



China's Prospects

关于中国的前景

by

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China's Prospects

Liu Mingkang*

June 2013

By the end of last year and at the beginning of March this year, I attended some important national congresses. As a participant of these historical events, I would like to share my views about the opportunities and challenges that China faces, based on my own experience.

I would like to briefly talk about some of the highlights of the 18th Congress, comparing them to the 16th and the 17th, as they are extremely crucial to our future.

The first bright spot is the clarification of the historical position of the scientific development outlook. You can say it is a view, a theory or a theoretical guidance. Nevertheless, scientific development is crucial to China since we do not worry about the growth speed, but we do worry that the unbalanced, uncoordinated and unsustainable development remains a big problem. This had been an old confusing question for us, but to solve this problem thoroughly, we need to raise this development outlook to the guidance level so that every member from the government or the market will follow, implement and persist for a long time.

The second highlight is something that, on the surface, does not seem to relate to our concrete achievements, like GDP and economic growth, but it really is one of the building blocks of social harmony in China and of the people's happiness. This is a democracy issue. We were for democracy in the past and tried a lot in our life. This time the talks were about

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how we could keep up with the changes and the new construction of democracy we needed; they were relatively realistic and specifically proposed socialist deliberative democracy.

President Xi Jinping further made clear that democracy would include elections and democratic oversight suitable for China, and this would further improve our deliberative democratic system at this current stage, but how shall we realize these goals? There are three frameworks of recommendations:

Real deliberative democracy makes political consultation a part of the policy-making process; consultations should be conducted before and when policy decisions are made. One does not wait until the day before the start of the decision making to consult related parties.

Secondly, China should improve its institutions and work mechanisms; promote its extensive, multilevel, and institutionalized development; and not merely rely on one or two organs.

Thirdly, the consultative democratic system is not merely a vision, but a systemic construction and evolution. At the same time, and this is commendable, President Xi, in his speech, did not exclude electoral democracy, but said it would have to be based on the realities in China, and should start from the improvement and continuous progress of deliberative democracy.

I personally consider democratic oversight to be another important factor, because after deliberative democracy has been institutionalized, oversight is needed to make sure the system works well.

Democratic oversight means to monitor by law, and is based on what the public think and China's realities. Therefore, in the future, I think China should place emphasis on the institutional construction of socialist deliberative democracy, along with improvements in electoral democracy and oversight.

The third highlight is that for the first time, the core socialist values, which are divided into three classes of 12 phrases, were raised. These had never been specified so clearly

before. The advocacy of these values gives us meaningful guidance for our future development, as they will adjust people's inclination towards materialism as a result of economic development.

The first phrase is "prosperity, democracy, civility, and harmony" - these four words are similar to the ones proposed by Late Premier Zhou Enlai in his last government report in 1975, replacing "progress" with "harmony". The second phrase is "freedom, equality, justice and the rule of law", an idea that originated from the founding father of modern China, Dr. Sun Yat-sen's wish for "freedom, equality, charity and the rule of law". The third phrase is "patriotism, dedication, integrity, and friendship", which has been nourished for quite a long time, and to a certain degree, is an extension of charity. These core values will guide national unity, human progress, social stability, our conscience; and make sure that we do not lose sight of our direction as we build a market economy.

The fourth highlight is ecological progress; this has been a critical issue for the sustainable development of the Chinese nation. There have been many civilizations in human history, like the Mayan civilization, and these civilizations had prospered and flourished, but due to complicated reasons, they all vanished. This has increased our sense of crisis and has spurred us to set up clear working goals.

The fifth highlight is to strengthen our anti-corruption efforts. The real challenge is not from outside of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), but from inside. This was emphasized throughout the 18th Congress.

These were the five highlights from this Congress and the Chinese leaders have set up clear goals to complete the building of a moderately prosperous society by 2020. Our goals can be categorized into aims and methods, and the five aims are as follows:

1. We should double our 2010 GDP and per capita income for both urban and rural residents. This will then create a problem about the speed at which we want to grow. We can double our 2010 GDP with a 7.2% year-on-year GDP growth rate by 2020, but to double the per capita income is more complicated and the key lies in making sure inflation stays below

3%. Only with a low inflation rate and a pace about 7.2% p.a. of income increase can people feel real progress and happiness.

