BUILDING A MODERATELY PROSPEROUS SOCIETY IN ALL RESPECTS
– Regional Coordination*

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Abstract: *In China's modernization drive, coordinated regional development and the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects have been two mutually reinforcing dimensions. The three shifts of China's principal social contradiction have responded to evolving needs of its regional development. Throughout various stages, the strategy of coordinated regional development has promoted the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects in its concept formation, implementation and upcoming completion, which has reinforced regional coordination in return. In striving to achieve the goal of building a moderately prosperous society, China has increased its economic base, balanced its regional development, narrowed regional disparities, and increased equal access to essential public services.*

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To advance its modernization drive, China has coordinated regional development so as to build a moderately prosperous society in all respects by 2020. Given the reality of development imbalances, China must make sufficient material preparations on all fronts to achieve the goal of modernization by the mid-21st century and put a premium on coordinated and sustainable development. Regional coordination is both a task and an outcome of China's efforts to build a moderately prosperous society in all respects.

1. Coordinated Regional Development Will Propel the Building of a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects

In the coming decades, China will remain in the primary stage of socialism characterized by significant regional disparities and uneven development. In coordinating its regional development, China must use the advantages and potentials of various factors and promote sound and sustainable social and economic development. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, China has implemented a strategy of coordinated regional development, identified the goal of building a moderately prosperous society, and made remarkable strides in achieving this goal.

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全面建成小康社会：区域协调发展*

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摘　要：区域协调发展与全面建成小康社会，是中国现代化建设的两种发展视角，也是两个发展维度，彼此之间相互促进、相互推动。区域协调发展推动全面建成小康社会，三次主要社会矛盾的变化构成了中国区域发展的演变历程，不同时期实施的区域协调发展战略推动着我国小康概念从无到有，小康水平从低到高，小康社会从总体小康到全面小康。反过来，全面建成小康社会也促进着区域协调发展的实现，作为目标指引和政策评价，促进经济总量及基本格局向区域协调发展转变，推动缩小区域发展差距及促进基本公共服务均等化。

关键词：区域协调发展；全面建成小康社会；基本实现现代化

JEL 分类号：R11; E61

区域协调发展与全面建成小康社会，是中国现代化建设的两种发展视角，也是两个发展维度，彼此之间相互促进、相互推动。全面建成小康社会是一个基于我国发展不均衡的基本国情的不能绕开的历史发展阶段，是为中国在21世纪中叶基本实现现代化作充分的物质准备，重点在于“全面”，要实现发展的平衡性、协调性、可持续性。全面建成小康社会是区域协调发展的目标，实现区域协调发展是推动全面建成小康社会的重要任务。反过来，区域协调发展是全面建成小康社会的成果，全面建成小康社会的目标客观上促进了各区域的协调发展。

一、区域协调发展推动全面建成小康社会

我国长期处于社会主义初级阶段，区域差异大、发展不平衡是我国的基本国情，区域协调发展注重的是促进各区域发展的均衡、协调，充分发挥各要素的优势和潜力，实现经济社会可持续、健康发展。中华人民共和国以来，针对各个时期的社会主要矛盾，为了实现均衡、协调发展，我国实施了系列区域协调发展战略，也推动着我国小康概念从无到有，小康水平从低到高，小康社会从总体小康到全面小康。

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1.1 Regional Development Strategy in Favor of Inland Regions since 1956

In 1956, the Eighth Communist Party of China (CPC) National Congress identified the primary contradictions facing Chinese society as the "contradiction between the need to build an advanced industrial country and the reality of a backward agricultural country, and the contradiction between the people's demand for rapid economic and cultural development and the lack of it." [1] This contradiction characterized China's social and economic development in the three decades from the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 to the eve of the Third Plenum of the 11th CPC National Congress in 1978. In 1956, China was yet to establish an industrial system. Also, agricultural productivity in the central and western regions, in particular, remained very poor.

In 1949, the newly-founded People's Republic of China inherited an extremely uneven pattern of regional development. Much of the country's inland regions were devoid of modern industry. The economy was in tatters, and productivity was shaky. At that time, the priorities were to restore the economy and reverse the uneven distribution of productivity. In his *On Ten Major Relationships*, Comrade Mao Zedong said that "we must not only make full use of industrial bases in coastal regions, but make great efforts to develop industries in inland regions to balance the layout of industrial development." [2] Political, military and economic blockades of China by Western countries, led by the United States, imperiled China's national security. The threat of war forced China to move its industries "close to the mountains and at scattered and concealed locations," and was focused on the southwest and northwest. In this stage, China's regional development gave preference to interior regions, putting a premium on the balanced layout of productivity.

As a result, numerous construction projects began in China's central and western regions. During the First Five-Year Plan (1953-1957), China carried out 156 key projects aided by the Soviet Union, and 694 large and medium-sized construction projects, and made investments of more than 10 million yuan. During the Third Front Movement period in the 1960s, China relocated industrial enterprises from coastal regions, which were believed easier to be attacked, to less accessible interior regions, i.e. the "Third Front," to develop complete agricultural and national defense services in the hinterland.

Under its highly centralized planned economy, China shifted its industrial layout westward and established a complete industrial system, particularly its national defense industry and technology, in the central and western regions, resulting in rapid industrial and urban development in these areas. While striving to balance regional development, the central policymakers gave priority to fairness over efficiency.

Without a doubt, this regional development policy boosted China's industrial development and reversed the uneven industrial layout that was a legacy from the pre-1949 era. The policy also expedited economic development in China's central and western regions, particularly in regions populated by ethnic minorities, and narrowed the economic gaps between the interior and coastal regions. The creation of an independent and complete industrial and national economic system laid a solid industrial foundation for the country's economic development after the reform and opening up in 1978. Industrialization is both the groundwork and the starting point of modernization. In this stage, China set the goal of modernizing its agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology, i.e. the "Four Modernizations." Initial industrial development balanced the layout of productivity and laid the foundation for subsequent endeavors to build a moderately prosperous society.

1.2 Policy Preference for Coastal Regions amid Change of Principal Contradiction in 1981

During those decades from the Third Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee in 1978 to the dawn of the new century, China's social and economic development was characterized by the new

[1] Document of the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China [M]. People's Publishing House, 1956.
[2] Mao Zedong et al. Selected Works of Mao Zedong Vol.7 [M]. People's Publishing House, 1999.

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（一）从中共八大提出的社会主要矛盾看向内陆倾斜的区域发展战略

从中华人民共和国成立到中共十一届三中全会之前，三十年间的经济社会发展特征集中体现为1956年中共八大提出的社会主要矛盾，即“建立先进的工业国的要求同落后的农业国的现实之间的矛盾，是人民对于经济文化迅速发展的需要同当前经济文化不能满足人民需要的状况之间的矛盾”[1]。中共八大提出的社会主要矛盾，反映了中国落后生产力的实质，特别是中西部地区还处于落后农业生产力发展阶段的现实，亟须建立起共和国新的工业体系。这一阶段是全面小康社会的基础时期。

1949年新中国成立时，面对的是旧中国遗留下来的极其不均衡的区域发展格局，内地广大地区现代工业一片空白，经济基础和生产力十分薄弱。百业待兴，首要任务是恢复战争期间遭到破坏的国民经济，迅速恢复和发展生产，改变旧中国生产力极不均衡的状况。毛泽东同志在《论十大关系》中，提出了“沿海的工业基地必须充分利用，但是，为了平衡工业发展的布局，内地工业必须大力发展”[2]。同时，受外部环境影响，我国周边安全形势比较紧迫，以美国为首的西方国家从政治、军事、经济方面对我国进行了包围和封锁，国家安全受到严重威胁，为了应对战争威胁，中央强调经济建设以“靠山、分散、隐秘”为原则，把建设重点放在战略后方的大西南、大西北地区。因此，中国实行了向内陆倾斜、生产力均衡布局的区域发展战略。

在这一阶段，中国的生产力布局是向中西部地区投放大批工程建设项目。在“一五”计划时期，主要是建设苏联援建的156项重点工程和694个投资限额1000万元以上的大中型建设项目。在“三线”建设时期，把全国划分为一线、二线、三线地区，主要目标是在三线地区建立一个工农结合并为农业和国防服务的完整战略后方基地，有计划地把一大批沿海地区工业和企业逐步搬迁到三线地区。在向内陆倾斜、生产力均衡布局的区域发展战略驱动下，通过高度集中的计划经济体制调控手段，使我国的工业布局快速地向西推进，有力地推进了中西部地区工业化、城镇化进程，在中西部地区建立起以国防、科技工业为重点，门类较为齐全的工业体系。尽管如此，在后来的历史评价中，均认为这一阶段的区域发展战略并不符合生产力发展的客观规律，过分注重强调区域平衡的公平原则，忽视了经济发展和区域生产力的效率原则。但是，不可否认的是，这一区域政策客观上促进了我国的工业化进程，改变了旧中国工业布局极不均衡的状况，也加快了中西部地区特别是少数民族地区的经济发展步伐，缩小了内地与沿海的区域经济差距，为改革开放大力进行经济建设打下了坚实的工业基础，初步建成独立、完整的工业体系和国民经济体系。工业化是现代化的起始与基础，在实现“四个现代化”战略的过程中，这一阶段的区域发展战略是小康水平从无到有的发展过程，为以后“小康水平”的提出和建设奠定了重要的工业化基础，促进了生产力的均衡布局。

（二）从中共十一届六中全会提出的社会主要矛盾看向沿海倾斜的区域发展战略

从中共十一届三中全会实行改革开放到21世纪之前二十年间的经济社会发展特征集中体现为1981年中共十一届六中全会提出的社会主要矛盾，即国内的主要矛盾变为“人民群众日益增长的物质文化需求同落后

[1] 参见《中国共产党第八次全国代表大会文件》．北京，人民出版社1956年版．
[2] 参见《毛泽东文集（第七卷）》．北京，人民出版社1999年版．

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principal contradiction identified in the Sixth Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee in 1981, i.e. the "contradiction between people's growing material and cultural needs and underdeveloped productivity." [3] This principal contradiction was manifested in each aspect of China's social life during the primary stage of socialism. In this stage, Chiana's leaders decided to concentrate all the country's resources on increasing productivity and the economy and to increase the economic base as the first steps in building a moderately prosperous society in all respects.

In the reform and opening up after 1978, the central leadership decided to shift its priority to achieving a modernized form of socialism, with economic development as the central task, and established a strategic policy of opening up to the rest of the world and revitalizing the economy at home. Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forward a strategic vision to "let some regions and people to prosper first before assisting others in achieving common prosperity. …We should develop [the] coastal regions first before getting [the] coastal regions to support [the] interior regions."(Literature Research Office of the CPC Central Committee, 2004)

Guided by Deng Xiaoping's idea, the central leadership adopted the strategy to give priority support to the coastal regions with excellent locations and economic conditions, and drive further economic development in central and western regions through the spillover effects of the development of eastern region. Meanwhile, the leadership introduced a "three-step" strategy for national development. In 1987, the 13th CPC National Congress identified the building of a moderately prosperous society as the second step of the "three-step" strategy. In this manner, China pursued an imbalanced regional development strategy in favor of its coastal regions.

During this stage, the central government issued policies to spur regional development. In the Sixth Five-Year Plan (1981-1985) and Seventh Five-Year Plan (1986-1990) periods, in particular, China created special economic zones, coastal port cities and bonded areas in the eastern region to unleash the area's market dynamism, turning the eastern region into an engine for China's rapid economic growth and the improvement of the country's comprehensive national power.

By 2000, China's gross domestic product (GDP) per capita reached 850 US dollars, exceeding the target of 800 dollars, and about 70% of China's population led a generally prosperous life. The low-level and uneven prosperity though laid the groundwork for building a "moderately prosperous society in all respects" as the ultimate goal. In this stage, efficiency and profit maximization dominated China's regional development agenda, resulting in an economic imbalance between the eastern, central, and western regions. Recognizing the widening regional disparities, the Fifth Plenum of the 15th CPC National Congress held in October 2000 called for building a moderately prosperous society in all respects in the new century.

1.3 Strategy for Balanced Regional Development: Changing the Primary Social Contradiction after the 19th CPC National Congress in 2017

So far over the two decades from the dawn of the 21st century to the completion of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects by 2020, China's social and economic development has been characterized by the principal contradiction identified at the 19th CPC National Congress in 2017, i.e. "What we now face is the contradiction between unbalanced and inadequate development and the people's ever-growing need for a better life." [4] Recognizing this principal contradiction, the central leadership adopted the strategy of balanced regional development for the new era. The two decades from 2000 to 2020 are the final stage in China's building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects.

At the turn of the 21st century, China's economic growth started to take off, but regional disparities

[3] Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on Some Historical Issues of the Party since 1949 [M]. People's Publishing House, 1981.
[4] *Compendium of the 19th CPC National Congress* [M]. People's Publishing House, 2017..

