推动区域协调发展，夯实共同富裕的区域平衡发展基础

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摘 要：推动区域协调发展对于实现全体人民共同富裕有着重要意义。中国推动区域协调发展的最终目的是实现全体人民的共同富裕。无论是计划经济时期，还是改革开放后中国特色社会主义市场经济体制的建设、巩固和完善时期，中国始终把推动区域协调发展作为经济发展的重要目标，经过长期的探索和不懈努力，中国的区域协调发展取得了明显成效，为实现共同富裕取得更加实质性进展奠定了有利的区域基础，突出表现为区域发展差距缩小、基本公共服务均等化水平改善、区域性整体贫困得到解决。虽然区域协调发展为中国实现共同富裕奠定了区域基础，但为了适应新发展阶段的要求，仍需通过完善区域协调发展的体制机制，进一步夯实共同富裕的区域基础，重点包括：加强制度基础设施建设，畅通区域内外循环，进一步提升国内统一大市场建设水平；在实现基本公共服务均等化、基础设施通达程度比较均衡、人民基本生活保障水平大体相当的目标中充分发挥政府作用；优化城乡一体化发展机制，扎实实施乡村振兴战略，进一步提升城乡协调发展水平；优化产业链布局，协同推进区域间产业链升级与社会升级。

关键词：共同富裕 区域协调发展 产业链升级 社会升级

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一、推动区域协调发展与实现共同富裕的关系

1985年，邓小平同志指出：“一部分地区、一部分人可以先富起来，带动和帮助其他地区、其他的人，逐步达到共同富裕。”习近平总书记在《扎实推动共同富裕》一文中明确提出“要增强区域发展的平衡性，实施区域重大战略和区域协调发展战略”，[1]实现全体人民的共同富裕需要构建协调发展的区域格局。实现区域协调发展，不仅可为实现共同富裕奠定经济基础，而且是实现全体人民共同富裕的必由之路。

推动区域协调发展，加快特殊类型地区的发展，是实现全体人民共同富裕的必然要求。实现共同富裕的目标，需要解决收入水平相对较低群体的收入提高问题，让其与其他群体的收入差距不是越拉越大，而是要有所缩小。实现这一目标的办法之一，就是提高特殊类型地区的发展水平。共同富裕不是各地区步调一致、同步达到较高的发展水平，而是各地区有先有后，先富带动后富，最终实现共同富裕。我国各地资源禀赋、能力

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[1] 参见习近平，《扎实推动共同富裕》，《求是》2021年第20期。

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水平差异较大，也很难在较短时间内达到稳定的收敛状态。但我国存在着数量众多、分布较广的革命老区、生态退化地区、边境地区、资源型地区、国有林场林区等特殊类型地区。这些区域的发展经过多年的努力，已经有了很大提高，但与全国较发达地区的水平相比，仍有不小差距，解决这些地区的持续发展问题，把这些地区的发展水平提升上来，不让其与较发达地区的发展差距越拉越大，有助于总体上解决收入相对较低群体的收入提高问题、缩小低收入群体与其他群体的收入差距，这是实现人民共同富裕的基础性要求。

推动区域协调发展，实现区域协调发展的三大基本目标，是实现全体人民共同富裕的内在要求。2018年，《中共中央 国务院关于建立更加有效的区域协调发展新机制的意见》把区域协调发展新机制建设的任务分成了三个阶段：第一阶段，到2020年，建立与全面建成小康社会相适应的区域协调发展新机制；第二阶段，到2035年，建立与基本实现现代化相适应的区域协调发展新机制；第三阶段，到21世纪中叶，建立与全面建成社会主义现代化强国相适应的区域协调发展新机制。按这三个阶段，我国区域协调发展新机制建设已进入第二阶段。第二阶段对区域协调发展新机制提出的要求是，在显著缩小区域发展差距和实现基本公共服务均等化、基础设施通达程度比较均衡、人民基本生活保障水平大体相当中发挥重要作用，为建设现代化经济体系和满足人民日益增长的美好生活需要提供重要支撑。[2]由此可见，实现全体人民的共同富裕是推进区域协调发展的最终目标。

推动区域协调发展，建立统一的国内大市场是实现全体人民共同富裕的基础性支撑。现阶段我国提出在实现全体人民共富裕上取得更为明显的实质性进展，是建立在中国特色社会主义市场经济条件下的。现阶段我国实现全体人民共同富裕不能再像传统的计划经济时代一样、通过行政手段进行平均分配来实现，而要在充分发挥市场在资源配置中的决定性作用的基础上实现。2022年3月22日，《中共中央 国务院关于加快建设全国统一大市场的意见》(以下简称《意见》)发布。《意见》明确提出了建设全国统一大市场的目标。建立全国统一大市场，是实现全体人民共同富裕的基础性支撑。只有建立全国统一大市场，我国的超大规模市场优势才能得到充分发挥，超大规模市场优势才能转化成推动经济增长、人民收入水平提高、人民生活水平改善的实际动能，从而为实现全体人民共同富裕奠定更坚实的物质基础。建立统一的全国大市场，要求破除地方保护和区域壁垒，清理废除各地区妨碍统一市场和公平竞争的各项政策。[3]这些措施将有效规范第一次收入分配，避免因影响公平竞争的政策或机制等因素造成收入分配不公和收入分配差距过大。

二、我国推动区域协调发展的历史过程

我国对于区域协调发展的探索可以分为两个阶段：第一个是计划经济时期我国对推动区域协调发展的探索；第二个是中国特色社会主义市场经济建设时期我国对推动区域协调发展的探索。对于这两个阶段，前者的主要特征是通过建立经济协作区的形式，推动区域协调发展，后者的主要特征是通过实施差别化的区域发展战略方式推动区域协调发展。

[2] 参见《中共中央 国务院关于建立更加有效的区域协调发展新机制的意见》，http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/2018-11/29/content_5344537.htm。

[3] 参见《中共中央 国务院关于加快建设全国统一大市场的意见》，http://www.gov.cn/home/2022-04/10/content_5684391.htm。

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（一）计划经济时期我国对推动区域协调发展的探索

在中华人民共和国成立时，我国地区间发展差距很大，突出表现为工业发展水平地区间差距很大。毛泽东在“论十大关系”中把辽宁、河北、北京、天津、河南东部、山东、安徽、江苏、上海、浙江、福建、广东、广西等划为沿海地区，同时指出，我国的轻工业和重工业，约70%位于沿海，30%在内地，这是历史上形成的不合理的状况。为了解决沿海和内地工业发展极度不平衡问题，从“一五”时期开始，我国就有计划地将更多的重点项目布局到内地，以调整沿海和内地工业布局。第一个五年计划的工业布局的总体安排是，一方面合理地利用东北、上海和其他城市的工业基础，发挥它们的作用；另一方面则在华北、华中、西北进行新工业基地建设。为了实现这个目标，第一个五年计划将限额以上的694个项目，472个安排在内地，222个安排在沿海。这样的布局很显然会带来新的配套体系上的要求，客观上需在一定空间范围内对其他的资源进行重新配置。

“二五”时期在地区工业发展上，我国提出各地的工业产值要尽快超过农业产值，工业布局上要求以协作区为单位，建立比较完整的工业体系，工业布局上要求适当分散。周恩来在中国共产党第八次全国代表大会作的《关于发展国民经济的第二个五年计划的建议》报告中在谈到生产力分布问题时提出，为了合理地配置生产力，必须在内地有计划地建设新的工业基地的同时，充分地利用近海地区原有的工业基础。在充分利用近海城市原有工业基础时，应注意合理性：改建那些有必要也有可能改建的企业；在工业企业已经比较多的城市，一般地应该少建新的企业；新建和改建企业，必须注意到原料来源、产品销售、生产技术和运输方便等条件，注意同其他地区的合理分工。在工业地点的分布问题上，不论是内地的工业或者近海地区的工业，我们的方针是既要适当分散，又要互相配合。[4]为了实现上述目标，“二五”开始推动协作区建设。1958年6月1日，中共中央发出《关于加强协作区工作的决定》，明确了中央、协作区和省市等在经济发展中的地位和作用，坚持中央集权与地方分权相结合，中央各部委负责组织全国大协作、大平衡和必要的技术指导，东北、华北、华东、华南、华中、西南、西北等七个经济协作区负责组织协调区内有关省市，促进区域内部平衡和规划建设大型的工业骨干和经济中心。