2. To become an innovative country - this is not an easy task since several indexes need to catch up in the coming 7 years. The contribution of scientific and technological progress to economic growth should increase considerably to more than 70%; R&D investment should increase from the current 1% to more than 2%; our dependency on foreign technology should decrease to below 30%, which is not an easy goal; and the majority of patents should be registered in the US, Japan, and Germany. These are internationally recognised indicators, and for China to become an innovative country in the coming 7 years, there is a long way to go, but it is daring indeed to have these goals.

3. China should have a large pool of competent professionals and be rich in human resources, this will not be an easy task, as not only is there no such international standard, but also because China lacks qualified human resources. Therefore, the educational level of the entire population should be raised significantly, and training of innovative professionals markedly improved.

4. China will attach greater importance to improving the system of democracy and diversifying different forms of democracy. The rule of law should be fully implemented as a basic strategy, and by 2020, a law-based government should be functioning. Judicial credibility should be steadily enhanced, and human rights should be fully respected and protected.

5. China's opportunities of the next decade are very clear: to realize industrialization in a new way and advance IT application, urbanization and agricultural modernization. However, the integration of IT application and industrialization, interaction between industrialization and urbanization, and coordination between urbanization and agricultural modernization, are all challenges in the road ahead.

The 18th Congress has proposed an issue of keeping the bottom line, i.e., that everyone should have access to basic medical and public health services, but in today's China, there is

still a gap in fulfilling this. However, I think the gap in social security could be filled up by reform, a reform to the state-owned enterprise (SOE) sector that has taken tremendous resources but not operating efficiently. China could restructure the SOE, introduce foreign strategic investors and private capital; and strengthen corporate governance. What we lack is determination and thought, not resources. The other two salient points are setting up the system of housing for low-income groups and ecological progress. Promoting ecological progress is a long-term task of vital importance to the people's wellbeing and China's future. Faced with increasing resource constraints, severe environmental pollution and deteriorating ecosystems, we must raise our ecological awareness of the need to respect, accommodate and protect nature. We must give a high priority to making ecological progress; and incorporate it into all aspects and the whole process of advancing economic, political, cultural, and social progress. Actually, China has always been, and will continue, reducing its carbon emission reduction. China will be an example, instead of an obstruction.

Having talked about the missions above, through what means can we realize them?

The central government focuses on deepening political reforms; and aside from building democracy, the leaders have emphasized three dimensions in reforming the political structure: China will ensure the unity of the leadership of the Party, the position of the people as masters of the country and of law-based governance. To carry out political reforms better, we need all round solutions, and more importantly, the breakthrough of mechanisms and systems, but how can we form a framework within which reforms can take place effectively? This will need great political courage and wisdom.

Deepening reform is also crucial to accelerating the change of the growth model. The underlying issue that China faces in economic structural reform is how to strike a balance between the role of the government and that of the market: we should follow more closely the rules of the market and play the role of the government better. Only when we achieve these goals, can the overall plan for promoting economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological progress proposed by the 18th Congress be fully implemented. I think the government can do this through six aspects which were all reflected in the report, and which

have given everyone a lot of space and opportunities.

1. “Allow public ownership to take diverse forms; deepen reform of state-owned enterprises”, there are many reforms and challenges right behind this sentence, such as, whether the state proprietorship is the only formation of the public ownership, and the bigger, the better?

2. What the government should do. The Government should improve the modern market system and strengthen institutional procedures for setting macro-regulation targets, and employ policy tools instead of being at the mercy of one man’s whim. It is a systemic and institutional procedure bounded by strict laws, and is not personalized.

3. China will accelerate the reform of the fiscal and taxation systems, and ensure that the central and local governments have a more reasonable burden-sharing system and relative financial resources to administer their respective assignments and fulfill their respective responsibilities. We should also institute local fiscal budget systems and improve the local asset/liability management. Loans made to the urban development investment corporations (UDICs), otherwise known as local government financing vehicles (LGFVs), now amount to nearly 11 trillion RMB; this will be a big problem if non-performance issues arise. Therefore, we do need a reasonable and legitimate debt ratio for each local government. They should have their own balance sheets, profit and loss statements and funds flow statements. In the meantime, transparency must be built up and increased. Institutions like auditing, risk rating, supervision managed by professional organizations are essential in any funding area. Furthermore, this will be a legitimate process. Only by doing so, it is likely that the local government will no longer rely on land financing and their accountability will be improved.