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的社会生产之间的矛盾”[3]，也就是生产力落后的矛盾。这个主要矛盾，贯穿于社会主义初级阶段的整个过程和社会生活的各个方面，决定了当时的根本任务是集中力量发展社会生产力，以经济建设为中心，重点在于提高经济发展水平的总量。这一阶段是全面小康社会的发展时期。

1978年中国开启了改革开放的进程，中央决定将工作重心转移到以经济建设为中心的社会主义现代化建设上来，确定了实行对外开放、对内搞活经济的重大战略方针。邓小平同志提出了“两个大局”和“让一部分地区、一部分人先富起来，逐步实现共同富裕”的战略构想，“我们的发展规划，第一步，让沿海地区先发展；第二步，沿海地区帮助内地发展，达到共同富裕”（中共中央文献研究室，2004）。在邓小平思想的指导下，中央确定了积极支持沿海地区率先发展的战略，优先支持区位和经济条件较好的沿海地区加速发展，并以东部地区的发展来带动中西部地区的经济进一步发展。与此同时，中央提出了“三步走”战略，党的十三大正式将“小康”列为“三步走”战略的第二步目标。因此，中国实行了向沿海倾斜、区域非均衡发展的区域发展战略。

在这一阶段，“给政策”成为重要的区域发展政策工具，特别是在“六五”和“七五”时期，对东部地区主要实行了“特殊政策、灵活措施”、设立经济特区、开放沿海港口城市、设立沿海经济开放区和保税区等诸多释放市场活力的政策。这一阶段的区域发展战略通过集中力量优先发展东部沿海地区，使东部地区成为带动整个国民经济快速增长的发动机，迅速提升了国家的综合实力。到2000年，全国人均国内生产总值达850美元，超过了人均800美元的目标，大约有70%的人口基本达到小康水平，我国人民生活达到总体小康。总体小康是一个低水平、不全面、发展很不平衡的小康，但为日后“全面小康”的建设打下了坚实的基础。同时，也应该看到，这个阶段的区域发展战略过度追求效率优先和利润最大化的目标，忽略了各地区之间经济发展条件和发展能力的差距，结果使区域经济发展陷入了严重失衡状态，导致东中西部经济发展差距不断拉大。这也是提出“全面小康”的重要原因。为此，党的十五届五中全会提出，从21世纪开始我国进入全面建设小康社会阶段。

（三）从党的十九大的社会主要矛盾看全面协调的区域发展战略

从进入21世纪到全面建成小康社会二十年间的经济社会发展特征集中体现为2017年中共十九大提出的社会主要矛盾，即“主要矛盾已经转化为人民日益增长的美好生活需要和不平衡不充分的发展之间的矛盾”[4]。十九大提出的主要矛盾，揭示了不平衡不充分是社会主要矛盾运动的结果，为了破解社会矛盾，实现更平衡更充分的发展，“区域协调发展战略”成为今后的引领性战略，是新时代破解新的社会主要矛盾的空间方针。这一阶段是全面小康社会的成熟时期。

当中国迈向2000年世纪之交时，经济开始进入持续快速增长的阶段，但区域间的发展差距也在不断地扩大，区域发展的不协调已经引起了中央的高度重视，并在“九五”计划中正式提出“区域协调发展”概念。此后，中国先后出台了系列政策举措促进区域经济协调与协同发展，包括：1999年提出西部大开发战略，2003年提出振兴东北老工业基地战略，2004年提出中部地区崛起战略，2006年提出鼓励东部地区率先发展战略及明确“四大板块”的战略布局，2011年实施全国主体功能区规划。在这一阶段，中国实行的区域协调战略是板块趋

[3] 参见中国共产党中央委员会关于建国以来党的若干历史问题的决议[M]. 北京，人民出版社，1981.

[4] 参见《中国共产党第十九次全国代表大会文件汇编》. 北京，人民出版社2017年版.

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continued to widen and this alerted the central leadership to the need to make adjustments to the plan. Therefore, the Ninth Five-Year Plan adopted the concept of balanced regional development. Afterward, China enacted a host of policy initiatives to coordinate its regional economies; these focused on the development of the western region (1999), the old industrial base in the northeast (2003), the central region (2004), and the eastern region (2006), i.e. the "four segments." In 2011, China implemented national planning for the main functional aspects of the plan. In this stage, China's regional coordination strategy created a favorable environment and conditions for narrowing regional gaps and achieving shared prosperity in the four regions.

The 18th CPC National Congress in 2012 marked a new stage for the Chinese economy with new characteristics of regional development. "We must coordinate all the activities of the nation like moves on a chessboard, which is the key for development in the 13th Five-Year Plan period," said Comrade Xi Jinping. "Coordination is the means, target, and metric of development. By addressing the issue of uneven regional development, we should turn gaps into potentials." (Literature Research Office of the CPC Central Committee, 2016)

Comrade Xi Jinping called for a new approach to regional development, i.e. "from regional clusters to broader regional cooperation." His regional development strategy was underpinned by the Belt and Road Initiative, the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei integration, the Yangtze River Economic Belt, and the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area. With a great resolve to "win the battle against poverty," China increased aid to impoverished regions. Regional coordination is pivotal to addressing uneven and inadequate development as the principal contradiction in the new era.

2. Building a Moderately Prosperous Society: A Key Step towards Balanced Regional Development

China has set the goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects by 2020, which is an essential step before China unveils the next chapter of its modernization and national rejuvenation. By 2020, China must achieve moderate prosperity in all regions and narrow regional development gaps - gaps not only in terms of GDP and growth, but more importantly, in terms of people's standards of living and their access to essential public services.

2.1 Regional Coordination in Terms of Economic Base and Layout

2.1.1 Transition from uneven regional growth to more balanced growth

Since 1949, China's eastern, central, western, and northeastern regions have accounted for changing shares of the national GDP, as shown in Table 1. As mentioned before, we have identified three stages in the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects, i.e. the initial stage (1952-1977), the development stage (1978-1998) and the final stage (1999-2018).

In the first three decades after 1952, the eastern region accounted for an average of 38% of China's total GDP—an amount that was artificially suppressed. The focus of China's industrial layout shifted from the eastern region to the central, western and northeastern regions, which then experienced rapid economic and industrial development.

However, since the reform and opening up in 1978, policy preferences and market forces have led to a transfer of economic activity, production factors and industries back to the eastern region, whose share of the national GDP increased from 40% to 50% in two decades. In contrast, the percentage of the national GDP contributed by the central, western and northeastern regions dwindled. Amid rapid yet uneven economic growth, regional gaps widened. Against this backdrop came the concept of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects that gives equal priority to economic growth and regional coordination.

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向协调的发展战略，形成四大板块的空间格局，为全面建设小康社会形成多元格局，为经济发展差距的实质性缩小创造了有利环境和条件。

2012年党的十八的召开，标志着中国经济发展进入了一个新的阶段，区域发展也呈现出新的特点。习近平同志对全面建成小康社会和区域协调发展做出了新的诠释，“下好‘十三五’时期发展的全国一盘棋，协调发展是制胜要诀”，“协调既是发展手段又是发展目标，同时还是评价发展的标准和尺度，是发展两点论和重点论的统一，是发展平衡和不平衡的统一，是发展短板和潜力的统一”（中共中央文献研究室，2016）。习近平同志提出了“以点带面，从线到片，逐步形成区域大合作”的区域发展格局新思路，由此相继提出四个经济带发展战略，分别为“一带一路”倡议、京津冀协同发展战略、长江经济带发展战略和粤港澳大湾区建设，形成“四大板块+四大战略”的全方位开放型空间经济发展格局。同时，中央提出了“坚决打赢脱贫攻坚战”的新任务，加大对“老少边穷”地区的扶持力度。区域协调发展战略日渐成熟，并上升为统领性的国家战略，是解决新时代社会主要矛盾中“不平衡不充分”的关键途径。区域协调发展战略推动着区域向全方位平衡发展，相关重大决策的政策效应已经显现，在全面建成小康社会的征程中提供了强大动力，对世界是有重大的现实意义和深远的历史意义。

二、全面建成小康社会促进区域协调发展

全面建成小康社会，是中国小康社会战略的最后一步，能否完成，关系着下一步我国现代化和民族复兴进程能否顺利开启。从区域协调发展的角度看，到2020年全面建成小康社会意味着全国各个地区都要迈入小康社会，区域发展的差距越来越小。按照全面建成小康社会发展目标的要求，必须不断缩小区域发展差距，其中不仅仅是缩小GDP总量和GDP增速的差距，更应该缩小人民生活水平、基本公共服务水平等方面的差距。

（一）目标指引：经济总量及基本格局向区域协调发展转变

1.区域经济总量由不平衡增长向相对均衡增长转变

中华人民共和国成立以来，从区域经济发展总量看，东部地区、中部地区、西部地区和东北地区的GDP绝对值占全国比重的变化趋势比较明显。我国东部、中部、西部、东北地区的GDP绝对值及占全国比重的对比变化情况见表1。按照上文所划分的全面小康社会三个时期看，表中1952年到1977年属于小康社会的基础时期，1978年到1998年属于小康社会的发展时期，1999年到2018年属于小康社会的成熟时期。

在小康社会的基础时期，东部地区GDP占全国的比重基本平均保持在38%，三十年来一直处于压制的状态，全国产业布局逐步从东部地区向中部、西部和东北地区转移扩散，中部、西部和东北地区呈现均衡格局，开辟了中部、西部、东北地区的国民经济工业体系，为日后这三大地区的发展奠定了基本条件。

改革开放以后，我国步入了小康社会的发展时期，由于东部地区的政策条件和市场力量的作用，全国经济生产活动、生产要素和工业产业持续向东部地区转移和集聚，东部地区GDP迅猛增长，占全国GDP比重在

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Table 1: GDP of the Four Regions and Percentage of National GDP (1952-2018)

Year	National total	Eastern region		Central region		Western region		Northeast region	
	GDP (in 100 million yuan)	GDP (in 100 million yuan)	Share in national total (%)	GDP (in 100 million yuan)	Share in national total (%)	GDP (in 100 million yuan)	Share in national total (%)	GDP (in 100 million yuan)	Share in national total (%)
1952	679	257	38	150	22	127	19	84	12
1953	824	313	38	176	21	149	18	104	13
1954	860	335	39	177	21	172	20	114	13
1955	912	355	39	214	24	182	20	119	13
1956	1,031	393	38	230	22	221	21	139	13
1957	1,071	423	40	259	24	229	21	148	14
1958	1,312	510	39	320	24	274	21	198	15
1959	1,448	596	41	354	24	299	21	247	17
1960	1,470	640	44	364	25	287	20	280	19
1961	1,232	483	39	263	21	241	20	162	13
1962	1,162	459	39	258	22	234	20	160	14
1963	1,248	489	39	262	21	252	20	174	14
1964	1,470	545	37	298	20	284	19	194	13
1965	1,734	615	35	350	20	331	19	225	13
1966	1,889	683	36	402	21	352	19	251	13
1967	1,794	640	36	390	22	331	18	229	13
1968	1,744	646	37	370	21	299	17	218	13
1969	1,962	740	38	400	20	343	17	260	13
1970	2,280	847	37	480	21	398	17	304	13
1971	2,457	901	37	526	21	448	18	325	13
1972	2,552	949	37	555	22	463	18	326	13
1973	2,756	1,016	37	597	22	489	18	359	13
1974	2,828	1,034	37	583	21	501	18	382	13
1975	3,040	1,137	37	630	21	551	18	412	14
1976	2,989	1,159	39	635	21	560	19	416	14
1977	3,250	1,286	40	696	21	626	19	432	13
1978	3,679	1,514	41	777	21	726	20	486	13
1979	4,101	1,712	42	918	22	812	20	523	13
1980	4,588	1,922	42	1,011	22	895	20	601	13
1981	4,936	2,114	43	1,142	23	971	20	628	13
1982	5,373	2,364	44	1,251	23	1,098	20	685	13
1983	6,021	2,624	44	1,434	24	1,226	20	791	13
1984	7,279	3,164	43	1,714	24	1,433	20	931	13

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表 1:中华人民共和国成立以来四大区域GDP绝对值及占全国比重对比变化

年份	全国	东部地区		中部地区		西部地区		东北地区		
	GDP（亿元）	GDP（亿元）	占全国比重(%)	GDP（亿元）	占全国比重(%)	GDP（亿元）	占全国比重(%)	GDP（亿元）	占全国比重(%)	
1952		679	257	38	150	22	127	19	84	12
1953		824	313	38	176	21	149	18	104	13
1954		860	335	39	177	21	172	20	114	13
1955		912	355	39	214	24	182	20	119	13
1956		1,031	393	38	230	22	221	21	139	13
1957		1,071	423	40	259	24	229	21	148	14
1958		1,312	510	39	320	24	274	21	198	15
1959		1,448	596	41	354	24	299	21	247	17
1960		1,470	640	44	364	25	287	20	280	19
1961		1,232	483	39	263	21	241	20	162	13
1962		1,162	459	39	258	22	234	20	160	14
1963		1,248	489	39	262	21	252	20	174	14
1964		1,470	545	37	298	20	284	19	194	13
1965		1,734	615	35	350	20	331	19	225	13
1966		1,889	683	36	402	21	352	19	251	13
1967		1,794	640	36	390	22	331	18	229	13
1968		1,744	646	37	370	21	299	17	218	13
1969		1,962	740	38	400	20	343	17	260	13
1970		2,280	847	37	480	21	398	17	304	13
1971		2,457	901	37	526	21	448	18	325	13
1972		2,552	949	37	555	22	463	18	326	13
1973		2,756	1,016	37	597	22	489	18	359	13
1974		2,828	1,034	37	583	21	501	18	382	13
1975		3,040	1,137	37	630	21	551	18	412	14
1976		2,989	1,159	39	635	21	560	19	416	14
1977		3,250	1,286	40	696	21	626	19	432	13
1978		3,679	1,514	41	777	21	726	20	486	13
1979		4,101	1,712	42	918	22	812	20	523	13
1980		4,588	1,922	42	1,011	22	895	20	601	13
1981		4,936	2,114	43	1,142	23	971	20	628	13
1982		5,373	2,364	44	1,251	23	1,098	20	685	13
1983		6,021	2,624	44	1,434	24	1,226	20	791	13
1984		7,279	3,164	43	1,714	24	1,433	20	931	13

