工民工,他们尝到了市场经济的甜头,现在却没有了。所以现在我们要认真对待,我们应对危机所面临的挑战是远远超过其他任何国家的。

那么接下来我就要谈是,全球的金融危机只是其中的一个因素,对中国经济目前下滑造成的影响,其实还有很多其他的因素。在去年九月份之前,中国经济已经面临了很多很多增长中的问题。那么我总结主要有以下几点。

- 一,我们的剩余劳动力,也就是隐性的失业,这个我觉得我们的民工他们的失业是不计 入统计数字的,所以当他们失业的时候我们是看不出来的,只能到村里去看看,在统计年鉴 上看不出来。
- 二,中国的剩余资本,我们的储蓄率很高、存款很多,经常项盈余,外汇储备很多。这个现象是不合理的,中国是一个资本缺乏的国家,这也是我们的一个挑战,从经济学上来讲是不合理的。
- 三,我们的要素价格扭曲非常严重,刚才前面也谈到了。我们的国内食品价格、油价、原材料,还有价格管制,都存在很大的问题,就是要素价格的扭曲,还有能源、环境价格受管制,再加上劳动合同法,突然一下子增加了很多成本。

四,房地产市场和股票市场的高波动性和泡沫,这是我们在金融危机之前已经遇到的。那么剩余劳动力我就不多讲了,就是最主要的问题是这些农民工,他们的每个月的收入只有120美金,那么当我们的进出口受到影响的时候,非常少的利润或者说销售额的下降,就会影响到大量的这个失业率,这个是国外的朋友很难理解的。我们的出口下降其实不是很厉害,我们还是在增长,这个增长率下降。但是就是说就是这么一些影响的话,导致了大量的失业,而且这些失业它不在统计数据里,这样的话就对我们对于分析还有政策的应对造成了很大的困难,我们不知道什么时候发生问题。

那么资本剩余谈了很多了,最主要的数据是经常项的剩余几乎达到了国内生产总值的 10%,经常项的剩余实际上就是我们每年生产出来的产出,一部分用于消费,一部分用于投 资,还有一部分用不掉,用不掉就要请美国人来帮我们用,这个实际上就是我们的剩余。借 给别人用,原因是我们自己没有更好的方法去用它,用不掉。

那么这几个问题加在一起就造成了一个非常重要的现象,这个现象也是不合理的,什么现象呢?就是中国正在补贴全世界的消费者,因为能源和原材料的价格的扭曲,所以全球的制造业都跑到中国来了,因为中国便宜,土地便宜,水电油煤什么都便宜,当然生产出来的东西也便宜。但是它造成的环境污染,造成的资源的浪费,这些没有算入价格当中去,它成了将来的中国的负担,所以中国是用将来的麻烦来补贴现在的全世界的消费者。这个是无法持续的。刚才我们下午谈到了这个能源环境的问题,按照中国现在的这个市场去走的话,中国人希望自己的生活方式跟美国人一样,然后还要去补贴全世界的消费者,这个是不可能持续的。

另外还有一个奇怪的现象, 就是国有企业他的表现都差于非国有企业, 但是在一些战略

部门和大型企业当中,它还是处于绝对的支配地位。我们看到 2007 年中国 500 强企业当中大部分都是国有企业,中国最好的 500 个企业当中,92%的税收都是来自国有企业,89%的就业自来国有企业,93%的资产来自国有企业,87%的利润来自国有企业。所以我们只看 500强,整个中国是非常国有化的。当然这个也有一个好处,就是金融风暴来的时候我们不害怕,国有企业不会破产,不像美国的投行或者是汽车制造业,他们不是国有企业,欠了帐如果明天不还后天就要破产,咱们的国有企业不会破产,但是我们的效率方面还是有问题。

我就想简短地回顾一下中国经济下滑为什么这么厉害。我觉得在 07 年的时候,受国际影响导致中国有轻微的通货膨胀,接近 7%。中国经济增长这么快,这些通胀应该不是一个问题,但是我们非常担心,因为很多年没有出现通货膨胀了,我们一直在反通缩。通货膨胀达到 7%,但是我们城镇职工的工资的增长率在什么范围呢?在 12%到 18%这个范围,就是从1998年到 2008年,我们这么多年的时间我们城镇职工的工资的增长每年都是 10%几,所以虽然有通胀,但城镇职工感觉不到。