China has implemented its tax distribution system for nearly 20 years. I remember that I was attending a meeting in relation to the fiscal issue; at that time, the central government had limited resources, while some local governments were rich in revenue. During that meeting, the arguments were about how the burden could be shared, a basic solution came out: that is today’s “25%-75%” distribution of revenues between the local and central

government. Nowadays, the situation is totally different from 20 years ago since the central government has sufficient revenues, while local governments have to seek resources from land sales. Therefore, a new burden-sharing system shall be employed. China will also replace the business tax with a value-added tax; it is a part of the structural changes and tax reductions arrangements. In addition to tax, there are more than 50 kinds of fees and levies charged by the government, mainly by local ones. This leads to unnecessary costs and an unduly heavy compliance burden for taxpayers. We need to reduce them or even drop some kinds of fees. With these reforms, the local government can be more rational and effective in economic development and in performing their inherent duties. For example, regarding turnover taxes, the State Administration of Taxation (SAT) extended business tax exemptions on revenue generated from offshore services outsourcing and the value-added tax (VAT) incentives for R&D centers. In addition, the SAT is seriously reviewing how to adopt a full consumption-type VAT system.

4. This is the first time it has been mentioned: China should establish a mechanism for the equitable sharing of proceeds from public resource transfers. My understanding is that all natural resources such as coal, oil, gas, land, forest, water, should have a reasonable and open mechanism for equitable sharing to stimulate the people's initiative and it will contribute to ecological progress. Therefore, it is a kind of liberation and innovation.

5. Deepen financial reform. The government has said this many times; reform is urgently needed and must be rich in content.

6. There is a very important point: China needs to accelerate the reform of the household registration system, also known as the hukou system; carry out the registration of rural migrant workers as permanent urban residents in an orderly way; and endeavor to ensure that all permanent urban residents have access to basic urban public services. The long-time polarization of urban and rural development was mainly because of this household registration system, which is an old Soviet Union management style; it should be terminated in today's China. Moreover, China should better balance urban and rural development, boost rural development, work to narrow the gap between urban and rural

areas, and promote their common prosperity.

It is very important that the government play a key role in carrying out all these six points, although some can be done by the market.

So what are the areas that require the government and the market to function together?

The first thing is intellectual property (IP) protection. It is a tough and urgent issue in China, as it directly relates to innovation and even to our national human resources strategy. For example, Haier, one of China's leading home appliance manufacturers, has invented a water-free washing machine; there is a huge market demand in the Middle East and Africa for such a product. However, the president of Haier, Zhang Ruimin told me that his top concern was nothing but piracy and counterfeiting. Such an infringement could come at only 6 months after his first batch of sale.

China thus needs to improve its capability in dealing with IP infringement in a meaningful way. Self-policing by markets is important, but this mechanism alone fails to address the scale of the problem. We do need the government to give clearer guidelines for the transfer of cases from administrative sanctions to criminal prosecution, and for prosecution, conviction and sentencing for piracy crime. Civil damages are also relatively low in international standards and often fail to deter IP infringement.

Secondly, China needs to focus on boosting domestic demands, by lowering costs for Chinese consumers; raising quality, safety standards and enforcement; and improving efficiency along the whole supply chain.

Thirdly, ecological progress requires that the government and the market function together to foster environmentally sustainable growth, including updating regulations, setting goals and standards for reducing pollution, improving energy efficiency, working together to reduce carbon emissions, and creating carbon trade mechanisms.

Fourthly, the trend towards democracy is a good thing but needs to be cultivated in an orderly way; the entire society should work together to smooth the path of the rule of law.

China's Challenges

1. What China is facing today is quite different from 30 years ago when Deng Xiaoping started our opening up and reform. At that time, the greatest obstruction came mainly from the left-wing elements of the party. He employed great political wisdom to push forward the reform. However, today China is facing challenges from different interest groups.

2. Corruption is one of the biggest challenges ahead.

3. There is a lack of competent and talented people. People are core to an organ's ability to be successful in China, and companies are competing for the best talent in the market. The concern is how we can have the best practices for attracting, developing and retaining talent in China with the clear blueprint from the 18th Congress. It needs people to design and execute with professional competence.

4. To carry out these reforms takes great political courage and wisdom, this is the most effective driving force that we often lack in our day-to-day work; China does need new wisdom, new ideas, and guts to fulfill our aims.