随着形势的变化，1964年5月15日至6月17日，中共中央在北京召开工作会议，讨论第三个五年计划。在会议期间，毛泽东提出：“三五”计划要考虑解决全国工业布局不平衡的问题，要搞一、二、三线的战略布局，加强三线建设，防备敌人的入侵。“四五”计划（草案）提出，将全国划分为西南、西北、中原、华南、华东、华北、东北、山东、闽赣、新疆十个经济协作区，在每个协作区内逐步建立不同水平、有特点、各自为战、大力协同的工业体系和国民经济体系。[5]为此，各地区按照中央有关计划安排逐渐建立起了小而全的工业体系。但是，“三线建设”不合理布局、低效配置资源等问题逐渐暴露出来。1972年11月13日，原国家计委召开研究1973年国民经济计划会议，认为近年在经济建设中农轻重比例关系、三线建设与其他地区投资的关系、国防建设与经济建设的关系上存在问题。1973年7月1日，原国家计委根据中共中央工作会议对“四五”计划提出的意见，拟订了《第四个五年计划纲要（修正草案）》，适当改变了以备战和三线建设为中心的经济建设指导思想，将经济协作区

[4] 参见周恩来，《关于发展国民经济的第二个五年计划的建议的报告》，http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/dfpd/18da/2012-08/29/content_15715153.htm。
[5] 参见《在备战形势下制订第三个五年计划》，《当代中国史研究》1997年第6期。

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由原来的10个减为6个，提出在重点建设内地战略后方的同时，必须充分发挥沿海工业基地的生产潜力，并且予以适当发展（赵月琴等，1998）。

（二）中国特色社会主义市场经济体制建设时期的探索

1978年召开的党的十一届三中全会成为我国区域发展格局的重大历史转折，会上强调经济建设将成为今后工作的中心，提出国民经济调整和实行改革开放的重大方针，要“采取一系列的重大的经济措施，对经济管理体制和经济管理方法着手认真地改革，在自力更生的基础上积极发展同世界各国平等互利的经济合作”。这次重要会议吹响了时代的号角，改革开放逐渐为社会各界所周知和认可。随着对外开放环境日渐宽松，中央对区域发展战略调整又与中国特色社会主义市场经济体制改革紧密联系起来，在追求效率与公平之间做出了动态的权衡。纵观改革开放以来我国区域发展差距变动趋势就不难看出，中央关于区域发展战略的重大决策的初衷就是缩小市场化改革过程中带来的区域发展差距扩大的问题。并且，从20世纪90年代末以来，区域协调发展从理念构想逐渐走向实践探索，中央先后实施了西部大开发、东北地区等老工业基地振兴、中部崛起等重大战略，确立了以东部、中部、西部和东北这四大板块为基础的区域发展总体战略。党的十八大以来，随着国内外发展环境和发展条件的变化，中央在继续实施区域发展总体战略和主体功能区战略的同时，又先后实施了京津冀协同发展、长江经济带发展、粤港澳大湾区建设、长三角区域一体化、黄河流域生态保护和高质量发展等区域重大战略，逐步确立了新时代区域协调发展的“四梁八柱”。同时，中央深入实施新时代脱贫攻坚，历经八年持续奋斗和创新实践，最终完成了既定的目标任务。如今，这些战略实施的叠加效果已逐步显现出来，省际区域发展差距有所下降，重点区域一体化水平显著提高，区域性整体贫困得到解决，为构建新发展格局创造了有利的条件，也为当前及今后扎实推动共同富裕奠定了较好的基础。

1.发挥沿海地区优势及以沿海地区发展带动内地发展的区域协调发展阶段

“六五”时期之后，我国的区域协调发展政策开始关注如何发挥好各区域的优势，通过沿海地区带动内地经济发展，对区域协调发展的认识随着实践经验的积累而逐步深化。“六五”时期提出，要在发展内陆地区的同时，把沿海地区的优势发挥出来，提出沿海地区要发挥其特长，带动内地经济进一步发展。在实践中主要是通过试点的方式加以推进的（张其仔，2021）。“七五”时期提出，统筹规划我国东部、中部、西部三个经济地带的发展，充分发挥它们各自的优势和发展它们相互间的横向经济联系，逐步建立以大城市为中心的不同层次、规模不等、各有特色的经济区网络。“八五”时期提出了地区协调发展的思想，强调地区经济的布局要处理好三个关系，即发挥地区优势和全国规划、沿海与内地、经济发达地区与经济不发达地区的关系，以利于地区间协调发展，进而实现共同富裕。“九五”时期把解决地区间收入差距过大、最终实现共同富裕作为区域协调发展机制建设的基本目标，为实现这一目标，“九五”计划要求按市场经济规律和经济的自然联系，突破行政区域界限，建立跨省区的经济区域。区域协调发展机制建设除要处理好全国经济发展与地区经济发展、地区与地区间经济关系外，还要求处理好区域经济与各省市的经济关系。

2.以重大区域发展战略推动区域协调发展阶段

“十五”计划后，我国推动区域协调发展建设的重点是，建立有针对性的区域发展战略，根本目的是解决

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问题区域发展的问题，以缩小地区差距。“十五”计划是在中国特色社会主义市场经济体制初步建立的基础上提出的。计划中提出的区域协调发展的重点是，实施西部大开发战略，加快中西部地区发展，提出要着重加强基础设施和生态环境建设，使科技、教育有较大发展。在机制上强调要打破行政分割、各地要发挥比较优势，地区间要防止结构趋同。要通过区域规划和政策，引导和调动地方的积极性，形成各具特色的区域经济，并率先在生态功能保护区、专业化农产品生产基地、旅游经济区等方面取得突破。[6]

另外，在西部大开发之后，中央根据形势发展的需要先后实施了振兴东北地区等老工业基地和中部崛起战略。随着国有企业改革进入艰难攻坚阶段，东北地区等老工业基地承受着体制改革的阵痛和沉重的历史包袱，出现了经济增速下滑、大规模企业员工下岗、国企改革步履维艰等问题。为了防止这些老工业基地陷入产业衰退的困境，2002年党的十六大报告正式提出“支持东北地区等老工业基地加快调整和改造”的设想。2003年10月，中共中央、国务院印发《关于实施东北地区等老工业基地振兴战略的若干意见》，正式启动了东北地区等老工业基地振兴发展的重大区域战略。并且，中央对资源型城市特别是资源枯竭型城市在就业、接续产业发展、生态环境治理与保护等领域予以比较全面、力度较大的政策支持。进一步地，2006年4月中央印发了《中共中央　国务院关于促进中部地区崛起的若干意见》，标志着中部崛起战略的实施，意味着以东部、中部、西部和东北为四大空间单元依托的区域协调发展框架得以确立。

3.推动区域协调高质量发展阶段

随着四大区域板块互动发展格局逐渐形成，我国区域协调发展进入认识深化和实践拓展的阶段。“十一五”时期，我国明确提出，区域发展要形成合理格局，继续推进西部大开发，振兴东北地区等老工业基地，促进中部地区崛起，鼓励东部地区率先发展，同时，为增强区域互动，我国提出要建立健全市场机制、合作机制、互助机制、扶持机制等区域协调互动机制，提出按照公共服务均等化原则，加大国家对欠发达地区的支持力度，加快革命老区、民族地区、边疆地区和贫困地区经济社会发展。[7]并且，“十一五”时期还突出区域科学发展观的理念，根据资源环境承载能力、现有开发密度和发展潜力，统筹考虑未来我国人口分布、经济布局、国土利用和城镇化格局，将国土空间划分为优化开发、重点开发、限制开发和禁止开发四类主体功能区，按照主体功能定位调整完善区域政策和绩效评价，规范空间开发秩序，形成合理的空间开发结构。“十二五”时期，我国提出要实施区域发展总体战略和主体功能区战略，基本形成适应主体功能区要求的法律法规和政策，要完善利益补偿机制，形成城乡一体化的发展机制。

“十三五”以来，中央始终保持了战略定力，对西部大开发、东北地区等老工业基地振兴、中部崛起和东部率先发展仍然按照“一以贯之”的思路着力解决制约这四大区域板块发展的短板和瓶颈，同时也加大了对区域重大发展战略的部署。“十三五”时期，我国提出了形成以沿海沿江经济带为引领的机制的任务。“十三五”规划纲要指出，要以区域发展总体战略为基础，以“一带一路”建设、京津冀协同发展、长江经济带发展为引

[6] 参见《中华人民共和国国民经济和社会发展第十个五年计划纲要》，http://www.gov.cn/gongbao/content/2001/content_60699.htm。
[7] 参见《国民经济和社会发展第十一个五年规划纲要》，https://www.ndrc.gov.cn/xwdt/gdzt/ghjd/quanwen/?code=&state=123。