那么中国出现通胀它也跟财政赤字没关系,因为中国最近几年是财政盈余。以前说出现 通胀主要是政府乱印钞票,但是我们这个通胀是结构性的,主要是国外的能源导致了粮食价 格受到影响造成的。

所以说从历史上来看,中国 07 年、06 年的通货膨胀本身不是一个严重的事情。但是它导致了通货膨胀不严重,但是因为我们的货币政策没有及时地提利率,结果导致了一个负利率的现象。什么意思?你们看下面一个图,通货膨胀也就是说消费者价格指数是蓝色的,红色的这个图是一年期的利率,可以看到利率基本上没有变化,当我们的通胀消费价格指数上升的时候,我们的利率几乎没有调,结果就造成我们现在看到的黄色的图,就是实质利率出现负的。什么意思?就是资本价格不要钱。你借得越多越合算,在通胀的情况下你借的钱以后还钱很少的。所以在这种情况下,负利率导致严重的房地产市场和股票市场的泡沫,泡沫大到什么程度?股票市场从 2000 点一下子跳到 6000 点,这个泡沫太大了以后,没有人相信这个泡沫是可以维持的,结果我们就是从一个,因为负利率的原因一下子就造成了很大的一个泡沫破灭,虽然负利率还在,但是谁也不敢再去投了。这种情况在去年九月份之前就已经发生了,所以我们也不能完全就怪全球金融危机,全球金融危机只是加剧了中国的问题。

所以说负利率,我觉得,是日本、美国、全世界泡沫的根源。全世界的政府和中央银行,都不愿意加利息,因为加利息在政治上都不受欢迎,结果造成日本的情况和美国次贷的情况,还有美国的过去十年的房地产泡沫。所以这个问题我觉得是要认认真真地对待。严重的负利率,一般的直接的原因是通胀,通胀上去的不管哪个国家的货币主管当局,应该及时把利率提高上去,但是这个无法去执行,是政治因素决定的,任何国家都一样。

另外还有一个问题,中国为什么不敢加利率,有一个原因是在 05 年 7 月份开始,人民币升值开始了一个单向稳步升值的过程。人民币升值对中国来讲是一个冲击,因为过去十几年的时间,中国在一个固定汇率的情况下,大家都习惯了,人民币单相稳步升值带来什么问题? 它没有降低经常项目的盈余,但是导致了投机性资本的流入,特别是香港、台湾、海外同胞的投机性资本。因为人民币单向一定是升的,比如说香港人,他拿了港币也就是美元,热钱就进入中国。热钱追求人民币升值,追求中美利率差,也追求中国的房地产市场和股票市场的额外回报。当然这个是有风险的。很多热钱如果到中国只是为了赚利差,回报率太低,许多热钱是为了来赚取中国房地产市场和股票市场泡沫的巨额回报的。我们看 07 年以来的货币政策,收紧的力度是非常大的。我们看这个图 MY 的货币供应有一个急速的下降,从流通中的现金增长从 20%以上迅速跌到了 10%以下。这个发生在很短的时间内,而且中国的银行系统重新启用了贷款额度控制,这把所有的银行都管死了。因为已经很长时间了,中国基本上放弃了这种额度控制,突然一下子增加,这就使得当时的一些,07 年下半年到 08 年上半年,很多企业本来如果救一救就活了,结果死了。等到金融风暴再来的时候就再也活不过

来了。所以我们看到目前面临的经济危机是内外经济结构政策和各方面的问题造成的。那么怎么办?

当前的金融危机有多严重?非常严重。过去的金融危机都是美国政府写一张支票就行了,现在是美国出问题了。美国的问题刚才萨克斯教授讲过了,一年三万亿美元的财政赤字,谁可以给美国写一张支票,然后大家都说没事儿了。不可能。美国不可能说我不还了,发的国债我都不还了。这个也是不可能的。所以说我们面临的是一个非常严重的债务危机。

那么应对这个债务危机实际上最有效的方法说起来很好笑,就是国有化。我们要记住中国国有企业在十几年前都有严重的金融危机,即会所有的银行都是破产的,所有的企业也是破产的,但是中国没有出现金融危机。为什么?国有。钱存在中国人民银行,不用担心他破产,他还会还你的,只是现在没钱不还。所以金融危机到了最后以后还是国有化,美国政府也是介入。