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1985	9,099	3,879	43	2,079	23	1,717	19	1,074	12
1986	10,376	4,335	42	2,343	23	1,920	19	1,233	12
1987	12,175	5,219	43	2,739	22	2,240	18	1,471	12
1988	15,180	6,732	44	3,370	22	2,842	19	1,802	12
1989	17,180	7,655	45	3,817	22	3,258	19	2,026	12
1990	18,873	8,506	45	4,249	23	3,770	20	2,203	12
1991	22,006	10,042	46	4,588	21	4,335	20	2,486	11
1992	27,195	12,638	46	5,509	20	5,121	19	2,991	11
1993	35,673	17,174	48	6,985	20	6,502	18	3,928	11
1994	48,638	23,243	48	9,035	19	8,512	18	5,004	10
1995	61,340	29,846	49	11,927	19	10,588	17	5,922	10
1996	71,814	35,107	49	14,153	20	12,440	17	6,875	10
1997	79,715	39,694	50	15,917	20	13,906	17	7,714	10
1998	85,196	43,216	51	17,145	20	14,951	18	8,233	10
1999	90,564	46,660	52	18,054	20	15,822	17	8,711	10
2000	100,280	52,743	53	19,800	20	17,276	17	9,772	10
2001	110,863	58,595	53	21,768	20	18,939	17	10,544	10
2002	121,717	65,724	54	23,764	20	20,957	17	11,444	9
2003	137,422	76,969	56	26,987	20	23,975	17	12,722	9
2004	161,840	92,816	57	32,919	20	28,945	18	14,545	9
2005	187,319	110,549	59	38,705	21	34,087	18	17,181	9
2006	219,439	129,218	59	44,773	20	40,346	18	19,791	9
2007	270,092	154,030	57	54,532	20	49,184	18	23,553	9
2008	319,245	180,417	57	65,921	21	60,448	19	28,409	9
2009	348,518	196,674	56	72,985	21	66,973	19	31,078	9
2010	412,119	232,031	56	89,017	22	81,408	20	37,493	9
2011	487,940	271,355	56	108,072	22	100,235	21	45,378	9
2012	538,580	295,892	55	120,541	22	113,905	21	50,477	9
2013	592,963	324,765	55	132,729	22	126,956	21	54,715	9
2014	641,281	350,101	55	143,814	22	138,100	22	57,469	9
2015	685,993	372,983	54	152,232	22	145,019	21	57,816	8
2016	740,061	410,186	55	166,554	23	156,828	21	52,410	7
2017	820,754	447,835	55	183,498	22	168,562	21	54,256	7
2018	900,310	480,996	53	200,680	22	184,302	20	56,752	6

Note: Eastern region include Heibei, Beijing, Tianjin, Shandong, Shanghai, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Fujian, Guangdong, Hainan; Central region include Shanxi, Henan, Anhui, Hubei, Hunan, Jiangxi; Western region include Inner Mongolia, Guangxi, Shanxi, Gansu, Ningxia, Qinghai, Xinjiang, Chongqing, Sichuan, Guizhou, Yunan, Tibet; Northeast region include Liaoning, Jilin and Heilongjiang.

Sources: Wind database and *China Statistical Yearbook.*

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1985	9,099	3,879	43	2,079	23	1,717	19	1,074	12
1986	10,376	4,335	42	2,343	23	1,920	19	1,233	12
1987	12,175	5,219	43	2,739	22	2,240	18	1,471	12
1988	15,180	6,732	44	3,370	22	2,842	19	1,802	12
1989	17,180	7,655	45	3,817	22	3,258	19	2,026	12
1990	18,873	8,506	45	4,249	23	3,770	20	2,203	12
1991	22,006	10,042	46	4,588	21	4,335	20	2,486	11
1992	27,195	12,638	46	5,509	20	5,121	19	2,991	11
1993	35,673	17,174	48	6,985	20	6,502	18	3,928	11
1994	48,638	23,243	48	9,035	19	8,512	18	5,004	10
1995	61,340	29,846	49	11,927	19	10,588	17	5,922	10
1996	71,814	35,107	49	14,153	20	12,440	17	6,875	10
1997	79,715	39,694	50	15,917	20	13,906	17	7,714	10
1998	85,196	43,216	51	17,145	20	14,951	18	8,233	10
1999	90,564	46,660	52	18,054	20	15,822	17	8,711	10
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2010	412,119	232,031	56	89,017	22	81,408	20	37,493	9
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2017	820,754	447,835	55	183,498	22	168,562	21	54,256	7
2018	900,310	480,996	53	200,680	22	184,302	20	56,752	6

注(下同):东部地区包括河北、北京、天津、山东、上海、江苏、浙江、福建、广东、海南;中部地区包括山西、河南、安徽、湖北、湖南、江西;西部地区包括内蒙古、广西、陕西、甘肃、宁夏、青海、新疆、重庆、四川、贵州、云南、西藏;东北地区包括辽宁、吉林和黑龙江。

资料来源:根据Wind数据库、《中国统计年鉴》统计资料汇编计算得出。

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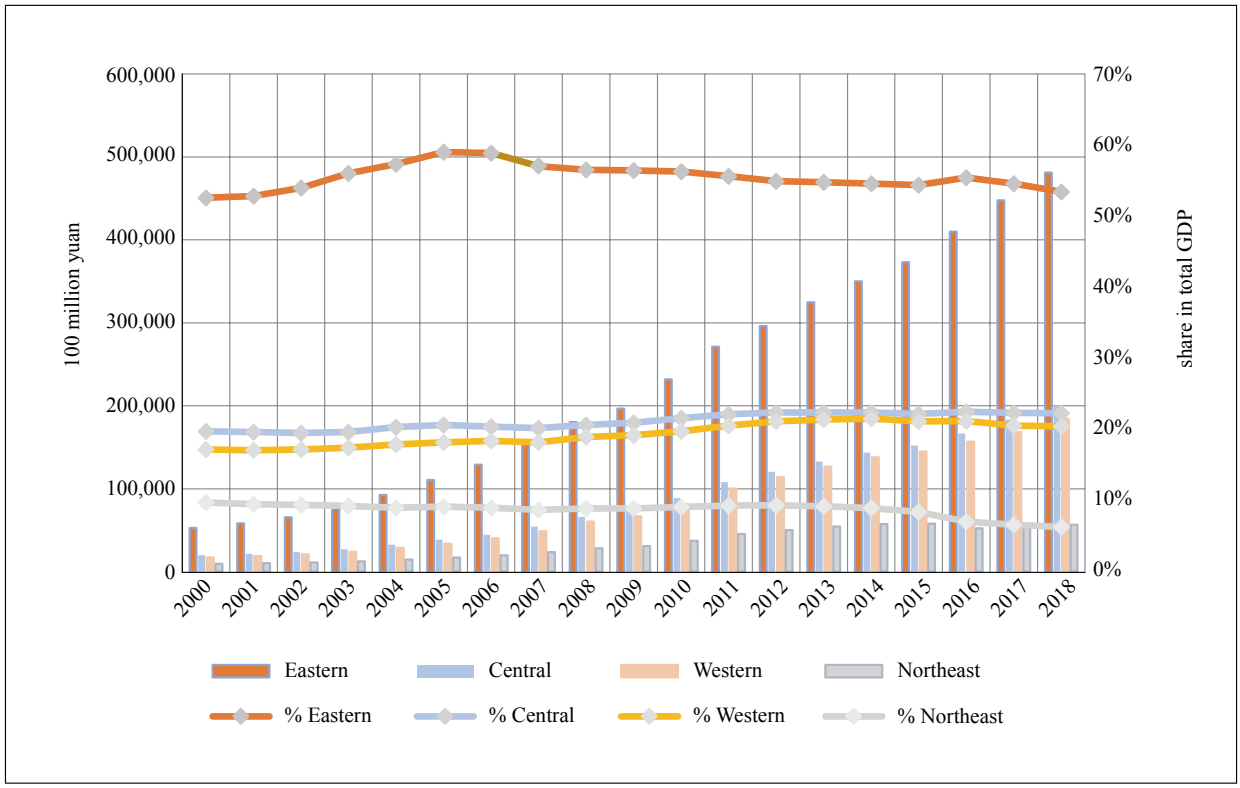

Figure 1: GDP of the Four Regions and Shares of National Total (2000-2018)

Source: Wind database and *China Statistical Yearbook*.

After the dawn of the new century, China strove to narrow regional development gaps through a host of policy maneuvers. However, in the first decade after 2000, the eastern region still accounted for up to 59% of China's total GDP. Widening regional gaps became the most prominent contradiction in building a moderately prosperous society in all respects. After the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, the percentage of national GDP contributed by the central and western regions started to rise (Figure 1). Policy guidance led to more balanced growth and smaller gaps between the eastern, central and western regions. Significant regional gradient effects and coordination laid a solid groundwork for achieving common prosperity.

2.1.2. Growth of absolute regional gaps slowed and relative gaps narrowed

The GDP per capita offers a more reasonable assessment of regional development gaps, as shown in Figure 2. During the first three decades after 1952, the GDP per capita was similar across the four regions; the highest GDP was in the northeast, though it was still very low in absolute terms. In the 26 years from 1952 to 1978, China's national GDP per capita only grew by 3.2 times. The adjustment of the regional productivity layout at the expense of efficiency stymied China's economy and was counter-productive to building a moderately prosperous society.

From 1978 to 2000, China's absolute regional development gaps widened, but the national economic aggregate increased as the eastern region took the lead in development. In 2000, China's GDP per capita was 20.6 times that of 1978 and 66.7 times that of 1952. From 2000 to 2018, China's implementation of a balanced regional economic development strategy slowed the expansion of absolute gaps between the

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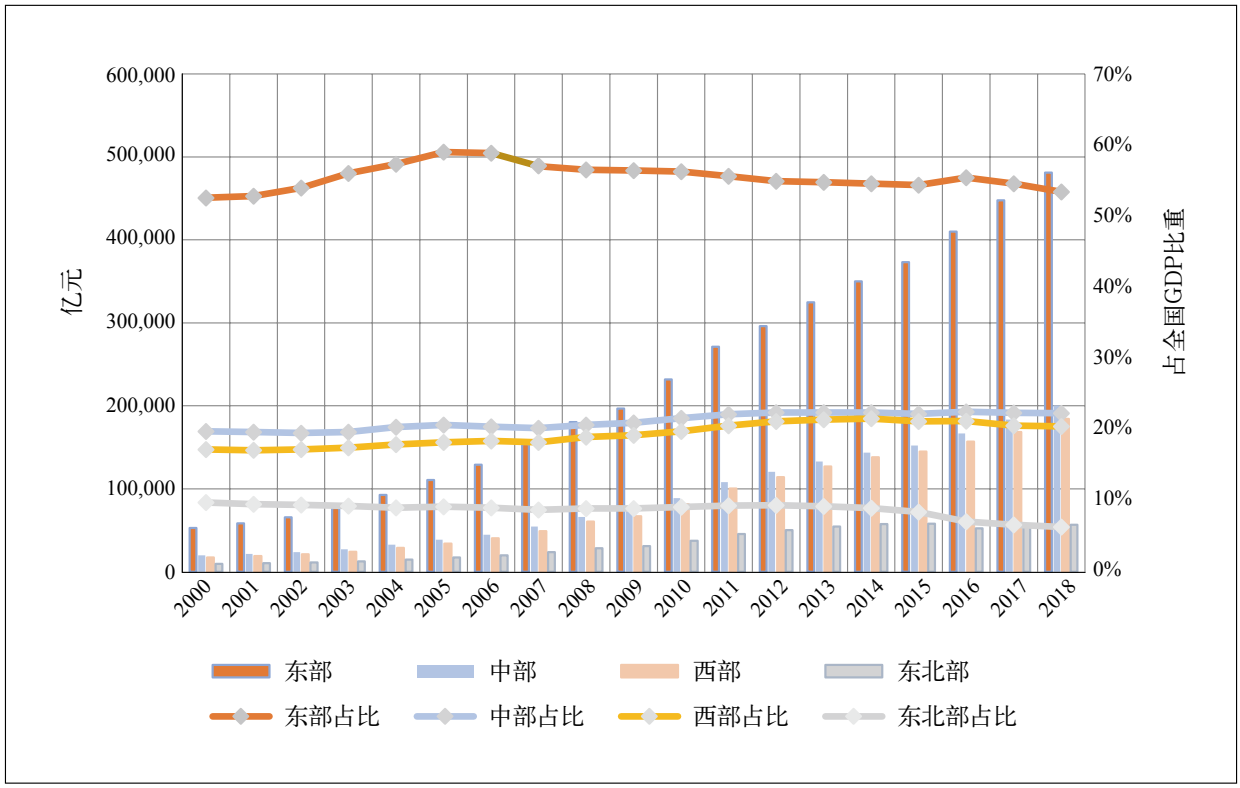