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领，形成以沿海沿江沿线经济带为主的纵向横向经济轴带，塑造要素有序自由流动、主体功能约束有效、基本公共服务均等、资源环境可承载的区域协调发展新格局。[8]2017年11月党的十九大报告首次提出“实施区域协调发展战略”。这个战略成为新发展阶段中央统筹推动四大区域板块发展、区域重大战略、特殊类型地区发展等重点任务的决策部署，比较清晰地勾勒出了我国不同层次和类型区域发展的重点方向。党的十九大以来，在习近平总书记亲自谋划和推动下，中央决定实施海南自由贸易港建设、长三角区域一体化、黄河流域生态保护和高质量发展等区域重大战略，体现了中央着力壮大高质量发展动力源、加大流域治理和积极应对区域分化的意图。2018年《中共中央 国务院关于建立更加有效的区域协调发展新机制的意见》正式发布，标志着我国区域协调发展的体制机制建设进入新阶段。“十四五”规划纲要提出，要优化国土空间开发保护格局，推动区域重大战略取得新的突破性进展，促进区域间融合互动、融通补充。推进西部大开发形成新格局，推动东北振兴取得新突破，开创中部地区崛起新局面，鼓励东部地区加快推进现代化，支持特殊类型地区发展，并把健全区域协调发展体制机制放在了更加突出的位置上。[9]

从我国推进区域协调发展的历程看，实现区域协调发展一直是我国国民经济社会发展的一项重要任务，也是中国式现代化的重要组成部分。自中华人民共和国成立以来，我国就开始探索建立区域协调发展机制，推动区域协调发展。对于这一不断探索的过程，有不同的划分方法，如：将其分为均衡导向期（1949~1978年）、效率优先导向期（1978~1999年）、公平导向期（1999~2012年）、区域协调发展深化期（2012年至今）（李兰冰、刘秉廉，2020）；将其分为政府单向决定的平衡发展时期（1949~1978年）、“政府主导、市场为辅”的梯次非均衡发展时期（1978~1992年）、“市场主导、政府调控”的互动协调发展期（1992~2012年）、市场决定性作用下 “公平协调共享”发展时期（2012年至今）（蒋永穆等，2019）；如从区域协调发展战略提出、实施将我国区域协调发展的过程分为区域协调发展战略的提出期、建成期、深化期、提升期（孙久文，2018）；等等。在各种过程分期中，以均衡与非均衡、公平与效率等对区域协调发展历史进行分期较为普遍。我国经济发展过程中，区域之间发展的差距出现过缩小或拉大的时期，但如从战略或政策的角度，我国并不存在一个非均衡发展战略或效率优先战略、公平优先战略，我国的区域协调发展战略都是以推进公平与效率相互促进和推动地区协调发展为基本特征的，我国的区域发展战略始终以推进区域协调发展为目标。

三、推动区域协调发展的基本成就与经验

经过长期的探索和持续努力，我国在推动区域协调发展上取得了明显成就，在推动区域协调发展的体制机制建设上积累了丰富经验，特别是党的十八大以来，我国已经初步建立形成了较为完整的协调发展体制机制基础，在有效遏制区域分化、防止区域间无序竞争、形成合理的空间发展格局方面起到了很好作用。

[8] 参见《中华人民共和国国民经济和社会发展第十三个五年规划纲要》，http://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2016-03/17/content_5054992.htm。
[9] 参见《中华人民共和国国民经济和社会发展第十四个五年规划和2035年远景目标纲要》，https://www.12371.cn/special/ssw2035/。

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（一）基本成就

1.区域发展差距不断缩小

针对区域发展出现的重大问题，我国先后出台了西部大开发、中部崛起、东北地区等老工业基地振兴发展等一系列区域性发展规划。党的十八大以来，中央又实施了京津冀协同发展、长三角区域一体化发展、粤港澳大湾区建设、长江经济带发展、黄河流域生态保护和高质量发展等区域重大战略规划。我国已形成以区域协调发展战略和区域重大战略为引领，以西部、东北、中部、东部四大板块为基本空间单元，统筹发达与不发达地区、陆地与海洋、区域间相互融通补充的战略统筹机制，完善国土空间治理体系以及提升相应能力水平。党的十八大以来，各地区发展水平差距呈现缩小的趋势，使用可比价计算人均GDP计算得到的泰尔指数和基尼系数均表现出明显下降趋势。

2.基本公共服务供给均等化取得进步

为了加快形成标准化、均等化的基本公共服务体系，2017年我国发布了《“十三五”推进基本公共服务均等化规划》。该规划指出，国家基本公共服务制度紧扣以人为本，围绕从出生到死亡各个阶段和不同领域，以涵盖教育、劳动就业创业、社会保险、医疗卫生、社会服务、住房保障、文化体育等领域的基本公共服务清单为核心，以促进城乡、区域、人群基本公共服务均等化为主线，以各领域重点任务、保障措施为依托，以统筹协调、财力保障、人才建设、多元供给、监督评估等五大实施机制为支撑，是政府保障全民基本生存发展需求的制度性安排。同时，经过多年的试点和摸索，《国家基本公共服务标准（2021年版）》正式印发实施。该标准包括了幼有所育、学有所教、劳有所得、病有所医、老有所养、住有所居等9个方面、22大类、80个服务项目，是我国推动基本公共服务均等化进程中具有标志性的一项工作。从成效看，“十三五”时期我国各地区人均基本公共服务支出的差距明显缩小，人民群众的生活保障水平明显提高。

3.全面完成脱贫攻坚任务，区域性整体贫困得到解决

为了支持特殊类型地区的发展，我国建立有自身特色的区域互助机制。我国的区域互助机制主要包括三种类型：扶贫协作、对口援助和协作。我国已形成专项扶贫、行业扶贫和社会扶贫的“三位一体”扶贫格局，构建了政府、企业和相关研究机构等社会力量广泛参与的对口援助和协作（合作）体系。例如，在脱贫攻坚中，2013~2020年东部9个省市向扶贫协作地区投入财政援助和社会帮扶资金共计1005亿多元，互派干部和技术人员13.1万人，成为助力近1亿人口结束绝对贫困状态的重要力量（国务院新闻办公室，2021）。同时，在西部大开发中，中央深入开展对口支援新疆、西藏和青海等省藏区以及对口帮扶贵州等工作；实施中央和国家机关及企事业单位等定点帮扶。2014~2019年，19个省市累计投入援疆资金964亿元，实施援疆项目1万余个，援疆省市企业入疆投资资金达到16840亿元。[10]到2020年我国现行标准下农村贫困人口全部实现脱贫，贫困县全部摘帽，区域性整体贫困得到解决。“两不愁”质量水平明显提升，“三保障”突出问题彻底消除。贫困人口收入水平

[10] 参见《习近平在第三次中央新疆工作座谈会上发表重要讲话》，http://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2020-09/26/content_5547383.htm。

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大幅度提高。[11]贫困地区的公共服务水平、基础设施水平明显提升，自主发展能力加强（黄承伟、袁泉，2020）。

4.国家综合立体交通网建设促进各地区基础设施通达程度更加均衡

2021年底我国公路密度约55公里/百平方公里，高速公路通达里程已达到了17万公里，是2000年的10.43倍。[12]广东、福建、河南、江西、贵州、辽宁等省份实现了县县通高速的目标，高速公路已经成为中西部许多偏远地区的致富路、小康路和幸福路。同时，2010年以来，我国以高铁为重点的铁路网络进入大规模建设阶段，到2021年底我国铁路和高速铁路营运里程分别突破了15万公里、4万公里，204个县在党的十八大以后跨入高铁时代。随着我国铁路网络日益发达，高铁正成为我国广大地区居民快速出行的主要交通工具。到2021年底，我国境内运输机场达到248个，航空服务已覆盖了83%的脱贫地区人口。[13]随着我国高铁、民航等立体、快速交通网络日益完善，各地区高铁站点或民航机场分布密度逐步提高，各地区高效率出行的差距明显缩小，地级及以上城市快速出行能力全面、大幅提高。此外，在交通大通道建成之后，我国内地经济发展条件发生了显著变化，内陆开放正进入全面加速阶段。

（二）基本经验

1.推进市场体系一体化建设，重视发挥市场在资源配置中的作用

在推进区域协调发展的进程中，我国逐步重视发挥市场在资源配置中的决定性作用，为此，在推动区域协调发展过程中，我国推出了一系列发挥市场作用的举措：促进城乡区域间要素自由流动，放宽城市落户条件，推动建立城乡统一的建设用地市场，建立自然资源资产有偿使用制度，开展建设区域性排污权、碳排放权等交易试点，水权、电力市场化交易。探索实施横向利益补偿政策，如在生态受益地区与生态保护地区、流域下游与流域上游通过资金补偿、对口协作、产业转移、人才培训、共建园区等方式建立横向补偿关系：在长江经济带有关省市开展上中下游开发地区、受益地区与生态保护地区横向生态保护补偿机制试点。如浙江和安徽共同在新安江流域开展了生态保护补偿试点工作，根据跨界断面水质达标状况制定补偿标准，促进地方政府落实行政区域水污染防治责任。粮食主产区与主销区之间、资源输出地与输入地之间建立利益补偿机制。2019年1月3日，上海、江苏、浙江和安徽三省一市于上海签署《长三角区域市场体系一体化建设合作备忘录》，根据此次签订的合作备忘录，三省一市在共同办好中国国际进口博览会等重大活动、统一企业登记规范、开展失信联合惩戒、加强食品安全监管协作、推动检验检测认证结果互认互通等方面进一步加强合作，建立跨区域市场监管合作机制，联合探索新业态包容审慎监管，共同营造良好营商环境，促进区域市场融合发展。