效率和竞争力是来自于民营企业和市场竞争,这个我们还是要记住,创新、竞争。今天早晨 Donald Hanna 教授讲了这个非常重要,咱们不能因为金融危机就否定了以美国为代表的市场经济的精华。

那么危机之前监管失效的根源是什么?但是监管的问题是什么问题呢?很多监管的问题你会发现没监管。美国出现的次贷的问题还有衍生产品问题,根本没有人去监管,如果说所有的衍生产品全部都是在市场上交易的话,就不会有金融机构之间的交易的风险,就是他会非常清楚,因为你有一个非常严格的监管,谁的负债该谁的这个很清楚,在一个现代的很透明的市场交易平台上。

所以最重要的原因是有很多创新的活动,我们不知道怎么去监管,就没监管。没监管他小的时候没事儿,大了就出事儿了,今天早晨 Donald Hanna 讲的东西是非常重要的。

那么如何防止这个泡沫,房地产市场、股票市场泡沫呢?我觉得从中长期来看一定要遵循一个原则,就是资产的价格要合理,实质利率一定是要保证是正的。

那么时间的关系我最后就谈五点建议。我提了五点建议,没有提到大规模的财政刺激, 因为这个政府已经决定做了,但是我认为在这个时候有一些更重要的宏观经济和经济结构决 策要抓住这个时机。

第一,稳定人民币汇率以促进人民币成为国际储备汇率。通过回到对美元或者一揽子货币的近似固定汇率来完全消除人民币升值及贬值的预期。这项政策可以根除由于投机性资本流入及流出所带来的不必要的不确定性及复杂性,也将促进人民币发展成为与美元、日元、欧元类似的国际储备货币,有利于中国金融市场的开放及发展。

第二,确保实际利率为正值,并且与资本的机会成本相对应。当市场不再预期人民币贬值或升值时,中央银行可以更有效地设置利率以应对通胀或者通缩的压力。当面对通货膨胀的压力时,中央银行需要加息,以消除通胀或者通胀预期,以提高投资或消费的效率,并且避免未来的资产泡沫。

2008 年 9 月全球金融危机爆发后,通货膨胀率急剧下降,而通货紧缩的威胁到来,这时中央银行必须果断降低名义利率,确保实际利率不至于过高而打击投资。我们的人民银行正是这么做的。

刺激经济增长的大规模投资十分必要,但也必须配合合理的资本价格,以保持实质利率 为正,并配合其他改革,减税,解除价格管制,资本市场改革等。

第三,取消价格管制及对中国制造产品全球消费者的隐性补贴。在全球经济放缓以及油价和原材料价格高速下降时,是要素价格市场化的最佳时机,因此价格改革应与社会保障改革并行,以直接补贴来保障贫困者收入,价格改革可以根据一项明确的计划分步执行,引导市场对自由化速度的预期,价格改革将促进有效供给,并且减少对自然资源的浪费。

第四,简化税制、降低税率,以提高生产率和效率,作为一项紧急措施,中国可以临时

在 2009 年和 2010 年暂停征收一些国税和地税以及许多中小企业的营业税等等,作为一项紧急措施,中国可以在 2009 和 2010 年,对大部分税种统征减少 30%。将提供一次绝佳的机会,让全社会了解低税率的好处。除了刺激经济以外还会大大提高经济活动的效率。我们的国家跟美国不一样,我觉得中国现在是需要减税。上述减税措施将对政府已经实施的财政刺激措施形成补充,可能产生 5%或者更高的中央政府财政赤字,这是非常大的,但是中国目前的超低的负债率 20%多,可以在今后的很多年里承受 5%的财政赤字。

第五,抓住机遇,加强资本市场监管,保证监管措施能够增加社会收益,并且加强监管者的执法能力。因为中国的很多监管他不是为了增加财富,是为了降低财富的,很多监管交易成本很高,所以我们需要另外一种监管,继续增加金融市场的民营化程度以增加竞争及改进效率,加快传统股票市场和债券市场的发展,提高中国经济的整体杠杆率。如果不提高的话,我们所有的风险都会集中在银行。所以我们是要增加杠杆率,跟美国是要相反的。