图 1：全面小康社会成熟时期四大区域GDP总量及占全国比重变化

资料来源：根据Wind数据库、《中国统计年鉴》统计资料汇编计算得出。

二十年间从40%增长到50%。与此同时，中部、西部和东北地区GDP占全国比重呈现出逐年下降的趋势，区域经济发展差距呈现出扩大趋势。这一时期，全国经济总量迅速膨胀，经济发展总体效率飞速提升，但是区域发展差距的矛盾也在日益加深，于是全面小康社会概念应运而生，既要增加经济总量，也要促进区域协调发展。

进入21世纪，在全面小康社会的成熟期，国家出台了系列旨在缩小地区发展差距的区域协调发展政策，但在第一个十年中，东部地区GDP占全国比重一度最高达到59%，区域发展差距进一步扩大，也体现出了我国缩小区域经济发展差距的艰巨性和复杂性，成为建成全面小康社会进程中最为突出的矛盾。在系列区域协调发展政策的作用下，特别是2012年党的十八召开以来，小康社会成熟期的第二个十年成为全面建成小康社会的“冲刺时刻”，中部和西部地区经济增长速度逐步加快，全国经济生产活动逐步向中部和西部地区转移扩散，中部和西部地区GDP 占全国比重呈现上升状态，如图1所示。在全面建成小康社会的目标及政策指引下，区域经济增长转为相对均衡的增长态势，东部和中部、西部地区的区域发展差距由扩大转为缩小，区域间的梯度效应明显，区域统筹协调发展的成效显著，为实现共同富裕奠定了坚实的基础。

2.区域发展格局的绝对差距扩速放缓，相对差距逐渐缩小

为了考察区域间的经济社会发展差距，从人均GDP的角度观察（见图2），可以得到更加合理的判断。在小

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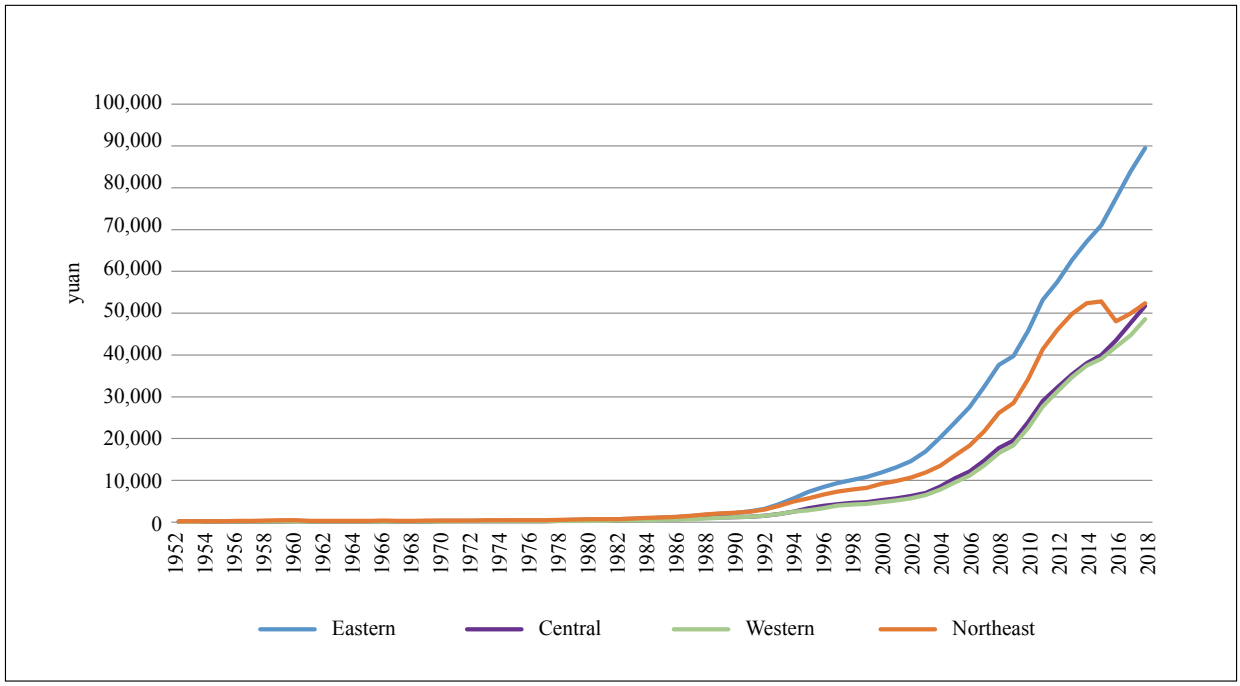

Figure 2: Changes in the GDP per Capita of the Four Regions (1952-2018)

four regions. The maximum relative gaps between the four regions decreased from 2.5:1 in 2000 to 1.8:1 in 2018. As can be seen from the absolute values, the regional gaps between the central, western and northeastern regions decreased to the lowest level by 2018. These three regions have thus approached an equilibrium state of regional development.

To further investigate the relative regional development in China from 1952-2018, we have adopted the regional gap coefficient variation curve model as suggested by Liu (2016). By examining China's regional economic development and GDP per capita at both national and provincial levels, we have plotted the regional gap variation curve as shown in Figure 4.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, China has experienced three peaks in its regional economic gaps; these occurred in 1960, 1978 and 2005. As the chart shows, these regional gaps have experienced a few cycles of widening and narrowing. After the implementation of the regional coordination strategy, the regional disparities have further reduced since 2012 to the lowest level in the People's Republic of China's history. Implementing a more balanced approach to regional development has expedited the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects.

2.2 Policy Effects: Smaller Regional Gaps and Equal Access to Basic Public Services

While building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, China must measure the changes in its development in various regions in a scientific, objective and accurate manner. The goal of economic activity is to deliver better standards of living to the people, as manifested in the growth of material wealth. To achieve this goal, a country should develop its low-income regions into middle-income and high-income regions, and narrow regional development gaps (Jin, 2018). [7] In 2012, the 18th CPC National Congress vowed to "double China's GDP and per capita urban and rural incomes over the level of 2010." In this sense, per capita GDP and income are the key metrics to be used in measuring the

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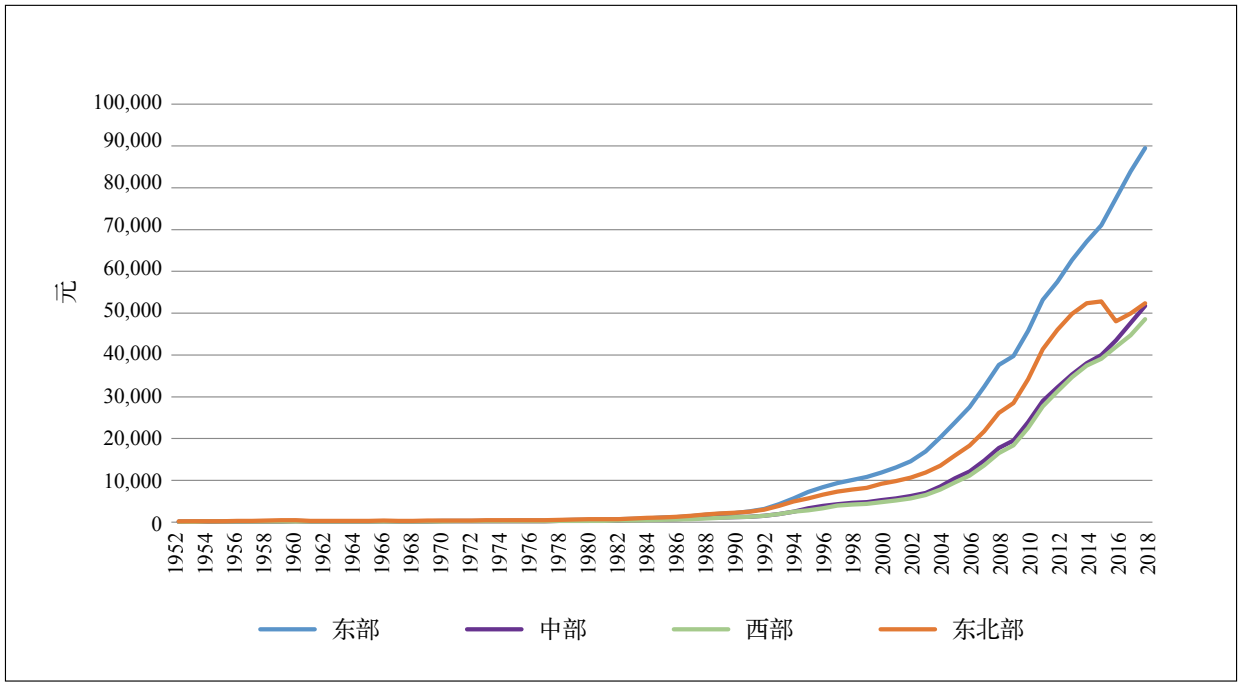

图 2:中华人民共和国成立以来四大区域人均GDP对比变化

资料来源:根据Wind数据库、《中国统计年鉴》统计资料汇编计算得出。

康社会的基础时期,由于实施向内陆倾斜、生产力均衡布局的区域发展战略,四大区域的人均GDP保持相对平衡,其中最高的是东北地区,人均GDP 虽然差异不大,但显然是低水平的人均GDP,增长乏力,从1952年到1978年,全国人均GDP仅增长了3.2倍。这种过分强调区域经济平衡,以牺牲投资效益为代价来推动区域间生产力的布局调整,压低了经济发展的档次,整体上延缓了全国经济的发展速度,显然与小康社会的应有之义是不相符合的。

在小康社会的发展时期,区域间发展绝对差距显著扩大,但通过优先带动战略促进了全国经济总量的增长,2000年全国人均GDP是1978的20.6倍(见图3),是1952年的66.7倍。进入小康社会的成熟时期(见图4),通过实施全面协调的区域经济发展战略,四大区域间的绝对差距扩速放缓,相对差距逐渐缩小,最大的相对差距比从2000年的2.5:1降低到2018年的1.8:1。通过区域差异绝对值曲线中可以看到,到2018年,中部、西部、东北地区之间的区域差异已经下降到底部,说明这三个地区之间的区域发展基本接近均衡状态。

为了进一步探索区域发展的相对差距,按照刘洋(2016)的计算方法,选取区域差异系数变动曲线模型来进行研究。本文选取了1952~2018年期间的区域经济发展数据进行研究,对此期间全国的人均GDP以及省一级的省市人均GDP进行计算,得出图5的区域差异变动曲线。我们可以看出,中华人民共和国成立以来,共形成了三个区域间经济差距扩大的峰值,分别是1960年、1978年、2005年前后,并先后经历了区域差距缩小和区域差距扩大的不同时段。特别是在全面协调区域经济发展战略实施后, 2012年以后区域差距进一步缩小,成效显著,降到了历史新低,说明我国区域协调发展政策产生了实际效果,进一步加快了全面建成小康社会的进程。

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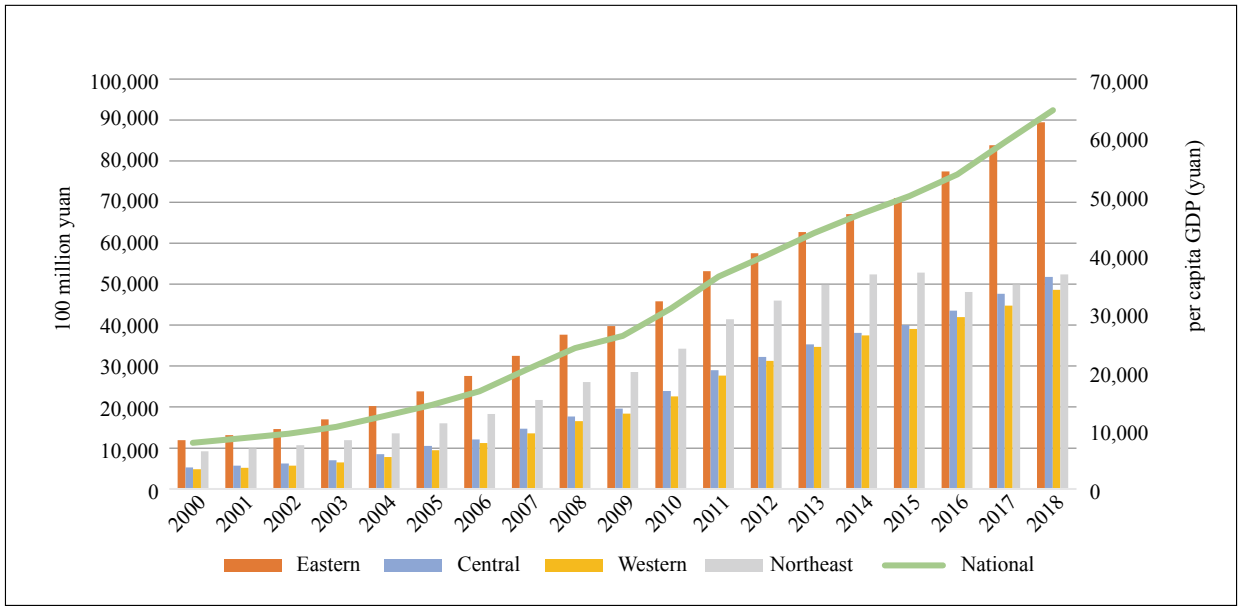

Figure 3: Evolution of China's Regional Economic Gaps in GDP per Capita (2000-2018)