关于中国的前景

刘明康*

2013年6月

我参加了十七届七中全会和列席了十八大，参与了整个过程的讨论，我想从今后的发展的把握机遇和各行各业的挑战给大家汇报我的想法。十八大的报告如果请中央辅导团来讲会讲得比较全也比较长，我讲得很短，仅就这个报告里最重要的，过去十六大、十七大没有的亮点，我想说一下它对我们今后把握机遇和挑战非常重要：

第一个亮点，明确了科学发展的历史地位，你说它是一种观点，一种理论，一种指导思想也好，总之，中国需要科学发展。中国不愁发展的速度不比别人高，但我们的确忧愁我们发展不够科学、不够持续、不够健康、不够平衡，这始终困扰着我们，这三个不平衡，不可持续、不平衡、不协调，这在我们嘴边说了多年，要真正解决这个问题，只有把这个思想上升到指导思想，上升到理论，党才会照它去做，才会走这一条路。这是一个亮点。

第二大亮点，在今天知识经济时代，这是一个非常重要的问题，表面上似乎不涉及到速度、GDP和总量，但它确是我们精神文明、社会幸福和谐的一个基础，这就是第二个亮点。大会重点讨论了民主问题，这个问题的重要性怎么强调都不过分。过去讲民主，基本都是口号式的，这次讲的民主建设，有所不同，它比较现实，具体地提出了关于社会主义的协商民主，习近平在做说明时

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说到，民主包括选举民主，监督民主，符合中国国情的，现在应当做的就是要做到进一步完善和坚持做好我们的协商民主。我觉得这是非常现实的，在讲到协商民主应该怎么做时，大致有三条框架式的建议：

第一，我们之前也搞过协商，但那不叫协商民主，真正的协商民主应当向决策的事前和事中移动。不是等到明天要开会决定了，今天才和无党派人士、有关民主党派人士以及社会专家去进行协商。

第二，要发展广泛的、多层次的协商民主，不是说一讲到协商，就只提是政协的任务。

第三，讲到协商民主不是一个愿景，是一个制度的建设，是一种制度化的发展，这个符合我们的国情。同时，很难能可贵的，他在讲话当中也没有排斥选举民主，他给我们说明的时候，中国重点应该从我们的国情出发，首先做好协商民主。

我个人认为还有一个民主很重要，就是监督民主，因为选举民主、协商民主已经制度化后，能否执行好这个制度需要监督，所谓监督民主就是指依法和根据民情、民意来进行有效的监控，今后，我想我们会根据国情，重点加强制度化的协商民主工作，也不排斥选举民主和监督民主的建设工作。

第三大亮点就是第一次提出了“什么是社会主义核心价值观”的内涵，这次提出 12 个词、24 个字来具体表达核心价值观的问题。核心价值观在十六大、十七大都提到了这个问题，没有展开来说，所以各地都提出了要求具体阐述的意见和建议。这次具体地提出来了，用“三个倡导”讲了 12 个词，很有意思，对今后的建设非常有指导意义，因为人是要活在价值里面，只有如此，才有尊严，才有意义，才有影响，才有幸福。一个不讲价值追求的人是会被社会和老百姓所唾弃的，是要被历史所唾弃的。我觉得这次提得非常好的。这 12 个词分为 3

组，变为“三个倡导”：

第一组，“富强民主文明和谐”，这与周恩来同志在 1975 年生前最后一次工作报告提出的“富强民主文明进步”，只差了一个词，将“进步”改为“和谐”；第二组，“自由平等公正法制”，这里和孙中山提出的是“自由平等博爱法制”只差了一个词，将“博爱”去掉，加上“公正”，充分表达了孙中山的愿景。第三组，“爱国敬业诚信友善”，这是十七届三中全会提出过的倡导，这里的“诚信”、“友善”、“和谐”一定程度上表达了孙中山先生“博爱”的期盼。值得一提的是，这“三个倡导”不仅是共产党人应该遵循的价值标准，而且是我们全国人民和全世界华人应该倡导的普世价值。这“三个倡导”会引导民族团结、人类进步，社会稳定，能唤醒我们的良知良心，使得我们在市场经济建设过程中不会迷失中国人民应有的方向。