最后寻找低风险改革机制,使人民币尽快成为重要的国际储备货币以促进中国金融市场 的平稳快速发展和开放。

时间的关系就讲到这里,谢谢。

萨克斯:

我们下面的演讲人是今天最后一位演讲嘉宾。清华大学公共管理学院的院长,薛澜教授。

薛澜:

作为最后一个演讲嘉宾,我会确保在15分钟之内结束,我还是用中文来讲。

刚才实际上很多的学者都已经做了很好的分析,所以我的这个主题,我想也稍微做一点 儿调整,把主要的几个想法来介绍一下。主要讲三个问题。

- 一,中国经济面临双重挑战,短期的话,今天一天讨论很多就是经济下滑,急速下滑是 我们面临的这种短期的这个挑战。长期的挑战是中国经济模式的转变,即从速度型向规制型 转变。
- 二,实际上我们面临的这种双重挑战在很多政策措施上说不定之间是有矛盾的,我想提醒一下注意。这个矛盾的原因就是实际上我们整个的社会经济系统,对政策的反应是有偏见、有选择的,这一点作为第二点来说一下。
- 三,因为胡永泰教授给我出的题目是和谐世界,我就想在这种应对挑战的时候,是需要世界全球各国共同合作的,我研究的领域是科技创新,那我也就想提一个,在中美科技领域方面的一个合作,作为一个创新的例子来看看,国际社会有没有可能打开我们的思路,在共同应对这场危机的时候能否有些新的想法。

从长远来讲,中国的增长型经济发展面临的问题,我想大家都很清楚。这个增长模型它的局限性前面已经讲了,像环境污染、地区差距、不恰当的规制系统的这种薄弱等等,这些已经都是很清楚的。

那么我想的话还有很重要的一点,跟我个人研究的相关的,就是我们企业创新能力的薄弱,这个我也想举一点例子。

首先是大家看这个是能源的效率问题。最近这几年可能会有一些改变,但是总体来讲大家可以看到,第一个就是看到底下这条蓝的线,这个是国际生产单位 GDP 所需要的能耗,消耗的能源,红的线是中国的单位 GDP 消耗的能源。那我们可以看到中国的能耗的话确实跟国际的这个水平相比是有差距的,其实我用的这条线是美国的线,如果用日本的线几乎和底下的重了,因为日本的效率更高。

第二点中国这几年的能源使用效率确实是在不断地提高,所以这条线是往下走的,但是

还可以看到, 差距还是很大的。

第三点我想提中国的贸易方面的问题,中国的贸易应该来讲是劳动密集型的,而且是消耗能源、消耗资源的,而且实际上质量是不高的,这个是我们跟宏观院跟张燕生还有跟美国 IDC 的做了一个研究,中美的高技术产品的贸易,实际上看这张图的话,中国对美国的高技术产品的贸易,中国是有很大的顺差的。后来我们做了一些更细致的分析去看,顺差是哪儿来的?这条红的线全部是加工贸易,可以说几乎是超过 100%是加工贸易。一般产品和其他的话,实际上中国是逆差的。我想大家可以看出来,中国的高技术产品的出口顺差其实全部都是在加工贸易,这些加工贸易的顺差是由谁来产生出来的?如果你把它分成不同的类型的企业,像外资企业、合资企业和国有企业,那么大家可以看到,这条绿线是外资企业,黄的点是合资企业,那么下面的都是中国的民营企业和国有企业。我们可以看出来,其实主要都是外资企业创造的这种顺差。所以我想从一个层面说明,中国经济,增长型经济面临的问题。

前几年开始,也一直在谈科学发展观,从某种意义上来讲,就是希望中国的经济能够有这么一个转型,就是从一个速度型经济向规制型经济转变,具体的措施我就不多说了,尤其在创新在这个当中发挥的作用,我想大家也非常重视。

但是刚才几位专家都已经提到了,这个转变技术创新上想要发挥的作用可能需要的时间也是长期的,短期是解决不了问题的。

其实我们现在可以采取很多的措施,来转变这种模式。能够把这个经济从一个纯粹的一种速度型向规制型的一种转变,但是我个人感觉我们的政策体系在对政策作出反应的时候,其实它的偏见是非常强的,所以我个人感觉我们短期的促进经济增长的这个模型,可能会很快地得到高速的执行,所以中央政府投4万亿,地方政府可能给你要增上去6万亿或者10万亿,这个是比较容易的,那么实际上就是我们现在的政策体系实际上有偏见,反倒你要想往规制型方向去发展,我想是非常困难的,所以从政策的角度来讲分析一下为什么这样。