Sources: Wind database and *China Statistical Yearbook.*

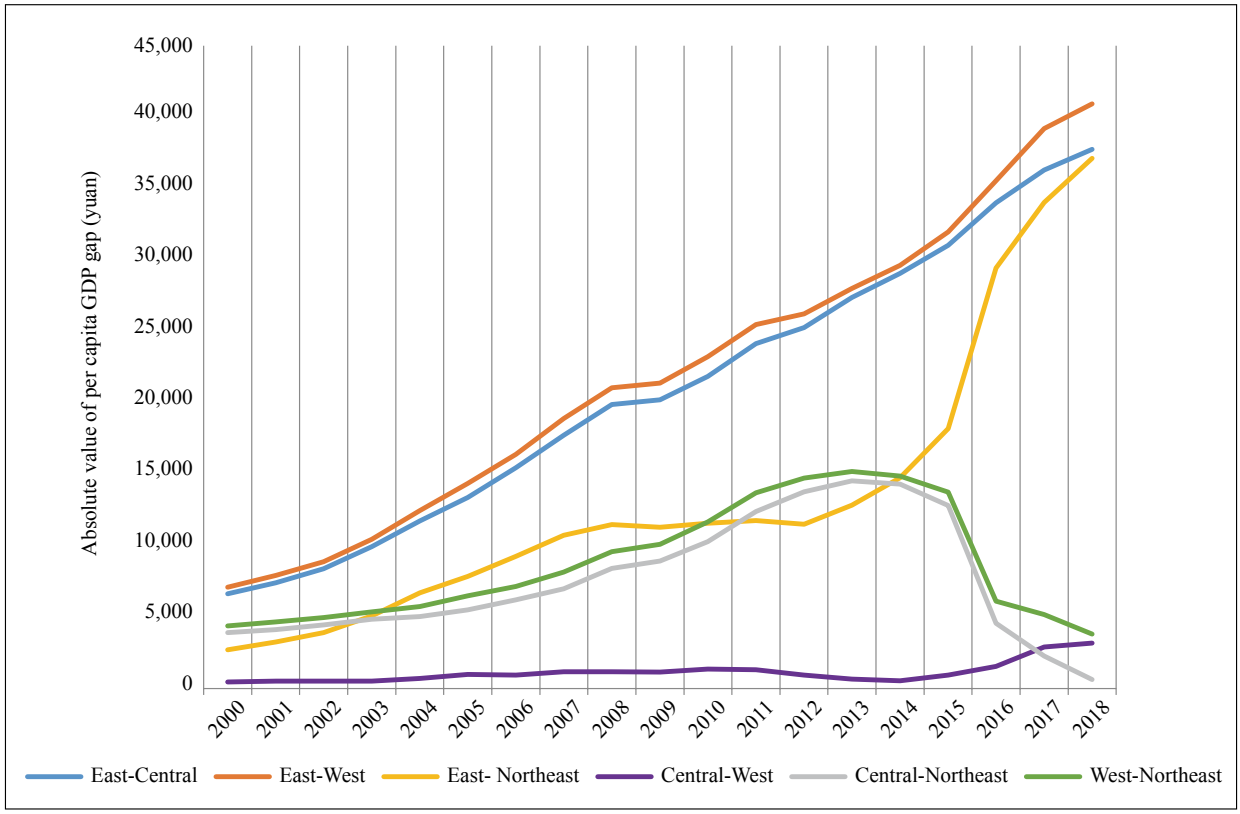

Figure 4: Evolution of China's Regional Development Gaps

Sources: Wind database and *China Statistical Yearbook.*

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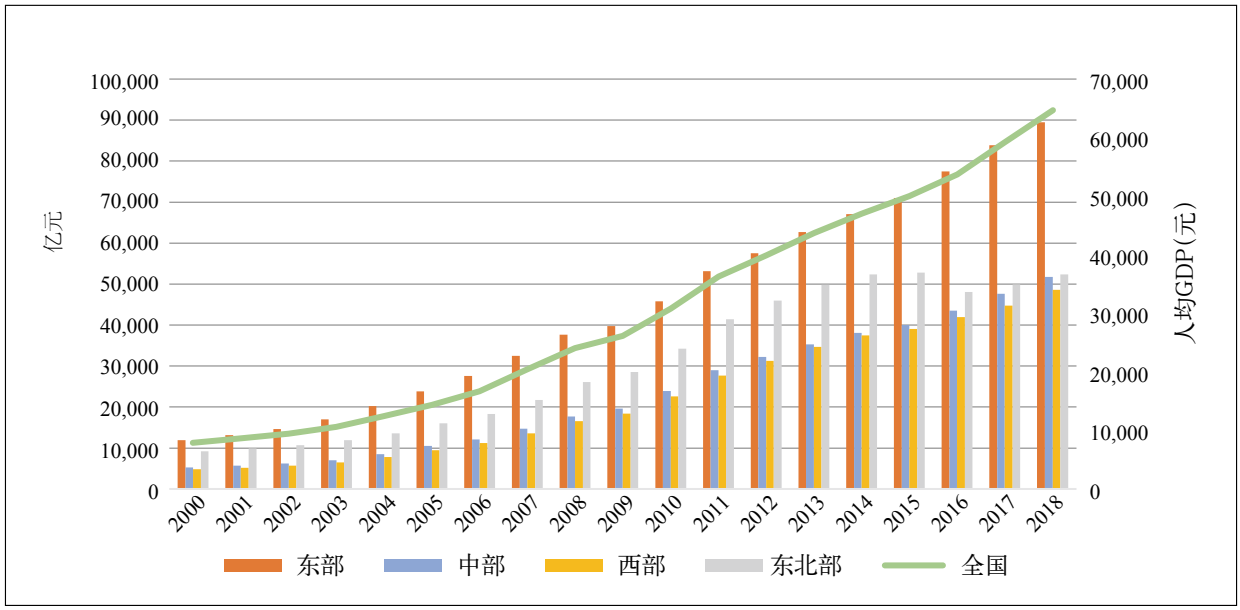

图 3：全面小康社会成熟时期我国区域经济差距（人均GDP）演变趋势

资料来源：根据WIND数据库、《中国统计年鉴》统计资料汇编计算得出。

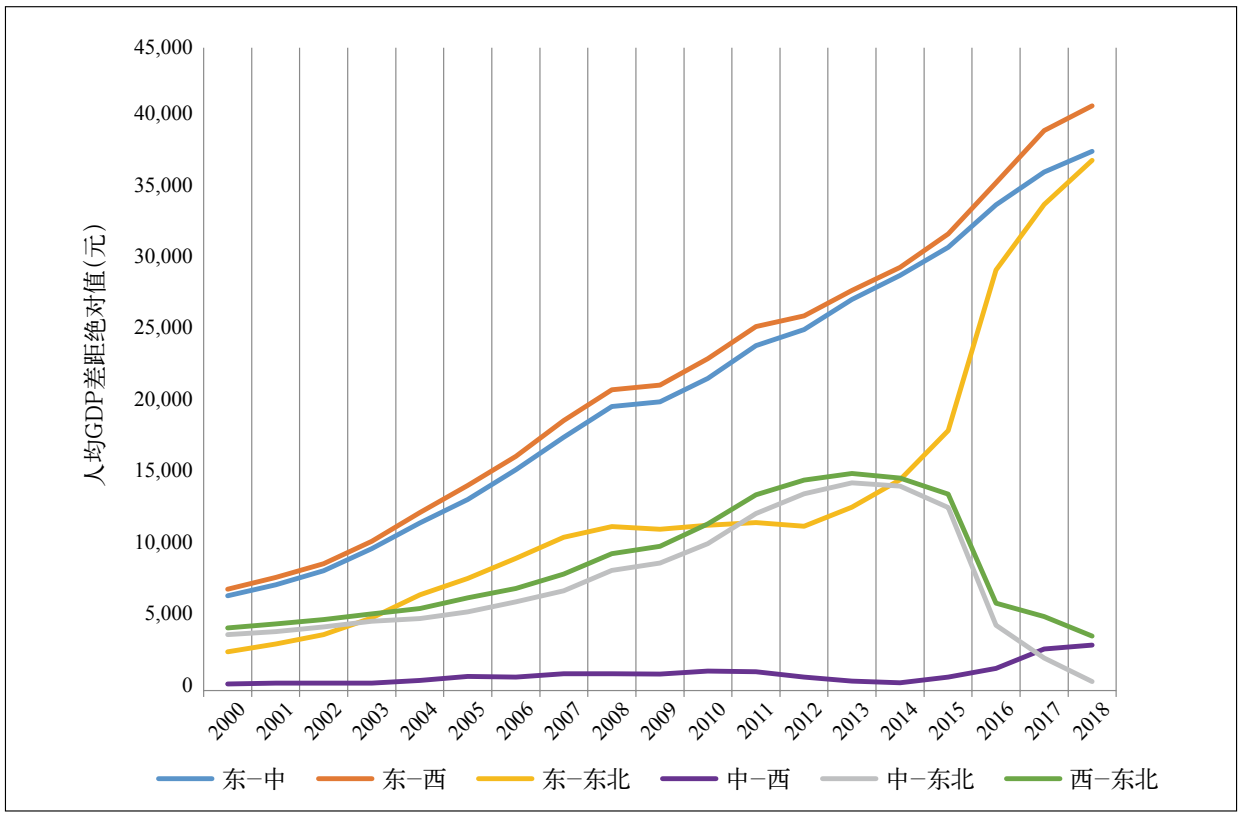

图 4：全面小康社会成熟时期我国区域发展差距演变动态

资料来源：根据Wind数据库、《中国统计年鉴》统计资料汇编计算得出。

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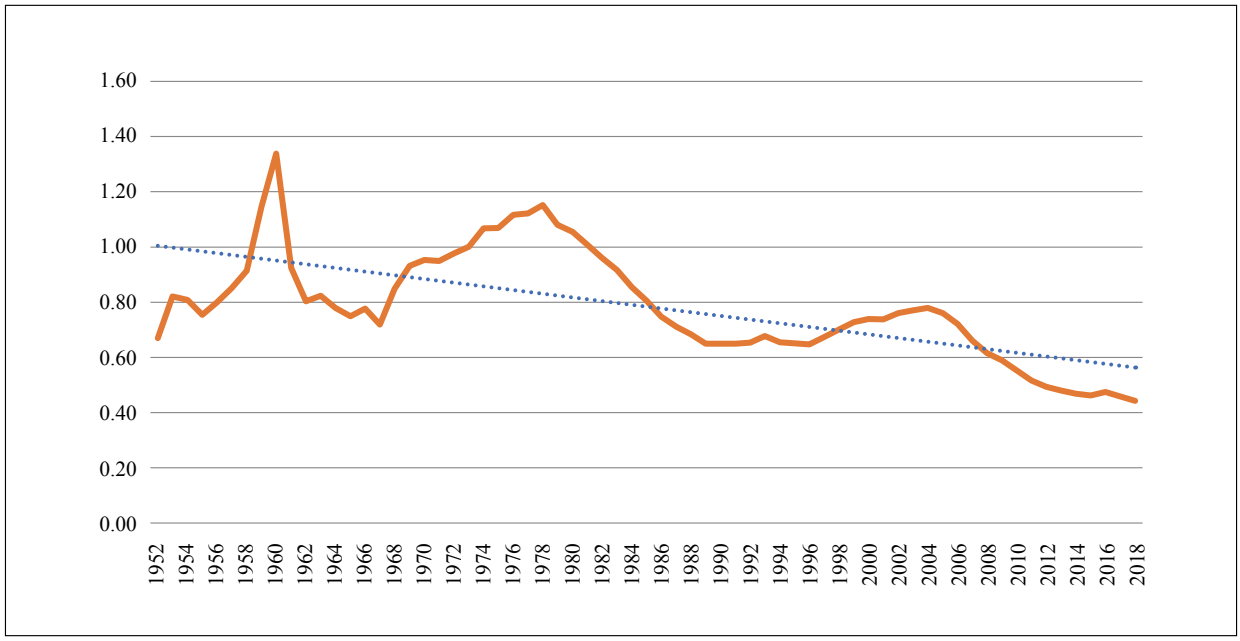

Figure 5: China's Regional Gap Coefficient Variation Curve

Sources: Wind database and *China Statistical Yearbook.*

success of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects.

Rising GDP and urban and rural income per capita have led to smaller regional gaps and more balanced regional development. As China enters into a rational era of regional development, people start to seek happiness in addition to material abundance—happiness in the physical and psychological senses that requires many conditions other than material prosperity (Jin, 2018).

These conditions can be reflected in equal access to public services. In building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, China must make up for its weak areas by ensuring equal access to public services and thus coordinate its regional development. Public finance should strive to ensure equal access to public services, and fiscal income and spending per capita, especially spending, may reflect the level of public services available to each individual. Most studies employ the equality of fiscal spending as a proxy for access to essential public services, which is otherwise hard to measure.

To measure regional development gaps, this paper uses the following figures: the regional GDP per capita, income per capita, the variation coefficient and range ratio of national fiscal income and spending per capita, and the regional fiscal spending per capita.

2.2.1 GDP per capita and urban-rural income per capita

In 2012, the 18th CPC National Congress vowed to complete the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects by 2020. Using the per capita GDP and income per capita of 2010 as benchmark values, we have calculated the target values needed to achieve this goal by 2020, as shown in Table 3. As can be seen from this table, China's eastern region took the lead by doubling its GDP by 2018, while the central and western regions then were yet to achieve their 2020 target values. Overall, China's central and northeastern regions have been very close to the 2020 target values, while the western region has fallen far away. Whether the western region manages to catch up is the key to achieving the goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects.