2.推进区域合作互动机制的建设，重视发挥地区间合作的积极性

在推进区域协调发展的过程中，中央十分重视引导有关省（市、区）探索区域合作机制创新，建立跨行政区的合作组织。如自2008年起，长三角有关省市政府层面实行决策层、协调层和执行层“三级运作”的区域合

[11] 参见《中共中央 国务院关于实现巩固拓展脱贫攻坚成果同乡村振兴有效衔接的意见》，http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/2021-03/22/content_5594969.htm。
[12] 资料来源：《中国统计摘要2021》。
[13] 资料来源：《交通大国阔步迈向交通强国》，《人民日报》，http://paper.people.com.cn/rmrb/html/2022-05/02/nw.D110000renmrb_20220502_3-01.htm，2022年5月2日。

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作机制。2018年长三角区域合作办公室成立，同年发布的《长三角地区一体化发展三年行动计划（2018~2020年）》覆盖12个合作专题，聚焦交通互联互通、能源互济互保、产业协同创新、信息网络高速泛在、环境整治联防联控、公共服务普惠便利、市场开放有序等7个重点领域。为了推动合作创新，长三角地区九城市共同建立了G60科创走廊，自2018年以来，长三角G60科创走廊九城市依托各自产业优势，相继建立了14个产业联盟和11个产业合作示范园区。2020年11月科技部、国家发改委、工业和信息化部、中国人民银行、银保监会、证监会联合印发《长三角G60科创走廊建设方案》。

3.推进差别化的区域调控政策体系建设，重视区域调控政策的科学性及其与其他政策的顺畅衔接

在推动区域协调发展过程中，中央逐步建立差别化的区域调控政策体系，实施差别化的环境保护政策和差别化的产业政策，提高财政、产业、土地、环保、人才等政策对区域发展支持的精准性和有效性。中央继续完善实施促进区域均衡的财政转移支付制度，将人均财政支出差异控制在合理区间。为服务区域重大战略，中央建立区域政策与其他宏观调控政策联动机制，使财政、货币、投资等政策能够更有效支持区域重大战略实施，利用财政、金融、产业政策协同的手段，支持跨区域交通、水利、生态环境保护、民生等重大工程项目开工建设。

4.推进区域协调发展的责权利机制建设，重视对区域协调发展战略实施的领导、监督与评估

中央根据工作需要成立推动京津冀协同发展、粤港澳大湾区建设、长三角区域一体化等区域重大战略领导小组，同时保留西部开发、中部崛起、东北等老工业基地振兴发展等区域战略领导小组。同时，中央有关部门建立了区域发展规划编制、实施与评估程序规范，构建了区域协调发展监测评估预警体系，建立区域规划与政策实施跟踪评估与动态优化机制，对区域规划实施情况进行中期评估和执行期满全面评估，按程序调整、废止或续编规划。为了区域重大战略实施，有关省（市、区）也建立了相应的领导小组，全国各省(区、市)都建立了推进区域合作的工作机构。

四、政策建议

实现全体人民共同富裕，必须推进区域协调发展。人民收入水平、生活水平的差距，必然会体现在区域发展差距上，人民收入水平、生活水平提升的快慢受到区域发展水平和发展能力的制约。在区域发展差距很大的情况下，要实现全体人民共同富裕取得更明显的实质性进展是不可能的。在新的发展阶段下，推动区域协调发展，必须坚持充分发挥市场在区域间资源配置中的决定性作用的原则，这是我国完善社会主义市场经济体制、建设高水平市场经济体系的必然要求。但发挥市场在资源配置中的决定性作用，决不是否定政府的作用，高效有力的区域协调发展机制的核心是坚持和完善社会主义基本经济制度，充分发挥市场在资源配置中的决定性作用，更好发挥政府作用，推动有效市场和有为政府更好结合。

1.畅通区域内外循环，提升国内统一大市场建设水平

要充分发挥市场在资源配置中的决定性作用，就必须加强制度基础设施建设，畅通区域内外循环，进一步提升国内统一大市场建设水平。经过多年的改革，我国的市场机制逐步完善，在资源配置上发挥的作用也

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越来越充分。但当前仍有一些因素不利于形成国内统一的大市场，如在要素流动上，无论是土地、资本，还是劳动、技术，仍然存在区域间和区域内、城乡间流动梗阻，加快制度基础设施建设步伐，要求解决好要素在区域间和区域内的流动性梗阻。为了推动本地产业发展，各地都出台了系列产业政策、产业链供应链现代化政策，每个地区因为发展阶段、发展水平、资源禀赋上的差异，有因地制宜地推出产业政策、产业链供应链现代化政策等的必要性，但这些政策不能破坏竞争性政策的基础地位。建立国内的统一大市场必须强化竞争性政策的基础地位，对各地出台的区域性产业政策、区域性发展政策进行公平竞争审查。为了发挥有效市场、有为政府的作用，我国在处理区域间关系时，还应强化市场化政策工具运用机制，如推进排污权交易制度、碳排放交易制度、生态价值化建设等。

2.在实现基本公共服务均等化、基础设施通达程度比较均衡、人民基本生活保障水平大体相当上提升水平

实现基本公共服务均等化、基础设施通达程度比较均衡、人民基本生活保障水平大体相当的目标，不可能完全靠市场，而是要靠更好地发挥政府的作用。在实现这三大目标上，要更好地发挥政府的作用，必须以有一个合理的标准为前提。当前制约这三大目标实现的因素之一，就是我国就这三者并没有形成一个完善的全国性的标准。没有标准，实践起来就会有困难，为此，要完善国家基本公共服务、基础设设施通达比较均衡、人民基本生活保障水平大体相当的全国标准。这个标准是动态的，要兼顾经济社会发展情况和财政承受能力进行动态调整。有了标准，中央财政可以以此为标准，向相对不发达地区提供支持，地方可以对照这个标准提供公共产品。一些社会资本也可以以标准为指引，参与到此类公共产品的提供中来。[14]

3.扎实实施乡村振兴战略，巩固攻坚脱贫成果，进一步提升城乡协调发展水平

习近平总书记指出，促进共同富裕，最艰巨、最繁重的任务仍然在农村。[15]2020年，《中共中央国务院关于实现巩固拓展脱贫攻坚成果同乡村振兴有效衔接的意见》(以下简称《衔接意见》)，《衔接意见》明确提出，要在巩固拓展脱贫攻坚成果的基础上，做好乡村振兴这篇大文章，接续推进脱贫地区发展和群众生活改善，到2025年，脱贫攻坚成果巩固拓展，乡村振兴全面推进，脱贫地区农民收入增速高于全国农民平均水平。到2035年，脱贫地区经济实力显著增强，乡村振兴取得重大进展，农村低收入人口生活水平显著提高，城乡差距进一步缩小。《衔接意见》明确提出，要建立健全巩固拓展脱贫攻坚成果长效机制，支持脱贫地区乡村特色产业发展壮大、促进脱贫人口稳定就业、持续改善脱贫地区基础设施条件、进一步提升脱贫地区公共服务水平，在实现巩固拓展脱贫攻坚成果同乡村振兴有效衔接上做到财政投入政策衔接、融服务政策衔接、土地支持政策衔接、人才智力支持政策衔接。

4.优化产业链空间布局，协同推进区域间产业链升级与社会升级

适应产业分工深化要求，积极推动产业链供应链跨区域融通协作：发挥新兴增长极、新兴产业集群、经济大省的动作用，既要考虑超大城市、大城市的产业链供应链布局，同时也要考虑中小城市、农村地区的布局，实现超大城市、大城市、中小城市、农村地区产业链供应链的融通发展(张其仔、周麟，2022)，实现城市群、都

[14] 参见《“十四五”公共服务规划》，http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/zhengceku/2022-01/10/content_ 5667482.htm。
[15] 参见习近平，《扎实推动共同富裕》，《求是》2021年第20期。

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市圈建设与产业链供应链现代化相衔接，实现城市群、城市圈的产业链供应链水平提升与乡村振兴相衔接；提升中西部地区产业承接能力，实现东中西产业链供应链梯次衔接格局；在特殊类型地区全面推进双向产业转移协作工作，实现发达地区与特殊类型地区产业链供应链现代化相衔接（张其仔，2022）。在实现跨区产业合作时，协同推进产业链升级与社会升级，避免在优化产业链空间布局的过程中部分地区出现工资下降等社会降级现象。