首先我想讲一下增长型的这种发展模式的话,我们比较强调的是增长速度,这从政策的目标来讲比较单一,我们各方面都容易去执行,这个目标是多元的,而且这个目标之间是有冲突的。

所以从政策的制订来讲,怎么样平衡不同政策目标,这本身就是一个非常大的挑战,尤其是在我们今天 30 年改革开放以后各种利益集团已经形成,利益分化、价值观念的不同,所以要想在不同的政策目标之间取得平衡非常困难,这是第一点。

第二点,不同政策的判断、评价。我想在中国改革开放初期,当时实际上很多政策改进还是相对来讲比较容易,现在是非常非常困难的。所以我想出台一项政策大家拍手叫好的时代已经过去了,所以像医改的政策大家齐声批评以后是常态,不管是什么样的政策,肯定大家有不同的反映,肯定有些人在政策制订过程当中受益,有些人会得到损害,也对政策的推行,规制性的政策推行是会有很大的困难的。

第三点就是说这种收益和损害它的时间的分布,在速度型增长时期,这个收益是当前的,但是成本是未来的。所以像我们对于资源的消耗,包括我们对这个环境的污染,大家当前没有直接的感觉,但是我们的收益是非常明显的,我们收入提高了等等。

那么我想规制性现在就提到可持续发展等等,现在讲叫投入,这个收入是 5 年、10 年甚至百年之后,所以像这样一种投资,它跟我们现在的行政体制、政治体制是完全不匹配的,一个政府官员任期只有 5 年,你让我投资、解决环境保护的问题,可能 10 年、20 年以后才见效,从我的政绩来讲是没有什么体现的,而且从机理来讲也不是说,你今天投下一万块钱,像环保等等,马上就能见效的,像滇池的治理那是花了很多年的时间,所以我想从时间分布来讲也是有问题的。

从社会来讲也是,这个收益和我们个人的小的团体的,这种是比较容易执行的。规制型的发展,有的时候可能需要我们小的团体,我们小的个人,可能需要我们承担这个成本,这

个收益可能全社会的,我想大家知道美国有一个现象,你去建重大的工程,建核电站等等这个都好,这个社会需要这些基础设施,需要能源等等的这些,他们的这种投资、项目的建设。但是有一点你不要建在我的后院,不要对我有任何的危害。所以我想在中国已经开始兴起,而且大家已经看到各种各样的现在的这种公共投资项目,也其实遇到一些困难。

另外还有一个我想社会的这种贴现率,这个在经济高速发展的时间,社会的贴现率实际上是非常高的,我们就觉得可能预期也非常高,所以可能十年以后的收入、五年以后的收入,我们好像觉得已经太远了、太低了,我们就指望可能下个月,明天我们就能得到的收益,我们就指望它很高,所以这一点,大家讲的我们的社会有这种浮躁的情绪等等,我想这个是很自然的,本质上我们的社会贴现率非常高。

那么这种社会贴现率从公共管理角度来讲实际上是比较危险的,他把你的这种社会的预期值提得非常高。那么我想可能这个就像股市泡沫一样,总是不可能永远那么高的,那这种社会期望值提得那么高,要想把它降下来这个就非常困难,如果这种期望值非常高,如果你又满足不了,对政府的挑战也是非常强的。

当然还有另外一点就是我想中国这么一大国很多政策的制订,中央政策制订好了以后到 地方怎么去实施,那么对增长型的政策,大家看到以后,中央制订一个政策以后非常快地就 放大,所以中国经济增长这些年,很多其实中央稍微有点儿黄灯,还不要讲绿灯,地方马上 就会有各种各样的这种方式来去推动经济的发展。

所以我想增加经济型的话这个是非常容易, 所以我想现在的这个投资, 促进经济增长的 话也会有很多这方面的现象出现。

反过来在规制这方面如果想做一点儿工作的话非常难,中央的一个政策,所以我讲增长形式就是它是,就是尽量去往高增长那边去跑,你中央说可能 8%,我可能给你往 10%、14%去跑,但是规制型的话,海外的很清楚,就是咱们互相之间都是朝那个最将将够格的底线去冲,虽然很多地方连底线都够不到,所以环境保护、知识产权等等都很难有效地规制。