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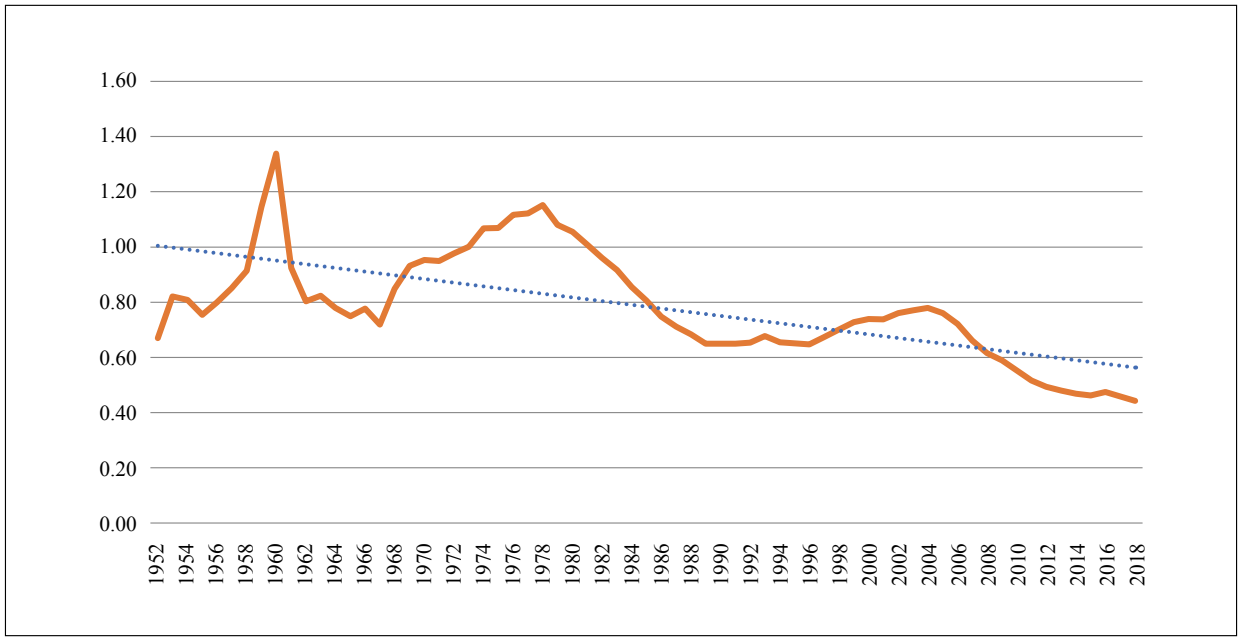

图 5:我国区域差异系数变动曲线

资料来源:根据Wind数据库、《中国统计年鉴》统计资料汇编计算得出。

(二)政策评价:推动缩小区域发展差距及促进基本公共服务均等化

从区域的角度看,科学、客观、准确地反映各区域的发展进度是确保全面建成小康社会目标任务如期实现的需要。金碚(2018)认为,经济活动的目的是实现人类的更美好生活,要达到这一目的,需要具备一定的物质条件,表现为物质财富的增长,具体表现为研究各地区如何从低收入地区发展为中等收入地区,以至高收入地区,以及各地区之间发展差距如何趋向收敛(金碚,2018)。党的十八大明确提出"实现国内生产总值和城乡居民人均收入比2010年翻一番"的目标,因此人均GDP、城乡居民人均收入是全面建成小康社会的根本标志和主要指标。在实现全面建成小康社会的过程中,人均GDP及城乡居民人均收入的提高,也在推动着区域发展差距缩小,促进区域协调发展。与此同时,金碚(2018)提出,区域发展进入了本真理性时代,人类价值不仅是生存、繁荣和传承,而且需要"幸福",人的身心健康和愉快还需要满足更多其他条件(金碚,2018)。这些"其他条件"集中表现为公共服务均等化。全面建成小康社会的重点在"补短板",在于实现基本公共服务均等化,这也是实现区域协调发展的主要途径。中国财政学会"公共服务均等化问题研究"课题组(2007)提出,公共服务均等化本质上是公共财政的重要组成部分,是公共财政职能的深化,并认为,人均财政收入和财政支出,尤其是人均财政支出, 较能反映个人能够享受到的公共服务水平(阎坤,2007)。孙琳(2017)认为,由于基本公共服务效果指标无法获取、难以量化,大多数文献通常采用支出均等化代替效果均等化指标,可以从财政均等和结果大体相等的角度,研判我国各区域基本公共服务均等化问题。

综上,本文选取了反映区域发展差距的各区域人均GDP、城乡居民人均收入,及反映基本公共服务水平的全国人均财政收入和人均财政支出的变异系数和极差率、各区域公共财政人均支出等指标,以衡量在全面

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Judging by national and provincial GDP per capita and income per capita, we can see from Figures 5 and 6 that by 2018, China's GDP per capita stood at 64,644 yuan, and income per capita reached 28,228 yuan; both of these figures reached the targets for the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects ahead of the specified year of 2020. However, the national per capita is not equal to shared prosperity. In reality, development in the four regions remains uneven and is relatively slow in the western region. After achieving shared prosperity at the national and regional levels, China should also increase its GDP per capita and its income per capita in various provinces and regions to ensure that no one is excluded from shared prosperity.

As can be seen from the chart, 19 provinces and regions were yet to reach the 2020 target of per capita GDP in 2018. Among them, Gansu Province had the lowest GDP per capita, i.e. 31,336 yuan. Eighteen provinces and regions were yet to reach the 2020 target of urban and rural income per capita, and Tibet registered the lowest income per capita of 17,286 yuan. Local governments should decompose the goal of shared prosperity by 2020 into local targets and improve policy-making to narrow the gaps in regional and urban-rural development and thus achieve shared prosperity.

Table 2: Economic Development in the Four Regions and Comparisons to the 2020 Target Values

	Benchmark value for 2010	Target value for 2020	Eastern region (2018)	Central region (2018)	Western region (2018)	Northeast (2018)
GDP Per capita (yuan)	30,808	≥61,000	89,487	51,740	48,557	52,371
Urban and rural disposable income per capita (yuan)	12,520	≥25,000	39,567	23,845	21,599	25,075

Sources: Wind database, CEINet Statistics Database, and *China Statistical Yearbook.*

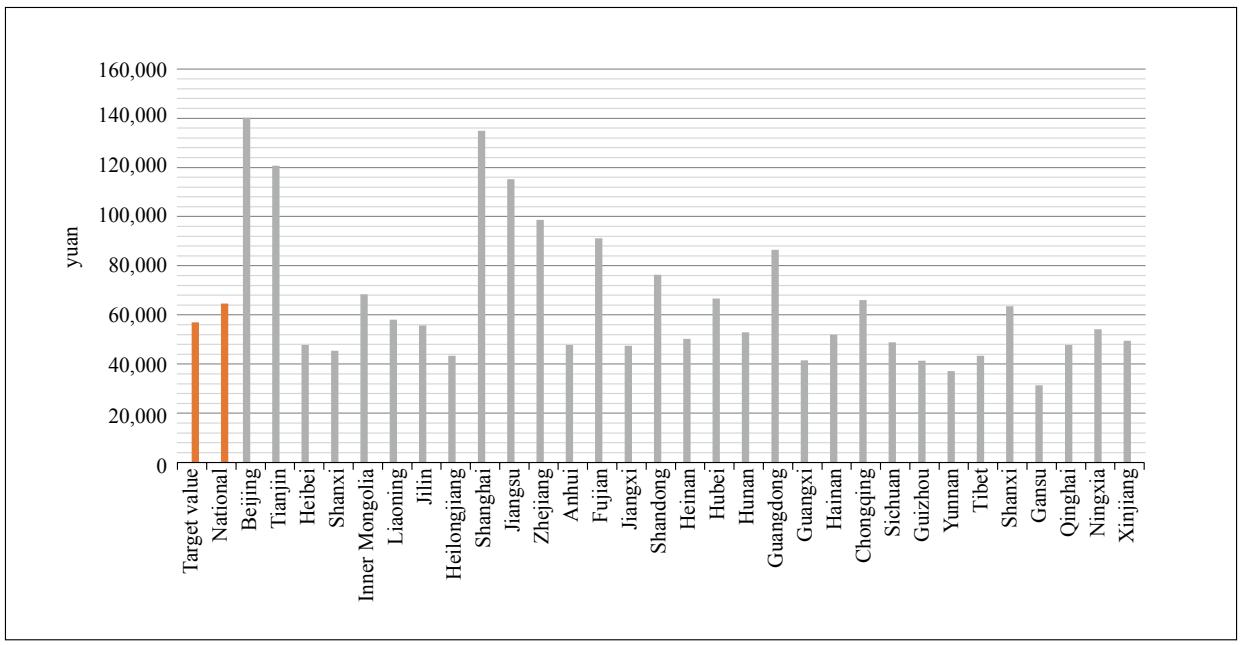

Figure 6: National and Provincial GDP per Capita in 2018

Sources: Wind database, *China Statistical Yearbook*.

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建成小康社会驱动下的区域间发展差距情况。

1.人均GDP及城乡居民人均收入发展对比

按照党的十八提出的全面建成小康社会的目标，以2010年人均GDP及城乡居民人均收入作为基准值，计算2020年全面建成小康社会的目标值，结果见表2。可以看出，2018年，东部地区已经率先完成了翻一番的目标，中部和西部地区均未达到2020年的目标值。从整体看，中部地区和东北地区距离完成2020年的目标十分接近，相差较大的就是西部地区，西部地区成为区域协调发展能否顺利全面建成小康社会的关键。

从全国和各省市的人均GDP以及城乡居民人均收入的情况看，如图6、图7所示，我们可以看出，截至2018年，全国人均GDP为64644元，城乡居民人均收入为28228元，均已提前完成了建成全面小康社会的目标。但是全国人均水平并不代表全面小康，纵观各区域发展情况，可以看出四大区域发展依然不均衡，特别是西部地

表 2：四大区域经济发展与2020年目标值对比情况

	2010年基准值	2020年目标值	东部地区（2018年）	中部地区（2018年）	西部地区（2018年）	东北地区（2018年）
人均GDP（元）	30,808	⩾61,000	89,487	51,740	48,557	52,371
城乡居民人均可支配收入（元）	12,520	⩾25,000	39,567	23,845	21,599	25,075