5．建立支撑区域协调发展的大国治理体系

现阶段，为了更有效促进省际协调，中央有关部门应率先推动京津冀、长三角等重点区域探索新型的区域治理模式，待时机成熟时建立常设的区域协调发展机构，其主要职责是负责组织实施有关跨省（市、区）协调的区域重大发展战略和国家区域政策。与之相适应的，中央有关部门应继续完善区域协调发展新机制，充分发挥大国纵深条件和超大规模的市场优势，引导生产要素自由顺畅流动和产业有序转移。深入推进浙江高质量发展建设共同富裕示范区，及时总结推广省域内部协调发展新经验新做法。强化地方省级政府贯彻落实区域协调发展的责任，加强对省域内特殊困难区域的帮扶援助，有效缓解我国地区发展不平衡不充分问题。CE

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Coordinating Regional Development as a Solid Foundation for Common Prosperity

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Abstract: *Coordinating regional development is a key step for China to achieve the goal of common prosperity for all. From the era of the planned economy to the development, consolidation and improvement of the socialist market economic system after reform and opening up since 1978, as a key target of economic development, China has been committed to balancing regional development, and after decades-long explorations and relentless efforts made great progress. Coordinated regional development - as manifested in narrowed regional development gaps, more equal access to basic public services and eradication of regional absolute poverty - has paved the way for more substantive progress to be made in delivering common prosperity for all. Despite the progress, China still needs to further improve institutional systems for regional coordination and undergird the regional foundation for common prosperity according to the requirements of its new development stage. Specifically, China should focus on the following priorities: (i) Strengthen institutional infrastructure, smooth regional internal and external circulations, and develop a unified domestic market at a higher level; (ii) give full play to the role of the government in equalizing access to basic public services, promoting infrastructure connectivity and protecting basic living standards; (iii) optimize integrated urban-rural development mechanisms, take solid steps to revitalize the countryside, and further coordinate urban and rural development; (iv) improve the layout of the industrial chain and advance interregional industrial chain upgrade and social progress.*

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1. Relationship between Coordinated Regional Development and Common Prosperity

"We can allow the people of some regions to get rich first and then guide and help others get rich together," said Comrade Deng Xiaoping in 1985. General Secretary Xi Jinping noted in his article *Making Solid Progress toward Common Prosperity* that "In order to make regional development more balanced, we will implement major regional strategies and coordinated regional development strategies."[1] Coordinated regional development is the foundation and sure path for common prosperity for all.

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[1] See Xi Jinping, "Making Solid Progress Toward Common Prosperity," *Seeking Truth*, no. 20, 2021.

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In reaching our goal of achieving common prosperity, we are faced with the priorities of regional coordination and development in special regions. Common prosperity requires income growth for low-income people to keep them from falling further behind. One way to achieve this goal is to bolster development in special regions. Common prosperity does not mean that all regions should follow the same pace in reaching a fairly high level of development. Instead, some regions should take the lead in achieving prosperity and help others follow. Besides, it is difficult for China as a large country with disparate regional conditions to reach a stable state of convergence in a short time.

There are numerous special regions across the country, including revolutionary base areas, environmentally degraded regions, border regions, resource-rich regions, and state-owned forest areas. After years of endeavor, those special regions have made big strides in development, but still fall short of the level of more prosperous regions. We should tackle challenges facing sustainable development in those regions, support their level of development, and keep them from falling further behind. Coordinated regional development holds the key to raising incomes for the poor and narrowing income gaps, thus paving the way for common prosperity for all.

The three basic targets of coordinated regional development - equal access to basic public services, relatively balanced infrastructure connectivity, and similar levels of living standards - are the intrinsic requirements for delivering common prosperity for all. In 2018, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council released the *Opinions on Establishing More Effective New Mechanisms for Coordinated Regional Development*, which called for creating new mechanisms of coordinated regional development in three stages. Specifically, those regional coordination mechanisms should be compatible with efforts to build a moderately prosperous society in all respects by 2020, complete modernization by 2035, and develop a great modern socialist country in all respects by the mid-21st century.

In the present second stage, those mechanisms should help reduce gaps in regional development, equalize access to public services and infrastructure, and maintain a similar level of basic living standards. They underpin China's development of a modern economic system and the satisfying of people's growing needs for a better life.[2] Delivering common prosperity for all is the ultimate goal in promoting coordinated regional development.

Coordinated regional development and a unified national market are the fundamental pillars for achieving common prosperity for all. In the current stage, China is striving to make substantive progress in delivering common prosperity for all under the condition of a socialist market economy with Chinese characteristics. In achieving common prosperity, China should give play to the decisive role of the market in resource allocation rather than egalitarian distribution by administrative diktats characteristic of the traditional planned economy era.

Released on March 22, 2022, the *Opinions of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council on Expediting the Development of a Unified National Market* set the goal to develop a unified national market, which serves as a key pillar for common prosperity. A unified national market is essential for China's large-market advantage to be brought into full play. It will lay a solid material foundation for delivering common prosperity for all, as it will drive economic and income growth and the resultant improvement of living standards. In establishing a unified national market, we should remove local protectionism and regional barriers and abolish market segmentation and anti-competition policies.[3] Doing so will regulate primary income distribution and prevent income inequality and widening income distribution gaps resulting from barriers to fair competition.

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[2] See the *Opinions of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council on Establishing More Effective New Mechanisms for Coordinated Regional Development*, http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/2018-11/29/content_5344537.htm.

[3] See the *Opinions of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council on Expediting the Development of a Unified National Market*, http://www.gov.cn/home/2022-04/10/content_5684391.htm.

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2. Historical Journey of China's Coordinated Regional Development

China explored coordinated regional development in the era of the planned economy and has done in the subsequent stage of developing a socialist market-based economic system with Chinese characteristics. In the first stage, China created economic coordination zones to coordinate regional development, and in the second stage, differentiated regional development strategies predominated.

2.1 China's Exploration of Coordinated Regional Development in the Planned Economy Era (1953-1978)

Upon the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, China's level of development was extremely uneven across regions, as manifested in the disparate levels of regional industrial development. In his *On the Major Relationships*, Mao Zedong classified Liaoning, Hebei, Beijing, Tianjin, eastern Henan, Shandong, Anhui, Jiangsu, Shanghai, Zhejiang, Fujian, Guangdong and Guangxi as coastal regions. He noted that some 70% of China's light and heavy industries were located in the coastal regions, while only 30% were in the interior regions, an untenable situation left over from history.

Beginning in the First Five-Year Plan period (1953 to 1957), in an attempt to address the problem of unbalanced industrial development between coastal and interior regions, China started to locate more projects in the interior regions. This Plan's overall arrangement of the industrial layout was to exploit existing industrial strengths in the northeast, Shanghai and some other cities to their fullest potential while at the same time constructing new industrial bases in the northern, central and northwestern regions. To achieve this goal, out of 694 large projects, the Plan allocated 472 to the interior regions and the remaining 222 to the coastal regions. Such a layout required new auxiliary systems and the reallocation of other resources within a certain geographical space.

The 2nd Five-Year Plan called for regional industrial output to exceed agricultural output and a relatively complete industrial system to be established with a relatively scattered layout of economic coordination zones. In his report "Suggestions on the 2nd Five-Year Plan for National Economic Development (1958-1962)" delivered at the Eighth CPC National Congress, Premier Zhou Enlai said when discussing the layout of productivity that "To reasonably allocate productive forces, we must make the most of the existing industrial strengths in the near-shore regions while constructing new industrial bases in the interior regions in a planned manner. We should make the most of existing industrial strengths of near-shore cities in a reasonable manner: Where necessary and possible, existing enterprises should be renovated; in cities with many industrial enterprises already, as few new enterprises should be built as possible; in building new enterprises and renovating existing ones, we must give attention to such conditions as the source of raw materials, product sales, manufacturing technology and convenience of transportation, as well as reasonable division of work with other regions. When it comes to the distribution of industrial sites in the interior and near-shore regions, our principle is to follow a combination of appropriate decentralization and mutual coordination."[4]

The 2nd Five Year Plan was predicated on the development of economic coordination zones. On June 1, 1958, the CPC Central Committee released the *Decisions on Enhancing the Work on Economic Coordination Zones*, which clarified the roles of the central government, economic coordination zones and provincial/municipal authorities in economic development under the principle of combining centralization with decentralization. While central ministries were responsible for nationwide coordination and technical guidance, the seven economic coordination zones, including the northeastern, northern, eastern, southern, central, southwestern and northwestern regions, were responsible for

[4] See Zhou Enlai, *Suggestions on the Second Five-Year Plan for National Economic Development*, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/dfpd/18da/2012-08/29/content_15715153.htm.