第四个亮点是生态文明建设，这已上升到中华民族能否永续发展的高度。中华民族虽然有 14 亿人口之深，但也有可能不能永续发展。历史上出现过玛雅文化等，后来也都由于各种原因，包括出现的极度干旱导致文明的消失。这样的事在历史上很多，繁荣过，衰败过，最后消失得干干净净，找不到它的踪迹，这是一种遗憾，它增强了我们的危机意识，也提出了我们工作的目标。

第五个亮点，是加强党的纪律建设，我们 8200 万的党员站在面前，现在面对的现实的挑战不是来自于党外，而是来自于党内。党内有人认为自己非常高明，可以找到“第三条路”，可以挑战我们走过的道路，我们用鲜血和生命换来的道路，这是荒唐的。加强党内纪律建设是这次会议始终强调的亮点。

我们在这里对五大亮点进行概括，把全国人民的心凝聚起来，习总书记讲，坚决完成 2020 年的目标，坚决完成中国共产党建立 100 周年，中华人民共和国成立 100 周年相应的阶段性目标，我们的目标可以概括为基础目标和手段，目

标包括五条：

第一条，第一次明确不但 GDP2020 年比 2010 年翻一番，而且城乡居民的人均收入也要翻一番。这就会碰到一个问题，到底什么是我们的速度？2020 年我们要能完成 GDP 翻一番，年均增长率 7.2% 就能完成目标，这个目标是可以实现的。而人均城乡居民收入能否翻一番，这个问题更为复杂，困难的不在能否翻一番，在于剩下来的 7、8 年，能否成功地控制通货膨胀的目标——在 3% 以下，这个目标如能达到，增长在百分之七，人们才可能感觉到实实在在的进步和幸福感。

第二条，进入国际创新型国家行列，这个口号并不简单，因为创新型国家需达到一系列的指标，第一个指标，科技进步对 GDP 增长的贡献率需达到 70% 及以上。胡锦涛书记在“十二五”提出 2020 年科技进步对 GDP 增长要从 39% 提高到 60%，还差了 10 个百分点。第二个指标，全国的研发的投入要占到中国 GDP 的 2% 以上，而目前是在百分之一点多一些，还是有距离。第三点，国家对外国技术的依存度要降到 30% 以下，这是很了不起的目标。第四点，国际创新型国家创造的专利在美国、日本、德国的专利数要占到本国当年专利数的大多数，这是公认的指标。因此，进入国际创新型国家的行列在未来 7、8 年的实现是有距离的，但敢于这样提出来，是很不容易的。

第三条，进入人才强国和人力资源强国的行列。要变为人力资源的强国，这也不容易，这个标准在国内讲的有很多，但在国际上并未有一个明显的标准，但我们能感觉到我们面临的最大的挑战，是合格的人力资源不足。目标很确定，都是切中我们的差距。

第四条，民主法治的制度将更加完善、民主的形式将更加丰富。这一点刚刚已经讲过了。这里提的呢，有一条讲得很好，到 2020 年要基本建设成法治政

府，司法公信要不断提高，人权要得到尊重和切实的保障。这是很重要的。

第五，具体的提到工业化的发展要基本实现，信息化水平大幅提升。这给10年的机遇导向很明确，工业化要基本实现这没问题，信息化水平大幅提升这不容易，城镇化质量要明显提高，提高到西方国家城镇的发展水平我们还有很长的路要走。新农村的建设基本实现，对外开放水平要进一步提高，国际竞争力要加强。

整个报告提出了一个守底线的问题。就是2020年要对14亿人口社会保障全民覆盖，人人享受基本医疗卫生服务。这里缺口还不少。我认为中国有资源，但问题出路在于改革。国有企业和集体占有的资源还是极其丰富的，但由于机制体制的原因，对应的效率不是很理想。如果在这个领域里，我们进一步加快对国有企业改造，认真进行重组，加强公司治理建设，引进民营资本，引进国外战略投资者，并到市场上上市，那么一下子就增值许多，国家兑现的利益是潜力很大，所以社保那里有缺口的话，从长计议，还可以补得上。我们不愁缺少资源，只愁缺少思路和决心。其实前十多年中的改革也积累了类似的经验。底线的提出完全必要，住房保障体系到那时基本形成是什么意思？就是住房保障型住房和棚户区的改造基本满足了全国的需求。生态文明的建设也要能够达到永续，这里对单位GDP的能耗强度和二氧化碳排放都有了我们自己的标准。而且这些标准已经不低，需要艰苦努力才能真正实现，但我们在国际上却并没有很好地去演绎我们的决心和故事，所以国际上常讲我们和印度在碳排放上与国际主流唱反调，实际上唱反调的人大有人在，包括个别发达国家，拒不执行坎昆会议和京都协议协定的一期的目标，但不是中国。中国政府要会把自己的故事和决心讲给别人听，这也是我们以后的一个挑战。其实我们做得不会比别人差。我们可以告诉别人，到2030年左右我们就会达到排放总量的顶点，经过