资料来源：根据Wind数据库、中经网统计数据库、《中国统计年鉴》统计资料汇编计算得出。

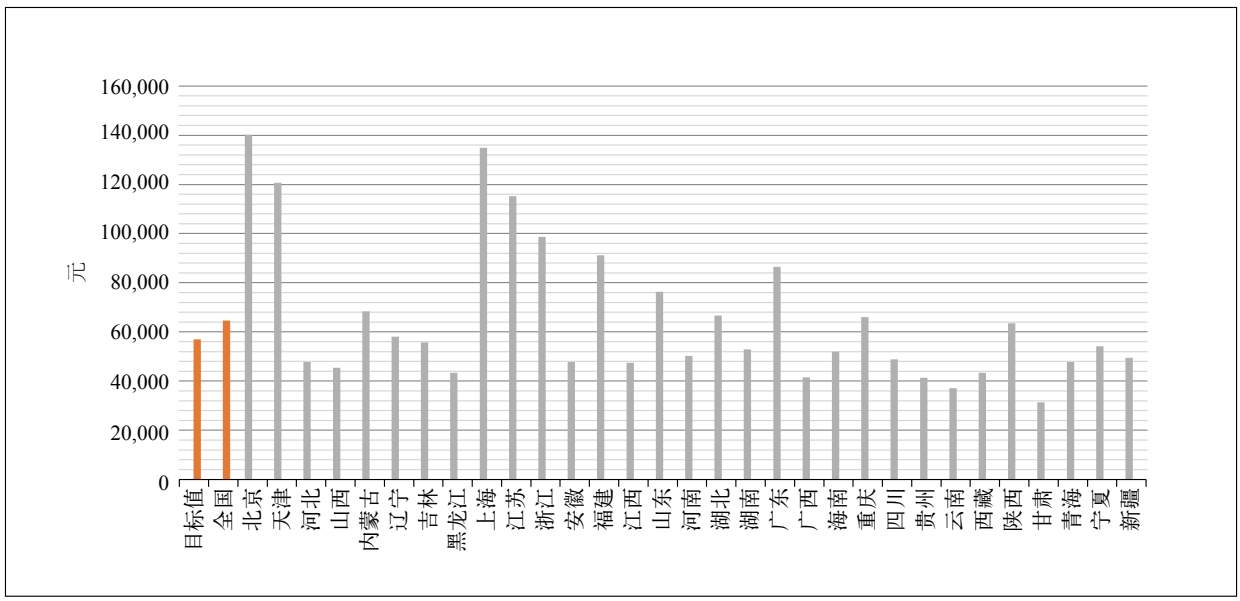

图 6：2018年全国及各省市人均GDP

资料来源：Wind数据库、《中国统计年鉴》。

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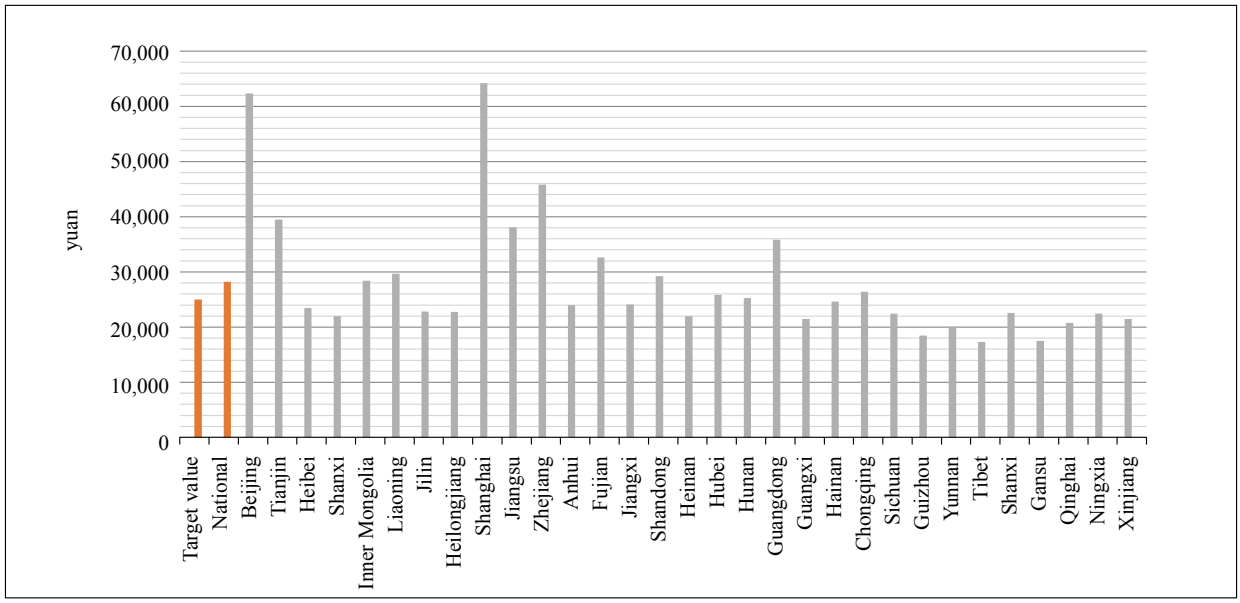

Figure 7: National and Provincial Income per Capita in 2018

Sources: Wind database, *China Statistical Yearbook.*

2.2.2 Comparison of access to basic public services

Based on the methodology for measuring public service gaps put forward by the Research Group of the Society of Public Finance of China (SPFC) in its "Study on the Equal Access to Public Services" (2007), we have analyzed the regional gaps according to the two indicators of variation coefficient and range ratio of fiscal income and spending per capita in various regions. Specifically:

$$\text{Variation coefficient} = \frac{\text{Standard deviation of regional fiscal income (or spending) per capita}}{\text{Mean value of regional fiscal income (or spending) per capita}}$$

$$\text{Range ratio} = \frac{\text{Maximum regional fiscal income (or spending) per capita in a year}}{\text{Minimum national fiscal income (or spending) per capita in a year}}$$

Based on the above equations, we have calculated the variation coefficient and range ratio of fiscal income and spending per capita for China's various regions since 2000; the results are shown in Figures 7 and 8.

As the chart shows, the variation coefficient and range ratio of regional fiscal income and spending per capita have been decreasing since 2000. Smaller variations and less volatility of the fiscal income and spending per capita indicate decreasing regional gaps. Since essential public services in various regions are all supported by public finance, fiscal spending per capita better reflects the level of public service gaps across the regions. We used a comparison of fiscal spending per capita since 2000 and fiscal spending per capita in 2018, to identify the levels of public service gaps in various regions, measure the progress made toward achieving shared prosperity, and assess the level of coordinated regional development.

Since 2000, all four regions have seen increases, per capita, in their fiscal spending and improvement of public services. Despite regional differences, public service inputs have been increasing in all

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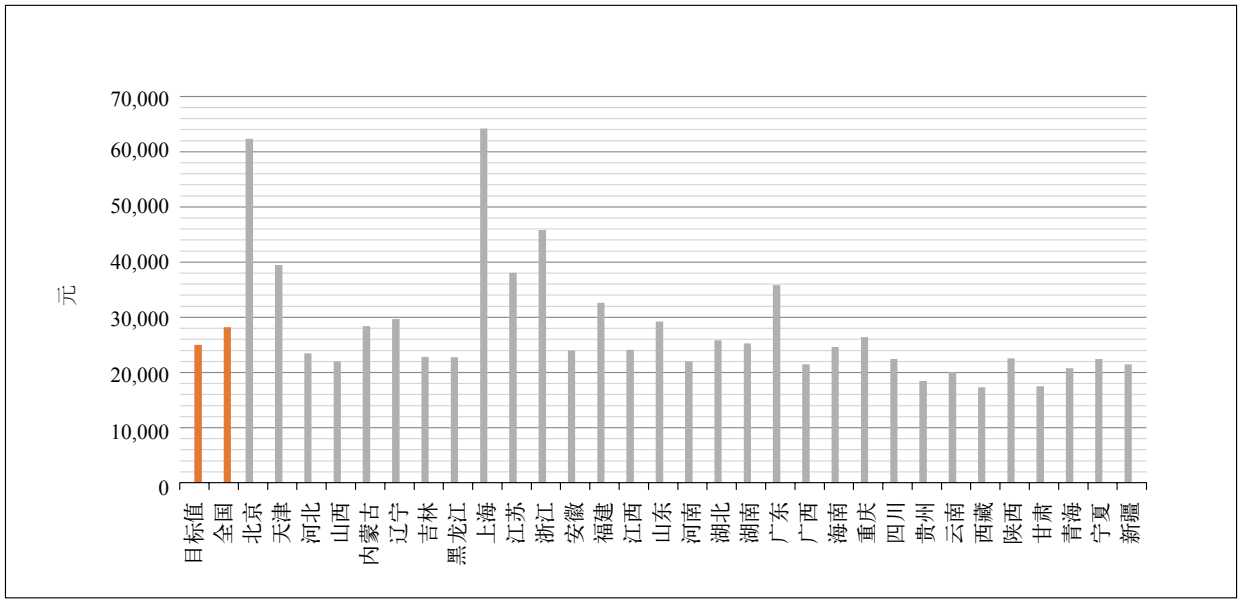

图 7:2018年全国及各省市城乡居民人均收入

资料来源：WIND数据库、《中国统计年鉴》。

区发展比较缓慢。因此，在国家和区域实现全面建成小康社会目标的基础上，还需要看各省市的人均GDP和城乡居民人均收入的完成情况，确保全面建成小康“一个都不能少”。

截至2018年，仍有19个省市的人均GDP尚未达到2020年目标值，最低的是甘肃，人均GDP为31336元；仍有18个省市的城乡居民人均收入尚未达到2020年目标值，最低的是西藏，城乡居民人均收入为17286元。因此，在2020年全面建成小康社会的政策评价导向作用下，各区域及各级政府通过层层分解，明确目标和找准定位，发挥优势和完善政策，努力缩小区域和城乡发展差距，完成全面建成小康社会的任务，最终将极大推动协调发展，实现全方位的平衡发展。

2.基本公共服务水平均等化对比

按照中国财政学会“公共服务均等化问题研究”课题组(2007)提出的公共服务差距衡量办法，采取全国各地区的人均财政收入和人均财政支出的变异系数和极差率两个指标来分析地区间的差距大小。其中：

$$\text{变异系数} = \frac{\text{全国各地区人均财政收入（或支出）的标准差}}{\text{全国各地区人均财政收入（或支出）的均值}}$$

$$\text{极差率} = \frac{\text{某一年度全国各地区人均财政收入（或支出）的最高值}}{\text{某一年度全国各地区人均财政收入（或支出）的最低值}}$$

根据以上计算方式，我们对2000年以来全国各地区的人均财政收入和人均财政支出的变异系数和极差率进行了计算，结果如图8、图9所示。

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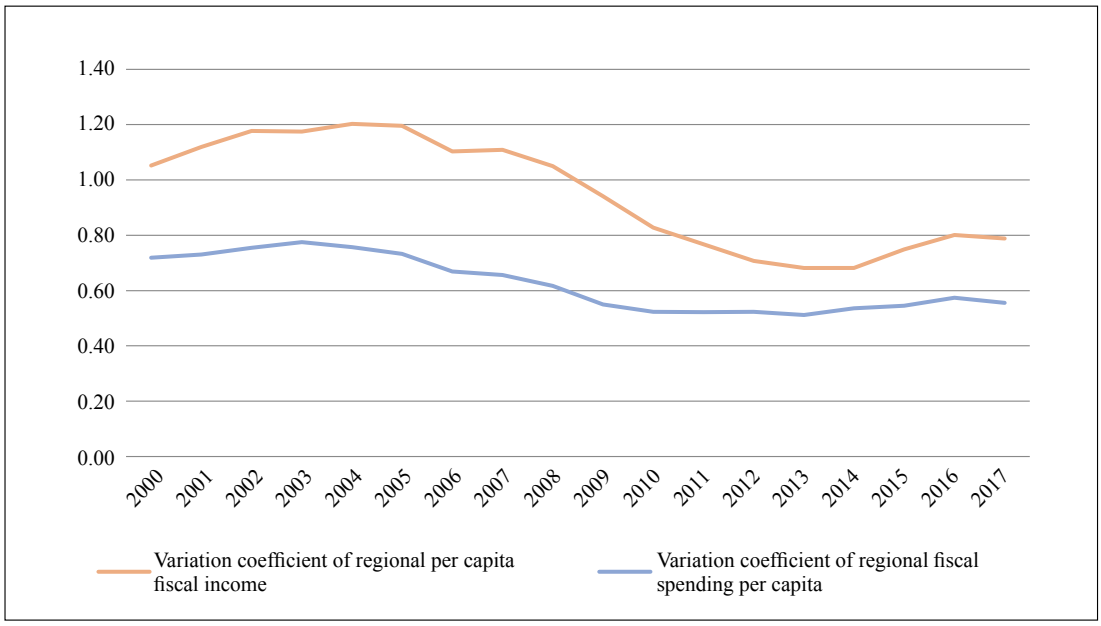

Figure 8: Variation Coefficient of Regional Fiscal Income (Spending) per Capita

Sources: Wind database, *China Statistical Yearbook.*

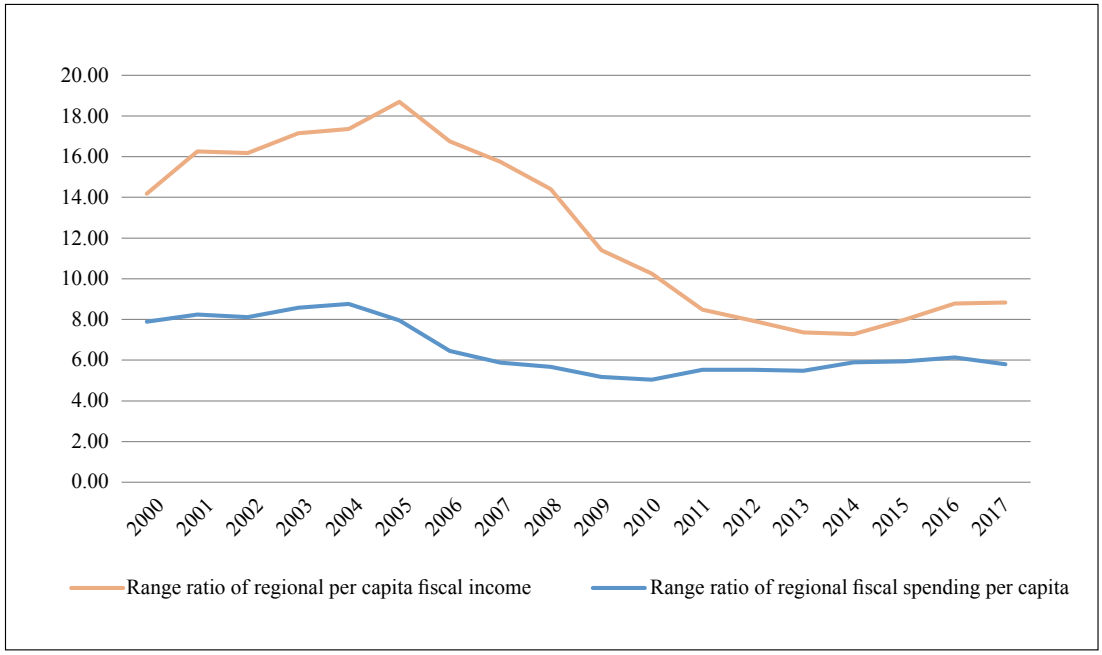

Figure 9: Range Ratio of Regional Fiscal Income (Spending) per Capita

Sources: Wind database, *China Statistical Yearbook.*

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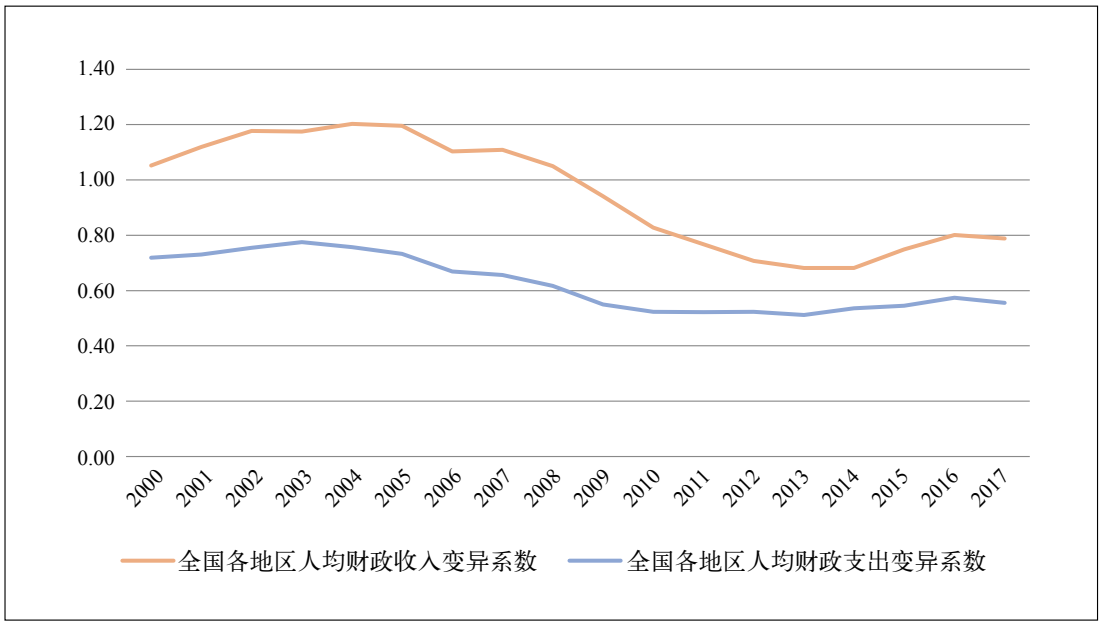

