



China's Prospects

關於中國的前景

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.

關於中國的前景

劉明康*

2013年6月

我參加了十七屆七中全會和列席了十八大，參與了整個過程的討論，我想從今後的發展的把握機遇和各行各業的挑戰給大家匯報我的想法。十八大的報告如果請中央輔導團來講會講得比較全也比較長，我講得很短，僅就這個報告裡最重要的，過去十六大、十七大沒有的亮點，我想說一下它對我們今後把握機遇和挑戰非常重要：

第一個亮點，明確了科學發展的歷史地位，你說它是一種觀點，一種理論，一種指導思想也好，總之，中國需要科學發展。中國不愁發展的速度不比別人高，但我們的確憂愁我們發展不夠科學、不夠持續、不夠健康、不夠平衡，這始終困擾着我們，這三個不平衡，不可持續、不平衡、不協調，這在我們嘴邊說了多年，要真正解決這個問題，只有把這個思想上升到指導思想，上升到理論，黨才會照它去做，才會走這一條路。這是一個亮點。

第二大亮點，在今天知識經濟時代，這是一個非常重要的問題，表面上似乎不涉及到速度、GDP和總量，但它確是我們精神文明、社會幸福和諧的一個基礎，這就是第二個亮點。大會重點討論了民主問題，這個問題的重要性怎麼強調都不過分。過去講民主，基本都是口號式的，這次講的民主建設，有所不

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同，它比較現實，具體地提出了關於社會主義的協商民主，習近平在做說明時說到，民主包括選舉民主，監督民主，符合中國國情的，現在應當做的就是要做到進一步完善和堅持做好我們的協商民主。我覺得這是非常現實的，在講到協商民主應該怎麼做時，大致有三條框架式的建議：

第一，我們之前也搞過協商，但那不叫協商民主，真正的協商民主應當向決策的事前和事中移動。不是等到明天要開會決定了，今天才和無黨派人士、有關民主派人士以及社會專家去進行協商。

第二，要發展廣泛的、多層次的協商民主，不是說一講到協商，就只提是政協的任務。

第三，講到協商民主不是一個願景，是一個制度的建設，是一種制度化的發展，這個符合我們的國情。同時，很難能可貴的，他在講話當中也沒有排斥選舉民主，他給我們說明的時候，中國重點應該從我們的國情出發，首先做好協商民主。

我個人認為還有一個民主很重要，就是監督民主，因為選舉民主、協商民主已經制度化後，能否執行好這個制度需要監督，所謂監督民主就是指依法和根據民情、民意來進行有效的監控，今後，我想我們會根據國情，重點加強制度化的協商民主工作，也不排斥選舉民主和監督民主的建設工作。

第三大亮點就是第一次提出了“什麼是社會主義核心價值觀”的內涵，這次提出 12 個詞、24 個字來具體表達核心價值觀的問題。核心價值觀在十六大、十七大都提到了這個問題，沒有展開來說，所以各地都提出了要求具體闡述的意見和建議。這次具體地提出來了，用“三個倡導”講了 12 個詞，很有意思，對今後的建設非常有指導意義，因為人是要活在價值裡面，只有如此，才有尊嚴，才有意義，才有影響，才有幸福。一個不講價值追求的人是會被社會和老百姓

所唾棄的，是要被歷史所唾棄的。我覺得這次提得非常好的。這 12 個詞分為 3 組，變為“三個倡導”：

第一組，“富強民主文明和諧”，這與周恩來同志在 1975 年生前最後一次工作報告提出的“富強民主文明進步”，只差了一個詞，將“進步”改為“和諧”；第二組，“自由平等公正法制”，這裡和孫中山提出的是“自由平等博愛法制”只差了一個詞，將“博愛”去掉，加上“公正”，充分表達了孫中山的願景。第三組，“愛國敬業誠信友善”，這是十七屆三中全會提出過的倡導，這裡的“誠信”、“友善”、“和諧”一定程度上表達了孫中山先生“博愛”的期盼。值得一提的是，這“三個倡導”不僅是共產黨人應該遵循的價值標準，而且是我們全國人民和全世界華人應該倡導的普世價值。這“三個倡導”會引導民族團結、人類進步，社會穩定，能喚醒我們的良知良心，使得我們在市場經濟建設過程中不會迷失中國人民應有的方向。