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coordinating provinces and municipalities within their respective jurisdictions, promoting intra-regional equilibrium, and constructing large industrial backbones and economic centers.

Amid changing situations, the CPC Central Committee held a working conference in Beijing from May 15 to June 17, 1964 to discuss the 3rd Five-Year Plan. At the conference, Mao Zedong suggested that "In the 3rd Five Year Plan, we should consider addressing the imbalance of the national industrial layout, develop a strategic layout of the first, second and third fronts, and strengthen the third-front construction to guard against an enemy invasion." The 4th Five-Year Plan (draft) divided China into 10 economic coordination zones, including the southwest, the northwest, the central plain, southern, eastern, northern and northeastern regions, Shandong, Fujian-Jiangxi and Xinjiang, and called for independent but coordinated industrial and economic systems with disparate levels and distinctive characteristics to be established in each cooperation zone.[5] According to the central government's plan, various localities were to establish small yet complete industrial systems. However, unreasonable layout and inefficient resource allocation, as well as other problems, began to surface.

On November 13, 1972, the then State Planning Commission held a national economic planning conference to discuss problems concerning the proportion of agriculture, light and heavy industries, the relationship between third-front construction and investments in other regions, and the relationship between defense and economic development. On July 1, 1973, based on the opinions put forth at the CPC Central Committee's working conference, the State Planning Commission drafted the *Outline of the 4th Five-Year Plan (Amendment Draft)*, which modified the guiding principle that focused economic development on defense and third-front construction, reduced the number of economic coordination zones from 10 to 6, and called for giving full play to the production potentials of coastal industrial bases while developing a strategic rear in the interior regions (Zhao *et al*., 1998).

2.2 Explorations during the Development of a Socialist Market Economic System with Chinese Characteristics (1978-Present)

The Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee held in 1978 marked the historic transition of China's regional development pattern. The meeting called for prioritizing economic development as the central task for future work and adopted major guidelines for national economic adjustments and reform and opening up. It vowed to "take a host of major economic measures to reform economic administration systems and methods and proactively conduct economic cooperation with all countries on an equal-footed basis for mutual benefit." This important meeting sounded the clarion call for a brand-new era in which reform and opening up took root in the public consciousness.

With the increasing relaxation of the policy environment for opening up, the CPC Central Committee adjusted the regional development strategy to facilitate the reform of socialist market-based economic system with Chinese characteristics and maintain a dynamic equilibrium between efficiency and fairness.

As shown by China's changing regional development gaps since reform and opening up in 1978, the CPC Central Committee's major regional development strategy decisions were intended to narrow regional development gaps arising from market-oriented reforms. Since the late 1990s, coordinated regional development has evolved from a concept into actual practical explorations. Since then, the central government has implemented major regional development strategies which underpin China's overall regional development strategy, for the eastern, central, western and northeastern regions.

Since the 18th CPC National Congress, the CPC Central Committee has implemented additional major regional strategies including integrated development for the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Region, the Yangtze River Economic Belt, and the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area, regional

[5] "Formulation of the Third Five-year Plan in Preparation of War." *Research on Chinese History Studies*, (6), 1997.

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integration of the Yangtze River Delta, and ecological protection and high-quality development for the Yellow River Basin. These strategies have formed pillars of coordinated development for the new era. After eight years of relentless hard work and innovative practices, the central government has achieved the poverty reduction goals for the new era. Under the overlapped effects of those strategies, China has narrowed inter-provincial development gaps, enhanced integrated development in key regions, eliminated regional absolute poverty, and created favorable conditions for creating a new development pattern, thereby laying a solid foundation for common prosperity for all.

2.2.1 Coordinated regional development in which coastal regions took the lead and drove development in the interior regions (1981-2000)

After the 6th Five-Year Plan period (1981-1985), China's coordinated regional development policy started to focus on giving play to the respective strengths of various regions. Seeing that the coastal regions could drive economic development in the interior regions, the understanding of China's policymakers on coordinated regional development deepened. In the Sixth Five-Year Plan period, it was suggested that the coastal regions could drive further economic development in the interior regions by giving full play to their strengths. This approach was carried out through the implementation of pilot programs (Zhang, 2021).

In the 7th Five-Year Plan period, it was suggested that the development of China's eastern, central and western economic zones be planned to leverage their respective strengths, develop their horizontal economic ties, and establish a network of economic zones of different sizes and characteristics at various levels.

In the 8th Five-Year Plan period, coordinated regional development in the regional economic layout was emphasized, and the balancing of three relationships was highlighted: The relationship between regional strengths and national planning, the relationship between the coastal and interior regions, and the relationship between prosperous and less developed regions. The goal was to coordinate regional development and achieve common prosperity.

In the 9th Five-Year Plan period, China vowed to narrow the income gaps across regions toward common prosperity. To achieve this end, the 9th Five-Year Plan called for establishing cross-provincial economic zones according to the laws of a market-based economy and natural economic links. Coordinated regional development mechanisms required not only balancing national and regional economic development, but handling the economic relationships between regions, provinces and municipalities properly.

2.2.2 Advancing coordinated regional development through the implementation of major regional development strategies (2001-2005)

After the 10th Five-Year Plan period, China began to develop a targeted regional development strategy to address regional development issues and further narrow regional gaps. The 10th Five-Year Plan was adopted after the establishment of the socialist market economic system with Chinese characteristics. It identified central and western regions as priorities for coordinated regional development, and called for infrastructure development, environmental protection, and progress in science, technology and education. Administrative segmentation was to be removed to allow various localities to bring their comparative strengths into play and to avoid a homogeneous industrial structure. Initiative at the local level was to be mobilized through regional planning and policymaking to form distinctive regional economies and achieve breakthroughs in developing ecological protection zones, specialized agricultural production bases, and tourism economic zones.[6]

[6] See *Outline of the Tenth Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development*, http://www.gov.cn/gongbao/content/2001/content_60699.htm.

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After adopting the strategy of developing the western region, the CPC Central Committee proceeded to revitalize the northeast and other old industrial bases and promote the rise of the central region. However, the northeast and other old industrial bases, which bore a heavy legacy burden, presented severe obstacles to the reform of state-owned enterprises (SOEs), as they suffered from the pains of institutional reforms and experienced economic slowdown and massive layoffs.

To prevent those old industrial bases from slipping into industrial recession, the Report to the 16th CPC National Congress held in November 2002 officially put forth a vision to "support old industrial bases such as the northeast to expedite restructuring and renovation." In October 2003, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued *Opinions on Implementing the Strategy of Revitalizing the Northeast and Other Old Industrial Bases*.

The CPC Central Committee extended comprehensive and vigorous policy support to both resource-based cities and resource-depleted cities with respect to employment, sustained industrial development, and environmental protection. In April 2006, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued the *Opinions on Promoting the Rise of the Central Region*, which marked the implementation of the strategy for the rise of the central region and the establishment of a framework for coordinated regional development of the eastern, central, western and northeastern regions.

2.2.3 Promoting coordinated regional development with high quality (2006-present)

With the layout of the four regional segments taking shape, China's coordinated regional development entered a new stage of implementation. In the 11th Five-Year Plan period (2006-2010), China called for the creation of a reasonable pattern for regional development, further developing the western region, revitalizing the northeast and other old industrial bases, promoting the rise of the central region, and encouraging the eastern region to spearhead development. Priority was given to creating regional coordination mechanisms such as market, cooperation, mutual assistance and support mechanisms, increasing the level of support to less developed regions based on the principle of equal access to public services, and speeding up economic and social development in old revolutionary base areas, ethnic regions, border regions and poverty-stricken areas.[7]

The 11th Five-Year Plan emphasized science-based regional development that considers the distribution of China's population, as well as its economic layout, land use and urbanization according to environmental capacity, existing development density and development potentials. Land space was to be divided into four main function zones, including those for optimized development, priority development, restricted development, and prohibited development. Regional policymaking and performance evaluation were to be adjusted according to the orientations of the main function zones to standardize spatial development and form a reasonable structure of spatial development. In the 12th Five-year Plan period, China vowed to implement an overall regional development strategy featuring main function zones, to enact laws, regulations and policies accordingly, to improve regional interest compensation, and to promote integrated urban and rural development.

Since the beginning of the 13th Five-Year Plan period, the CPC Central Committee has maintained its strategic focus, followed a consistent approach in addressing the weaknesses and bottlenecks facing regional development, and stepped up strategic arrangements for regional development. In the 13th Five-Year Plan period, China vowed to foster regional development mechanisms led by river and coastal economic belts. The *Outline of the 13th Five-Year Plan* called for developing vertical and horizontal economic belts along the coastline, rivers and transportation routes driven by the Belt and Road Initiative, integrated development of the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Region, and the Yangtze River Economic Belt, with a view to forging a new regional development pattern featuring the orderly and free flow of

[7] See the *Outline of the 11th Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development*, https://www.ndrc.gov.cn/xwdt/gdzt/ghjd/quanwen/?code=&state=123.