不懈努力，拐点就会出现。中国人不懂得宣传自己，让外面人总觉得中国是一种减排的阻力，其实中国不是阻力，是动力，是一个榜样。

上面讲到的任务，用什么手段来做事情呢？

中央重点抓改革。政治制度的改革，除了民主制度的建设之外，习近平同志讲了三个重要的方向。他讲今后的政治制度改革除了协商民主制度以外，还提到“三合一”。什么是“三合一”？就是重点研究政治体制改革的方向，这个方向里面有三个成分。

1. 坚持党的领导，加强党的建设。我们不搞西方的三权分立，那就要坚持和完善这个党的领导，党的建设必须加强，治党从严。

2. 人民当家作主，不是其他的什么做主。

3. 法治是根本。

在整个框架里面要三合一。怎么处理好这三个的关系？

要从纵、横向处理好三者之间的关系，要找到机制和制度性的安排，这是中国政治体制改革的重要突破口。只有解决好这个问题，才能解决到底是法大，还是党大还是哪个人大？这是一个令人非常欢欣鼓舞方向——找出“三合一”，它包含横纵向什么内容，要具备什么样的框架，在里面如何有序进行管理和活动。这需要很大政治勇气和智慧，党需要和人民群众站一起来推进。所以花很大力量推进改革已经成为高层的一个决心。这是我们看到的一个重要希望。

在这里我讲一下我的学习领会。

报告里提到一句话：改革的成败关键——是如何完善政府发挥什么样作用的问题。我认为关键是我们能把握好今天政府需要扮演什么作用，不扮演什么作用。这是很有水平很深刻的一句话。

至于改革的问题，处理好政府与市场的关系，发挥好两者作用，减少交叉

摩擦，才有可能在 2020 年实现我们的五大文明建设目标。

那么，从处理好政府的关系上，我觉得政府应该从 6 个方面来做，报告中都有体现，每一条都给大家留下了非常大的空间和机会。

1. 推行公有制多种实现形式，深化国有企业改革。这句话给出很多改革空间。比如，公有制的实现形式是不是只有搞国有独资或控股企业，且搞得越多越好，越大越好？

2. 政府要做的事情。政府要加强宏观调控目标和政策手段的机制化建设，不是人治化建设，不是个人想松今天就松，明天想紧就紧。这样只能落在潮流的后面。所以要形成机制化，而不是个人化。

3. 政府要加快改革财税体制，健全中央与地方财税分配与事权相匹配的体制，构建地方预算的硬约束体制，形成有利于结构优化的社会公平体系。大家都知道有 11 万亿的政府平台融资，80% 来自银行贷款。这是我们的心腹大患，因为银行的全部的不良资产的准备金，再加上资本金也没有这么多，这块如果瞎了是要出大问题的。那么出路就是让地方财政要有一个科学的负担水准，加上中央的转移支付，做好做实有自己的资产负债表和损益表，还得有自己全面的现金流表。然后想干什么，背多少债，统一公开，接受公众的监督，接受专业机构的评级，那么它就可以适度得以贷款担保以及到资本市场上筹资，那就是合法的一个行为。受到这样的一个法律约束与监督机制，地方政府也就不太会搞什么“土地财政”，有点债也就不容易坏账，还能问责。

现在的分税制已经搞了整整 20 年了，记得当时中央没有钱了。讨论来讨论去，广东省参加中央座谈会的领导同志，很诙谐，讲到：中央不是没有钱吗，不要着急，向广东借嘛。当时的领导火了，顶了一句，中央又不是叫化子。后来研究半天，总算有一个方案，就是今天所谓的“七五二五”制度。比如，大税