第四個亮點是生態文明建設，這已上升到中華民族能否永續發展的高度。中華民族雖然有 14 億人口之深，但也有可能不能永續發展。歷史上出現過瑪雅文化等，後來也都由於各種原因，包括出現的極度乾旱導致文明的消失。這樣的事在歷史上很多，繁榮過，衰敗過，最後消失得乾乾淨淨，找不到它的蹤跡，這是一種遺憾，它增強了我們的危機意識，也提出了我們工作的目標。

第五個亮點，是加強黨的紀律建設，我們 8200 萬的黨員站在面前，現在面對的現實的挑戰不是來自於黨外，而是來自於黨內。黨內有人認為自己非常高明，可以找到“第三條路”，可以挑戰我們走過的道路，我們用鮮血和生命換來的道路，這是荒唐的。加強黨內紀律建設是這次會議始終強調的亮點。

我們在這裡對五大亮點進行概括，把全國人民的心凝聚起來，習總書記講，堅決完成 2020 年的目標，堅決完成中國共產黨建立 100 周年，中華人民共和國

成立 100 周年相應的階段性目標，我們的目標可以概括為基礎目標和手段，目標包括五條：

第一條，第一次明確不但 GDP2020 年比 2010 年翻一番，而且城鄉居民的人均收入也要翻一番。這就會碰到一個問題，到底什麼是我們的速度？2020 年我們要能完成 GDP 翻一番，年均增長率 7.2% 就能完成目標，這個目標是可以實現的。而人均城鄉居民收入能否翻一番，這個問題更為複雜，困難的不在能否翻一番，在於剩下來的 7、8 年，能否成功地控制通貨膨脹的目標——在 3% 以下，這個目標如能達到，增長在百分之七，人們才可能感覺到實實在在的進步和幸福。

第二條，進入國際創新型國家行列，這個口號並不簡單，因為創新型國家需達到一系列的指標，第一個指標，科技進步對 GDP 增長的貢獻率需達到 70% 及以上。胡錦濤書記在“十二五”提出 2020 年科技進步對 GDP 增長要從 39% 提高到 60%，還差了 10 個百分點。第二個指標，全國的研發的投入要佔到中國 GDP 的 2% 以上，而目前是在百分之一點多一些，還是有距離。第三點，國家對外國技術的依存度要降到 30% 以下，這是很了不起的目標。第四點，國際創新型國家創造的專利在美國、日本、德國的專利數要佔到本國當年專利數的大多數，這是公認的指標。因此，進入國際創新型國家的行列在未來 7、8 年的實現是有距離的，但敢於這樣提出來，是很不容易的。

第三條，進入人才強國和人力資源強國的行列。要變為人力資源的強國，這也不容易，這個標準在國內講的有很多，但在國際上並未有一個明顯的標準，但我們能感覺到我們面臨的最大的挑戰，是合格的人力資源不足。目標很確定，都是切中我們的差距。

第四條，民主法治的制度將更加完善、民主的形式將更加豐富。這一點剛剛已經講過了。這裡提的呢，有一條講得很好，到 2020 年要基本建設成法治政府，司法公信要不斷提高，人權要得到尊重和切實的保障。這是很重要的。

第五，具體的提到工業化的發展要基本實現，資訊化水平大幅提升。這給 10 年的機遇導向很明確，工業化要基本實現這沒問題，資訊化水平大幅提升這不容易，城鎮化品質要明顯提高，提高到西方國家城鎮的發展水平我們還有很長的路要走。新農村的建設基本實現，對外開放水平要進一步提高，國際競爭力要加強。

整個報告提出了一個守底線的問題。就是 2020 年要對 14 億人口社會保障全民覆蓋，人人享受基本醫療衛生服務。這裡缺口還不少。我認為中國有資源，但問題出路在於改革。國有企業和集體佔有的資源還是極其豐富的，但由於機制體制的原因，對應的效率不是很理想。如果在這個領域裡，我們進一步加快對國有企業改造，認真進行重組，加強公司治理建設，引進民營資本，引進國外戰略投資者，並到市場上上市，那麼一下子就增值許多，國家兌現的利益是潛力很大，所以社保那裡有缺口的話，從長計議，還可以補得上。我們不愁缺少資源，只愁缺少思路和決心。其實前十多年中的改革也積累了類似的經驗。底線的提出完全必要，住房保障體系到那時基本形成是什麼意思？就是住房保障型住房和棚戶區的改造基本滿足了全國的需求。生態文明的建設也要能夠達到永續，這裡對單位 GDP 的能耗強度和二氧化碳排放都有了我們自己的標準。而且這些標準已經不低，需要艱苦努力才能真正實現，但我們在國際上卻並沒有很好地去演繹我們的決心和故事，所以國際上常講我們和印度在碳排放上與國際主流唱反調，實際上唱反調的人大有人在，包括個別發達國家，拒不執行坎昆會議和京都協議協定的一期的目標，但不是中國。中國政府要會把自己的