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factors, effective constraint of main functions, equal access to basic public services, and resource and environmental sustainability.[8]

The Report to the 19th CPC National Congress in November 2017 unveiled a "coordinated regional development strategy," which became a strategic policy document of the CPC Central Committee for coordinating regional development, implementing major regional strategies, and expediting development in special regions, among other regional priorities. The Report clearly outlined the development priorities for various levels and types of regions. Since the 19th CPC National Congress, the CPC Central Committee has adopted various major regional strategies under the auspices of General Secretary Xi Jinping, including the development of the Hainan Free Trade Port, regional integration of the Yangtze River Delta, and ecological protection and high-quality development of the Yellow River Basin. These regional strategies reflect the CPC Central Committee's intention to strengthen the momentum of high-quality development, enhance the management of river basins, and manage regional disparities.

In 2018, the *Opinions of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council on Creating More Effective New Mechanisms for Coordinated Regional Development Mechanisms* were officially released, marking a new stage in China's plan for coordinated regional development. The *Outline of the 14th Five-Year Plan* vowed to optimize the development layout of national land space and protection, achieve new breakthroughs in major regional strategies, and promote regional integration, interaction and complementarity. Progress was called for in the development of the western region, the rise of the central region, the modernization of the eastern region, and the improvement of special regions, giving more prominence to perfecting institutional mechanisms for coordinated regional development.[9]

Coordinated regional development has been an important priority for China's national economic and social development and is a key element of China's modernization. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, China has been exploring coordinated regional development mechanisms. Academics have divided this journey of development into various stages.

For instance, some divided this journey into the four stages of balanced development (1949-1978), efficiency first (1978-1999), focus on fairness (1999-2012), and deepening regional coordination (2012-present) (Li and Liu, 2020). Some others defined the four stages as follows: Balanced development unilaterally decided by the government (1949-1978), tiered non-equilibrium development dominated by the government and supplemented with market mechanisms (1978-1992), market-led and government-controlled coordinated development (1992-2012), and fair, balanced and shared development in which the market plays a decisive role (Jiang *et al*, 2019). Still others considered that China's coordinated regional development strategy could be divided into the four stages of proposition, completion, deepening and improvement (Sun, 2018).

In various versions, it is common to divide this historical journey by focusing on balanced or unbalanced development and on fairness or efficiency. In its economic development, China has experienced widening and narrowing regional gaps. From a strategic or policy perspective, however, China does not have a non-equilibrium development strategy, efficiency first or fairness first strategy. Instead, China's coordinated regional development strategy has been characterized by mutual promotion between fairness and efficiency with the steadfast goal of promoting coordinated regional development.

3. Basic Achievements and Experiences of Promoting Coordinated Regional Development

After relentless explorations and hard work, China has made remarkable achievements and gained

[8] See the *Outline of the 13th Five-Year Plan of the People's Republic of China for National Economic and Social Development*, http://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2016-03/17/content_5054992.htm.

[9] See *Outline of the People's Republic of China 14th Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development and Long-Range Objectives for 2035*, https://www.12371.cn/special/ssw2035/.

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extensive expertise in coordinating regional development. Since the 18th CPC National Congress, in particular, China has established an institutional foundation for coordinated regional development, which has helped prevent regional disparities and disorderly competition and has formed a reasonable layout of regional development.

3.1 Basic Achievements

3.1.1 Narrowing regional development gaps

Over the years, China has introduced a string of regional development plans for the western, central, and northeastern regions to address major regional development issues. Since the 18th CPC National Congress, the CPC Central Committee has implemented major regional strategic plans for the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei region, the Yangtze River Delta region, the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area, the Yangtze River Economic Belt, and the Yellow River Basin. China has established strategic mechanisms for coordinating prosperous and less developed regions and land and maritime territories, promoting interregional interactions and complementarity, and improving land and space management. The 18th CPC National Congress has been followed by a convergence of development gaps across various regions and significant decreases in the Theil index and Gini coefficient measured by GDP per capita at comparable prices.

3.1.2 Equalizing access to basic public services

In 2017, China adopted the *Plan for Equalizing Access to Basic Public Services in the 13th Five-Year Plan Period* to standardize and equalize public services. According to the Plan, the national basic public service system should deliver equal access to basic public services such as education, employment and entrepreneurship, social insurance, healthcare, social services, housing, culture and sports to people from the cradle to the grave throughout urban and rural regions. The government should enforce mechanisms of implementation with respect to overall coordination, financial assurance, talent development, diversified service supply, and supervision and evaluation.

Years of pilot programs have led to the official issuance of the *Standard of National Basic Public Services (2021 Edition)* that encompasses 80 service items of 22 categories in nine aspects, including childcare, education, employment, healthcare, elderly care, and housing. The Standard marks a milestone in the equalization of access to basic public services. In terms of the effects, the 13th Five-Year Plan period saw significant reductions in regional per capita basic public service spending gaps and great improvement in people's living standards.

3.1.3 Eradicating regional absolute poverty

China has established distinctive regional mutual assistance mechanisms to support the development of special regions through poverty reduction, targeted aid and collaboration. The "three-in-one" poverty reduction approach galvanized the broad participation of government, enterprises, research institutions and other private actors in partner assistance and cooperation. In 2013-2020, for instance, nine provincial/municipal governments provided fiscal and social assistance funds worth over 100.5 billion yuan and dispatched 131,000 officials and technical personnel to poor regions, contributing to the eradication of absolute poverty for nearly 100 million people (Information Office of the State Council, 2021).

In developing the western regions, the CPC Central Committee initiated partner assistance programs for Tibetan areas in provincial jurisdictions like Xinjiang, Tibet and Qinghai, as well as Guizhou, in

[10] See *Xi Jinping Delivers an Important Speech at the Third Central Working Conference on Xinjiang*, http://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2020-09/26/content_5547383.htm.

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which government agencies and enterprises took part at various levels. In 2014-2019, 19 provinces and municipalities committed assistance funds worth 96.4 billion yuan to Xinjiang and implemented over 10,000 aid programs; enterprises from those provinces and municipalities invested 1,684 billion yuan in Xinjiang.[10]

By 2020, China has lifted all its rural poor populations by the current poverty line out of poverty, lifted all poor counties out of poverty, and eradicated regional absolute poverty. Great improvement has been made in the quality of "two no worries" social protection, and prominent problems facing the "three guarantees" have been eradicated. The income level of the poor has increased sharply.[11] Poor regions have benefited from much better access to public services, infrastructure development and development strengths (Huang and Yuan, 2020).

3.1.4 Integrated national transportation network contributed to more balanced regional infrastructure connectivity

By the end of 2021, China's road density reached 55 km/100 km^2, and the length of expressways totaled 170,000 km, or 10.43 times the level of 2000.[12] Provinces like Guangdong, Fujian, Henan, Jiangxi, Guizhou and Liaoning achieved the goal of connecting every county to the expressway. Since 2010, China has expanded its railway - especially its high-speed railway - network on a mass scale. By the end of 2021, China's railway and high-speed railway operating lengths exceeded 150,000 km and 40,000 km, respectively, connecting an additional 204 counties to the high-speed railway after the 18th CPC National Congress. With the sophistication of the railway network, the high-speed railway has become the chief choice of rapid transportation for the general public across China.

By the end of 2021, China had built 248 domestic airports and expanded access to aviation to 83% of the people in regions newly lifted out of poverty.[13] Denser distributions of high-speed railway stations and civil-aviation airports have sharply reduced the gaps in efficient travel across regions and have greatly improved the accessibility of cities at or above prefecture level. Completion of major transportation corridors has transformed economic development conditions for China's interior regions, ushering in a new stage of all-round openness.

3.2 Basic Experiences

3.2.1 Promoting market integration and the role of the market in resource allocation

In coordinating regional development, China has attached great importance to the decisive role of the market in the allocation of resources. For instance, steps have been taken to promote the free flow of factors between cities and the countryside, to relax urban residency restrictions, to integrate urban and rural land markets, to establish a natural resource pricing system, and to launch pilot programs of regional pollution rights and carbon emissions trading, as well as market-based water rights and electric power transactions.

Horizontal interest compensation policies have been introduced to compensate for ecological protection and protected regions and between upstream and downstream regions in the form of financial compensation, partner assistance, industrial relocation, training and joint development of industrial zones. Provinces and municipalities along the Yangtze River Economic Belt have carried out pilot programs for ecological protection compensation between upstream and downstream regions and

[11] See *Opinions of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council on Linking Poverty Reduction with Countryside Revitalization*, http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/2021-03/22/content_5594969.htm.