种的 25%归地方，75%归中央。现在不是 10 年过去了，而是 20 年过去了，我们的改革初衷早就实现了。中央很有钱，地方却打补丁，各种漏洞就从“土地财政”找齐。这是个大问题，很少看到一件事情，20 年不与时俱进。一个政策如果管 20 年都能用，那这个世界有点问题。所以我们一直期盼这条，做出来后，地方的积极性我相信以后会得到保护。同时，地方蛮干的精神会得到质疑和限制，银行的风险和资本市场的健康发展都会得到巩固和加强。当然，营改增，税收结构调整，税费水平的调整，都是改革与建设，不光是上面所述的这一条，但这一条重要。

4. 第一次提出，建立公共资源的恰当收益合理共享机制。我的理解是，资源比如煤炭、石油、天然气，土地、森林、水，这些公共资源，都应有一个恰当收益和合理共享的机制，来调动大家的积极性，并有利于节约和绿色经济，这是非常好的，这是一个解放，是一个革新。

5. 深化金融体制改革。这个政府都多次讲了，改革有迫切性，内涵丰富，大家也都很熟悉。

6. 非常重要的一条是：完善、改革中国的户籍制度。从过去在讨论层面到写入政治报告，确实给中国带来希望。中国确实很有希望。中国社会之所以存在的 60 多年的二元化状态与我国 50 多年的户籍制度休戚相关，这是前苏联管理人口流动性的一个惯用手段，早就应该寿终就寝。可是我们今天还存在着。当然要做到这个，城市建设规划、教育、医疗，这些最重要的、需要大家共同享受的资源，需要大量的投入，才能实现人口流动，才能使容纳下那么多人口的大中型城市，保持大家一个体面的生活及生活质量。

以上就是政府重要发挥的六项作用。如果政府不打头，一条都没办法实现。幸好报告里讲清楚这是一定要做的。我的理解是，这六项政府是一定要做的，

市场应有作用可以发挥，但主要是政府起作用。

那么市场和政府共同发挥作用是哪几条？

第一，报告里讲到的，一定要实现知识产权战略，加强保护知识产权。只有做到这一点，我们才有可能成为一个创新型的社会，创新型国家。做不到，就不可能做到人才强国。比如，海尔公司在国务院座谈会上曾展示过一个模型，一种无水的滚筒洗衣机，不需要水，用化学吸附剂的球，在里面运转。现在卖到中东和北非，市场非常好。因为那里的人都在摄氏 55 度的高温下生活，穿白色和黑色的长袍，一天下来要换两次衣服，洗几次澡。但是那里高度缺水，所以这个发明很好。所以我在座谈会结束的时候主动上去向张瑞敏请教，你有什么困难。时任银监会主席的我，其实是想听到他在融资上面有什么困难，能不能帮助他的发明创新。他很明确地说，但最害怕的是山寨。中国的本事就在这里，我这个洗衣机不错，3-6 个月，市场上就会出来一模一样的山寨。所以这个知识产权的保护在中国已经到了迫不及待的程度。

第二，扩大内需，强化需求导向，节约成本，提高标准，做实做好供应链的各环节。

第三，生态文明建设。市场要和政府共同努力，建立节能减排和交易的机制。

第四，民主。民主是趋势，也是好事，但是没有充分的民主熏陶，很容易走偏。这就需要政府的引导，也有一个群众自己教育自己的内涵。比如如何对待言论、结社、游行的自由，认识新媒体，做好公司治理，契约精神和透明度建设以及在市场经济和全球化的情况下，如何能做到事事时时依法办事。

我们面临的挑战：

1. 大规模的改革与发展，已与 30 年前小平领导我们改革开放时遇到的挑战不同。后者的最大挑战来自内部“左”的势力，他用政治魄力和大智慧推动改革。今天存在的挑战是社会上已经呈现的大量的多层次广泛的利益集团，这些利益集团的阻碍是最大的挑战。

2. 腐败。腐败是我们最大的隐患。腐败是党风和社会风气不正的一个重要原因，而且可能是最大的原因。

3. 人才不足，能力不足，是我们最大的弱点。十八大使我们有很好的目标，怎么设计、怎么去执行、如何去检查落实都需要人才，需要明白客观规律和有前瞻性的人才。

4. 推进这件事情需要政治的勇气和智慧，这是最有效的动力。但是我们发现在实际工作中却经常短缺，我们需要新的智慧和魄力，披荆斩棘，逆流而上，实现我们的目标。