所以我就想说我们这个体系,我们的整个经济社会系统,它对不同的政策反应是有选择的,他是选择往增长的方向走,对于规制型的有很强的抵制,所以如果没有制度上的创新,我们长期的转型是很难达到的。

最后讲一点就是国际社会合作他的有没有什么创新的模式,首先我就想介绍一下中美科技这方面的合作的可能。中美其实在创新系统方面有很多非常,已经有非常深入的合作,我想两个图。

一个是大家可以看一下那个图,前一段时间科学杂志上登的一篇文章介绍的,他们在对美国的这个获得博士学位的这些学者的话,他们对他们进行一个调查,说你的本科的学位是在哪里获得的,我个人感觉这个可能是对科技领域的。那么在最上面是清华和北大,就是这些博士他们的这个本科的话,就是最高的其实就是清华北大的,然后伯好像是第三,所以实际上中国的学生,留学生到美国是大批的人。

这个是我们前一段时间做的一个,中美在发表国际论文方面的合作,这个是中美、中日、中俄、中国和欧洲的比较,蓝色的是中国和美国学者的合作,要远远高于中国和其他国家的合作,所以中美的合作之间,是已经有非常深入的合作。

那么另外一点就是我们面临的挑战实际上也是共同的,这个我想二氧化碳排放前面有很多学者都已经提到了,一方面中国要面貌全世界最大的二氧化碳排放国,另外一点从人均的角度来讲我想都是遥遥领先的,我们都是面临着二氧化碳减排的挑战。

这一方面我们做什么?第一方面可能我们更多的政策研究和交流,另外一点可能我们在 注重技术创新这边的话,同时可能要对消费模式也要去考虑。当然另外两国共同的这个,在 技术创新这一块去合作的话也是必要的。

那我想提一个我们合作的另外一个可能,我们也想把它叫机制上的创新,我想提一个名

称,中美两国,世界上其他的国家可以考虑一下,能不能我通过共同的投入或者说是先建立一个东西,我们在这个里面去购买很多的技术的这种使用权,因为大家知道很多的技术在中国使用的技术,刚才我们提到的从能源效率来讲还是比较低的,如果要想按照正常市场机制去使用这种技术,可能我想还需要 20 年、30 年,所以你拥有这种技术的企业,也只能在 20 年、30 年以后才能得到这个收益,如果我们现在有这批钱我们把他的这种使用权现在就买来,对这些企业来讲实际上是提前得到这个钱了,让这个技术能够在发展中国家,包括中国能够广泛地使用,我想在这样的一个机制,就可以既解决我们面临的共同的问题,同时的话也不违反所谓市场原则,因为现在中美在技术合作方面很大的一个问题,就是希望还是按照市场的原则,这样就免费使用技术可能还是不行的,那么这样的话我们这种安排可能就能够去解决。这只是一个小小的建议,但是应对我们当前的全球的经济危机,确实需要我们从创新的角度来全球共同解决,谢谢大家。

萨克斯:

非常感谢大家的发言。您说在政治经济当中,是事实上没有胜者、败者,大家都面临很多的挑战,另外就是在规制方面要进行一些创新,我对你特别地同意的一点就是在这个技术转移领域,我们是需要一些规制的创新的。因为对于一些重要的这个技术开发方面呢,我们必须要进行这样的一些规制,进行合作,但是目前我们还没有这样的规制能够有效地进行技术的转让,所以我想在这一点上我是非常同意的,所以我觉得您也是给我们做了一个很好的预测,而且也给了我们很好的发言,再次感谢您来参加我们的论坛,并且给了我们一个很好的发言。

这一节的讨论马上就要结束了,首先我想请我们的主办方的代表之一来给我们做一个简短的结束发言。

肖耿:

我觉得今天真的是够长了,非常感谢各位包括我们的工作人员,还有所有的听众,能够 从各方各地来到清华大学来参加这个研讨会,而且非常感谢,另外一个教室的听众,我们这 个转播也是有现场的中文直播的,所以非常感谢各位来参与到我们这个互动当中。在这儿我 就宣布这个会议结束,非常感谢各位。