故事和決心講給別人聽，這也是我們以後的一個挑戰。其實我們做得不會比別人差。我們可以告訴別人，到 2030 年左右我們就會達到排放總量的頂點，經過不懈努力，拐點就會出現。中國人不懂得宣傳自己，讓外面人總覺得中國是一種減排的阻力，其實中國不是阻力，是動力，是一個榜樣。

上面講到的任務，用什麼手段來做事情呢？

中央重點抓改革。政治制度的改革，除了民主制度的建設之外，習近平同志講了三個重要的方向。他講今後的政治制度改革除了協商民主制度以外，還提到“三合一”。什麼是“三合一”？就是重點研究政治體制改革的方向，這個方向裡面有三個成分。

1. 堅持黨的領導，加強黨的建設。我們不搞西方的三權分立，那就要堅持和完善這個黨的領導，黨的建設必須加強，治黨從嚴。

2. 人民當家作主，不是其他的什麼做主。

3. 法治是根本。

在整個框架裡面要三合一。怎麼處理好這三個的關係？

要從縱、橫向處理好三者之間的關係，要找到機制和制度性的安排，這是中國政治體制改革的重要突破口。只有解決好這個問題，才能解決到底是法大，還是黨大還是哪個人大？這是一個令人非常歡欣鼓舞方向——找出“三合一”，它包含橫縱向什麼內容，要具備什麼樣的框架，在裡面如何有序進行管理和活動。這需要很大政治勇氣和智慧，黨需要和人民群眾站一起來推進。所以花很大力量推進改革已經成為高層的一個決心。這是我們看到的一個重要希望。

在這裡我講一下我的學習領會。

報告裡提到一句話：改革的成敗關鍵——是如何完善政府發揮什麼樣作用的問題。我認為關鍵是我們能把握好今天政府需要扮演什麼作用，不扮演什麼作用。這是很有水準很深刻的一句話。

至於改革的問題，處理好政府與市場的關係，發揮好兩者作用，減少交叉摩擦，才有可能在 2020 年實現我們的五大文明建設目標。

那麼，從處理好政府的關係上，我覺得政府應該從 6 個方面來做，報告中都有體現，每一條都給大家留下了非常大的空間和機會。

1. 推行公有制多種實現形式，深化國有企業改革。這句話給出很多改革空間。比如，公有制的實現形式是不是只有搞國有獨資或控股企業，且搞得越多越好，越大越好？

2. 政府要做的事情。政府要加強宏觀調控目標和政策手段的機制化建設，不是人治化建設，不是個人想鬆今天就鬆，明天想緊就緊。這樣只能落在潮流的後面。所以要形成機制化，而不是個人化。

3. 政府要加快改革財稅體制，健全中央與地方財稅分配與事權相匹配的體制，構建地方預算的硬約束體制，形成有利於結構優化的社會公平體系。大家都知道有 11 萬億的政府平臺融資，80% 來自銀行貸款。這是我們的心腹大患，因為銀行的全部的不良資產的準備金，再加上資本金也沒有這麼多，這塊如果瞎了是要出大問題的。那麼出路就是讓地方財政要有一個科學的負擔水準，加上中央的轉移支付，做好做實有自己的資產負債表和損益表，還得自己全面的現金流動表。然後想幹什麼，背多少債，統一公開，接受公眾的監督，接受專業機構的評級，那麼它就可以適度得以貸款擔保以及到資本市場上籌資，那

就是合法的一個行為。受到這樣的一個法律約束與監督機制，地方政府也就不太會搞什麼“土地財政”，有點債也就不容易壞賬，還能問責。

現在的分稅制已經搞了整整 20 年了，記得當時中央沒有錢了。討論來討論去，廣東省參加中央座談會的領導同志，很詼諧，講到：中央不是沒有錢嗎，不要着急，向廣東借嘛。當時的領導火了，頂了一句，中央又不是叫化子。後來研究半天，總算有一個方案，就是今天所謂的“七五二五”制度。比如，大稅種的 25% 歸地方，75% 歸中央。現在不是 10 年過去了，而是 20 年過去了，我們的改革初衷早就實現了。中央很有錢，地方卻打補丁，各種漏洞就從“土地財政”找齊。這是個大問題，很少看到一件事情，20 年不與時俱進。一個政策如果管 20 年都能用，那這個世界有點問題。所以我們一直期盼這條，做出來後，地方的積極性我相信以後會得到保護。同時，地方蠻幹的精神會得到質疑和限制，銀行的風險和資本市場的健康發展都會得到鞏固和加強。當然，營改增，稅收結構調整，稅費水準的調整，都是改革與建設，不光是上面所述的這一條，但這一條重要。