[12] Source: *China Statistical Abstract 2021*.

[13] Source: "China's Transition towards a Transportation Powerhouse," *People's Daily*, May 2, 2022, http://paper.people.com.cn/rmrb/html/2022-05/02/nw.D110000renmrb_20220502_3-01.htm.

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beneficiary and protected areas. For instance, Zhejiang and Anhui jointly launched ecological protection compensation pilot programs in the Xin'an River Basin with compensation standards formulated according to cross-section water quality and with local governments accountable for water pollution in their respective jurisdictions. Compensation mechanisms have also been established between main grain producing and grain distribution areas and between resource producing and resource consuming regions.

On January 3, 2019, Shanghai, Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Anhui signed the "Memorandum of Understanding for Cooperation on Developing an Integrated Yangtze River Delta Regional Market System" in Shanghai. According to the MOU, Shanghai and the three provinces will step up cooperation on organizing major events like the China International Import Expo (CIIE), unifying business registration standards, imposing joint sanctions on breach of trust, enhancing food safety supervision, and facilitating the mutual recognition of test and inspection significations. They have agreed to create cross-regional market supervision and cooperation mechanisms, to jointly explore inclusive and prudential regulation of the new business modes, to foster an environment that is conducive to business, and to promote the development of an integrated regional market.

3.2.2 Developing regional cooperation mechanisms for active cross-regional cooperation

The CPC Central Committee has set up cross-jurisdictional cooperation mechanisms for regional cooperation. Since 2008, provincial/municipal governments in the Yangtze River Delta have implemented a "three-tiered" regional cooperation mechanism at the levels of decision-making, coordination and implementation. In 2018, the Yangtze River Delta Regional Cooperation Office was established. In the same year, it released the *Three-Year Action Plan for Integrated Development of the Yangtze River Delta Region* (2018-2020), which covers 12 cooperation themes, focusing on seven priorities, including transportation interconnectivity, energy supply, industrial innovation, high-speed and ubiquitous IT infrastructure, joint environmental management, universal access to public services, and market openness and orderliness.

To promote collaborative innovation, nine cities in the Yangtze River Delta region jointly established the G60 Sci-Tech Innovation Corridor. Since 2018, those cities have established 14 industrial alliances and 11 industrial cooperation demonstration parks. In November 2020, the Ministry of Science and Technology (MOST), the National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC), the Ministry of Industry and Information Technology (MIIT), the People's Bank of China (PBC), the China Banking and Insurance Regulatory Commission (CBIRC), and the China Securities Regulatory Commission (CSRC) jointly issued the *Plan for the Development of the G60 Sci-Tech Corridor for the Yangtze River Delta Region*.

3.2.3 Developing a science-based and differentiated regional regulation policy system in smooth coordination with other policies

By adopting differentiated regional environmental and industrial policy systems, the central government has targeted fiscal, monetary and investment policies at the implementation of major regional strategies. The central government has improved the fiscal transfer payment system to balance regional development and keep per capita fiscal spending gaps within a reasonable range. To bolster major regional strategies, the central government has linked regional policies with other macro-regulatory fiscal, financial and industrial policies to support the implementation of cross-regional transportation, water conservancy, environmental protection, public welfare and other major projects.

3.2.4 Establishing the rights and responsibilities for coordinated regional development and enhancing the leadership, supervision and evaluation of regional coordination strategies

In addition to the existing steering groups for the western, central and northeastern regions, the

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central government has established steering groups for new regional strategies for the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei region, the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay area, and the Yangtze River Delta region. In addition, for coordinated regional development, central authorities have established procedures for formulating, implementing and evaluating regional development plans, as well as monitoring and early warning systems. Based on the mid-term and final implementation evaluations, the regional development plans are subject to adjustment, revocation or renewal. For the implementation of major regional strategies, relevant provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have also set up steering groups for regional cooperation.

4. Policy Recommendations

Coordinated regional development is essential to delivering common prosperity for all. Gaps in people's incomes and living standards inevitably find expression in regional development disparities. The speed at which incomes and living standards rise is subject to regional development strengths. It would be impossible to achieve common prosperity for all when there are vast regional disparities. In the new development stage, we must steadfastly give play to the decisive role of the market in resource allocation across regions. This forms the groundwork for China to develop its socialist market economic system at a higher level. Yet the decisive role of the market in allocating resources does not mean a complete hands-off approach of the government. At the heart of more effective regional coordination lie efforts to improve the socialist economic system, the role of the market in resource allocation, and the combination of an effective market and a capable government.

4.1.1 Smooth regional internal and external circulations and build a unified national market at a higher level

To give full play to the decisive role of the market in resource allocation, we must enhance infrastructure development, smooth regional internal and external circulations, and build a unified national market at a higher level. Despite China's improved market mechanisms that are increasingly dominating resource allocation after decades of reform, some hurdles still exist and impede the development of a unified national market. Take factor flow, for instance, there are still barriers to the flow of factors like land, capital, labor and technology between and within regions. Development of an institutional infrastructure requires those barriers to be removed. Local governments have enacted policies to develop local industries and supply chains according to their development levels and resource endowments, which are justified but cannot be allowed to undermine the fundamental status of the competition policy. To create a unified national market, we must focus our attention and effort on the fundamental status of the competition policy and review regional industrial and development policies in terms of fairness and competition. To leverage an effective market and capable government, we should also strengthen the use of market-based policy instruments such as pollution rights trading, carbon emissions trading and ecological valuation.

4.1.2 Strive to equalize access to basic public services, infrastructure connectivity and basic living standards

Better health services, infrastructure and living standards cannot be attained by market means alone and require the government to play a more effective role. One obstacle to equalizing access to basic public services, infrastructure connectivity and basic living standards is the absence of national standards that define the scope and level of basic public services, infrastructure connectivity and basic living standards. Those national standards should be created and adjusted from time to time to keep abreast of socio-economic development and fiscal strengths, to form the basis for central fiscal allocations to support less developed regions and to inform local governments so that they are able to provide public

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goods accordingly. They may also serve as guidance for private actors to take part in the supply of such public goods.[14]

4.1.3 Further level up coordinated urban and rural development by implementing the countryside revitalization strategy and consolidating poverty reduction results

As General Secretary Xi Jinping noted, the most arduous tasks for common prosperity remain in the countryside.[15] In 2020, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued *Opinions on Effectively Linking Poverty Reduction with Countryside Revitalization*, which called for further raising living standards for people lifted out of poverty through revitalization of the countryside. By 2025, the goal is to further strengthen poverty reduction results, revitalize the countryside on all fronts, and ensure farmers' income growth in regions lifted out of poverty above the national average income growth for farmers. By 2035, the goal is to bolster economic strengths in regions lifted out of poverty, achieve great progress in revitalizing the countryside, sharply raise living standards for rural low-income people, and further narrow urban-rural gaps. The *Opinions* call for establishing sound long-term mechanisms for consolidating poverty reduction results, supporting rural industries to flourish in regions lifted out of poverty, securing stable employment for people lifted out of poverty, and improving infrastructure and public services for regions lifted of poverty. In consolidating poverty reduction achievements, the government should extend fiscal, financial, land and human resources policy support.

4.1.4 Optimize industrial chain spatial layout and promote industrial upgrade and social progress across regions

We should advance cross-regional industrial and supply chain cooperation to meet the needs of the deepening industrial division of labor. We should integrate industrial and supply chain development in megacities, large cities, small and medium-sized cities, as well as in the countryside, to bring into play the growth effects of emerging growth drivers, emerging industrial clusters and major provincial economies (Zhang, Zhou, 2022). In developing cross-regional industrial cooperation, we should simultaneously upgrade our industrial chain and social protection systems and avoid social downgrades such as wage declines in the process of optimizing industrial layout.

4.1.5 Establish a national governance system for coordinated regional development

For more effective inter-provincial coordination, central authorities should explore new regional governance models focusing on key regions such as the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei region and the Yangtze River Delta region and when conditions are ready, create a permanent regional coordination agency responsible for organizing major regional development strategies and policies for coordination across provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. Accordingly, the central authorities should continue improving mechanisms for regional coordination, fully leverage China's large-country advantage and market heft, and guide the free flow of production factors and orderly industrial relocation. Further progress should be made in promoting high-quality development in Zhejiang Province for building demonstration areas for common prosperity. New development experiences and practices of coordinated intra-provincial development should be summarized and scaled up. Provincial-level regional governments should live up to their responsibilities for coordinated regional development and assist regions with special difficulties in their respective jurisdictions to ease China's regional imbalances.

[14] See Public Services Planning for the 14th Five-year Plan Period, http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/zhengceku/2022-01/10/content_ 5667482.htm.
[15] See Xi Jinping, "Making Solid Progress toward Common Prosperity," *Seeking Truth*, (20), 2022.

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