4. 第一次提出，建立公共資源的恰當收益合理共用機制。我的理解是，資源比如煤炭、石油、天然氣，土地、森林、水，這些公共的資源，都應有一個恰當收益和合理共用的機制，來調動大家的積極性，並有利於節約和綠色經濟，這是非常好的，這是一個解放，是一個革新。

5. 深化金融體制改革。這個政府都多次講了，改革有迫切性，內涵豐富，大家也都很熟悉。

6. 非常重要的一條是：完善、改革中國的戶籍制度。從過去在討論層面到寫入政治報告，確實給中國帶來希望。中國確實很有希望。中國社會之所以存在的 60 多年的二元化狀態與我國 50 多年的戶籍制度休戚相關，這是前蘇聯管

理人口流動性的一個慣用手段，早就應該壽終就寢。可是我們今天還存在着。當然要做到這個，城市建設規劃、教育、醫療，這些最重要的、需要大家共同享受的資源，需要大量的投入，才能實現人口流動，才能使容納下那麼多人口的大中型城市，保持大家一個體面的生活及生活品質。

以上就是政府重要發揮的六項作用。如果政府不打頭，一條都沒辦法實現。幸好報告裡講清楚這是一定要做的。我的理解是，這六項政府是一定要做的，市場應有作用可以發揮，但主要是政府起作用。

那麼市場和政府共同發揮作用是哪幾條？

第一，報告裡講到的，一定要實現知識產權戰略，加強保護知識產權。只有做到這一點，我們才有可能成為一個創新型的社會，創新型國家。做不到，就不可能做到人才強國。比如，海爾公司在國務院座談會上曾展示過一個模型，一種無水的滾筒洗衣機，不需要水，用化學吸附劑的球，在裡面運轉。現在賣到中東和北非，市場非常好。因為那裡的人都在攝氏 55 度的高溫下生活，穿白色和黑色的長袍，一天下來要換兩次衣服，洗幾次澡。但是那裡高度缺水，所以這個發明很好。所以我在座談會結束的時候主動上去向張瑞敏請教，你有什麼困難。時任銀監會主席的我，其實是想聽到他在融資上面有什麼困難，能不能幫助他的發明創新。他很明確地說，但最害怕的是山寨。中國的本事就在這裡，我這個洗衣機不錯，3-6 個月，市場上就會出來一模一樣的山寨。所以這個知識產權的保護在中國已經到了迫不及待的程度。

第二，擴大內需，強化需求導向，節約成本，提高標準，做實做好供應鏈的各環節。

第三，生態文明建設。市場要和政府共同努力，建立節能減排和交易的機制。

第四，民主。民主是趨勢，也是好事，但是沒有充分的民主薰陶，很容易走偏。這就需要政府的引導，也有一個群眾自己教育自己的內涵。比如如何對待言論、結社、遊行的自由，認識新媒體，做好公司治理，契約精神和透明度建設以及在市場經濟和全球化的情況下，如何能做到事事時時依法辦事。

我們面臨的挑戰：

1. 大規模的改革與發展，已與 30 年前小平領導我們改革開放時遇到的挑戰不同。後者的最大挑戰來自內部“左”的勢力，他用政治魄力和大智慧推動改革。今天存在的挑戰是社會上已經呈現的大量的多層次的廣泛的利益集團，這些利益集團的阻礙是最大的挑戰。

2. 腐敗。腐敗是我們最大的隱患。腐敗是黨風和社會風氣不正的一個重要原因，而且可能是最大的原因。

3. 人才不足，能力不足，是我們最大的弱點。十八大使我們有很好的目標，怎麼設計、怎麼去執行、如何去檢查落實都需要人才，需要明白客觀規律和有前瞻性的人才。

4. 推進這件事情需要政治的勇氣和智慧，這是最有效的動力。但是我們發現在實際工作中卻經常短缺，我們需要新的智慧和魄力，披荊斬棘，逆流而上，實現我們的目標。