图 8：全国各地区人均财政收入（支出）变异系数

资料来源：根据Wind数据库、《中国统计年鉴》统计资料汇编计算得出。

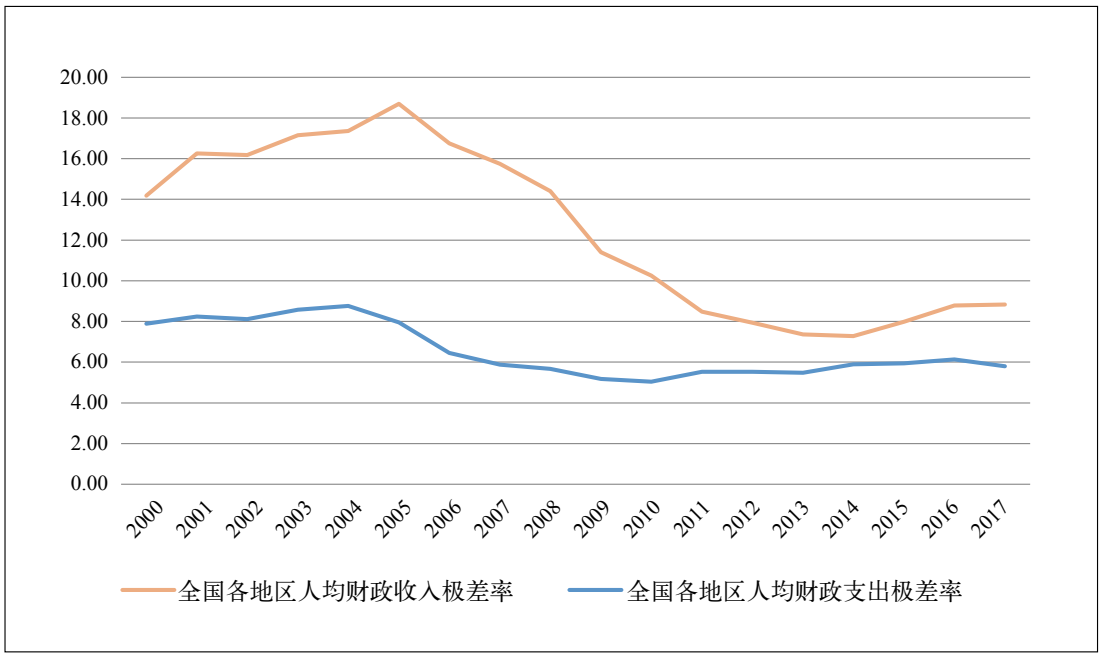

图 9：全国各地区人均财政收入（支出）极差率

资料来源：根据Wind数据库、《中国统计年鉴》统计资料汇编计算得出。

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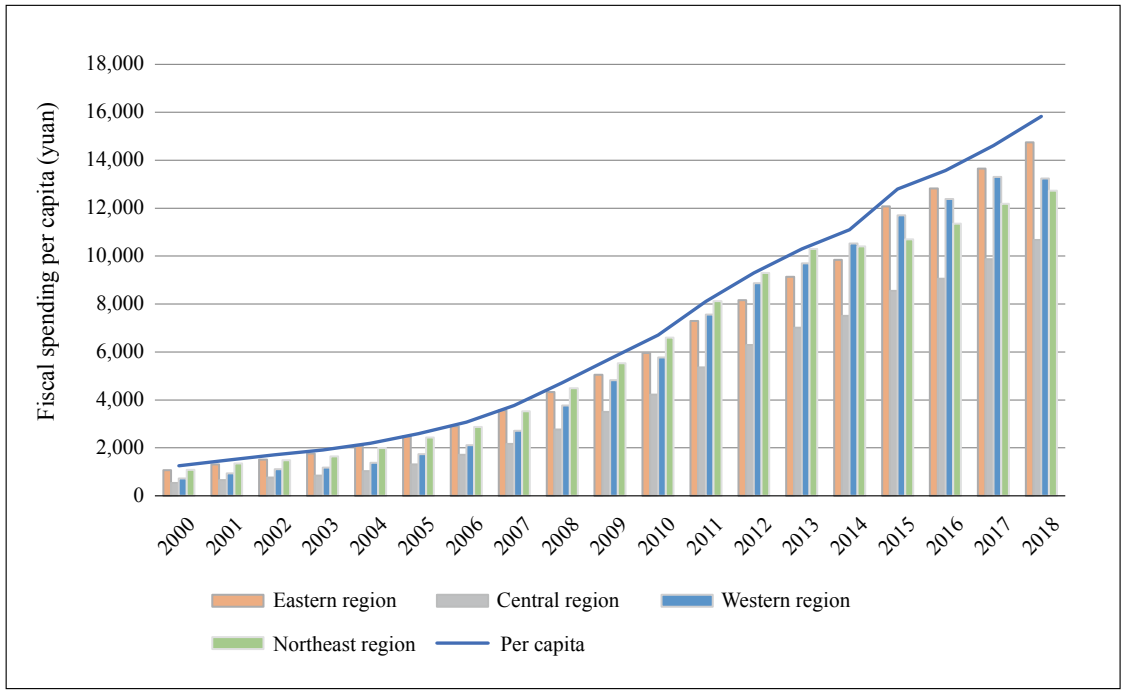

Figure 10: National and Regional Fiscal Spending per Capita

Sources: Wind database, *China Statistical Yearbook*.

regions, particularly in the central and western regions. Table 4 and Figure 10 provide detailed accounts of fiscal spending per capita in 2018, including total public spending and sector-specific spending on public security, education, science and technology, culture, sports and mass media, social security and employment, public health and family planning, energy conservation and environmental protection, as well as urban and rural community services. The data have been consolidated from local fiscal spending data of 2018.

As can be seen from the chart, fiscal spending per capita was the highest in the eastern region and the lowest in the central region. Sector-wise, China spent the greatest amount of money on education and the least on culture, sports and mass media. Specifically, the eastern region boasted the highest per capita spending on many public services, particularly education, science and technology, and community services. Public security spending per capita was the highest in the western region, most of which shares borders with other countries and faces public security pressures from terrorist, separatist, and extremist forces.

The northeast spent more than other regions on social security and employment on a per capita basis due to the burdens of its traditional economy, heavy industries, and state-owned enterprise reforms. However, the northeast spent the least on science and technology on a per capita basis at roughly 25% of the national average, resulting in its lack of innovation. The central region spent less than the other regions on energy efficiency and environmental protection, but it has served as a destination for industrial relocation from the eastern region. Unless the central region spends more to improve its energy and environmental performance, it may experience grave problems.

Currently, there is no official standard regarding the amount of fiscal spending on the above items to reach the level of a moderately prosperous society. However, a comparison of per capita spending on various items across regions reveals the level of essential public services in each region. Equal access to essential

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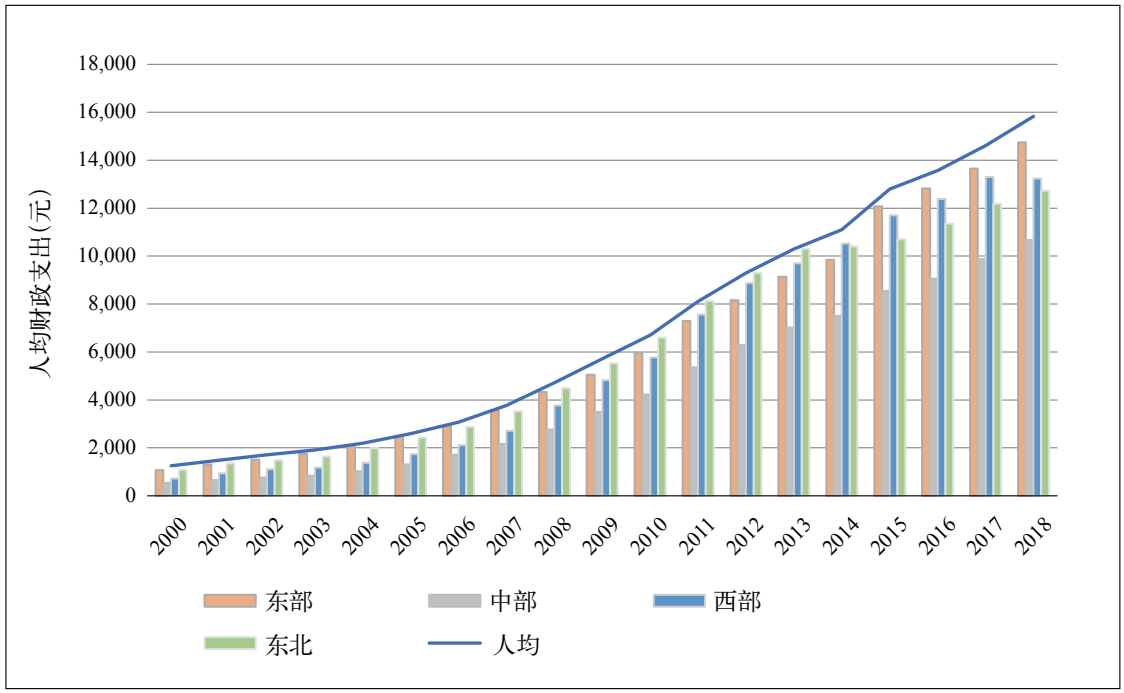

图 10:全国及四大区域人均财政支出对比

资料来源:根据Wind数据库、《中国统计年鉴》统计资料汇编计算得出。

可以看出,2000年以来,在全面建成小康社会成熟时期,全国各地区人均财政收入和支出的变异系数和极差率整体呈现出逐渐下降的趋势,人均财政收入和支出的变异程度和波动程度下降,说明各地区的差距呈现整体缩小的态势。由于国家各个地区的基本公共服务都是由公共财政来支持的,因此人均财政支出更能反映公共服务的差距大小。通过对比2000年以来的人均财政支出,以及选取2018年公共财政人均支出进行纵向和横向对比,可以看出各区域公共服务的差距大小,进而可以分析全面建成小康的进展程度,并分析各区域协调发展的程度。

通过2000年以来四大区域人均财政支出情况(见图10)可以看出,四大区域都呈现上涨的态势,人均财政支出总量不断提高,各区域的公共服务水平不断提高,虽然依然呈现出区域的投入差距,但各区域的公共服务投入都在不断提高,特别是中部、西部地区的投入增长更快。再对详细的投入情况进行分析,以2018年四大区域公共财政人均支出为例,选取了公共财政的总体支出、公共安全、教育、科学技术、文化体育与传媒、社会保障和就业、医疗卫生与计划生育、节能环保、城乡社区事务等与民生息息相关的公共服务方面进行分析,使用的数据是2018年公共财政的支出数据,并结合各地区的数据进行汇总计算得出(见表3、图11)。

可以看出,在总体公共财政的人均支出中,东部地区最高,中部地区最低;在项目的人均支出方面,教育项目最高,文化体育与传媒项目最低。具体分析来说,东部地区在多方面的公共服务的人均支出中是最多的,尤其是对教育、科学技术以及城乡社区事务的投入远高于其他地区。西部地区在公共安全方面人均支出比其他地区更多,因为西部大部分省市都位于国家边境线,特别是遭受恐怖主义、分裂主义和极端主义"三股势

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Table 3: National and Regional Fiscal Spending per Capita in 2018

yuan per person

Yuan/person	National total	Eastern region	Central region	Western region	Northeast region
Fiscal spending per capita	15,831	14,752	10,437	13,240	12,726
Public security	988	806	489	808	757
Education	2,305	2,196	1,568	2,053	1,578
Science and technology	597	545	257	170	144
Culture, sports and mass media	254	262	131	221	174
Social security and employment	1,936	1,520	1,362	2,020	2,881
Public health and family planning	1,120	907	863	1,075	861
Energy conservation and environmental protection	451	464	292	401	341
Urban and rural community services	1,586	1,903	1,158	1,234	1,157

Sources: Wind database, *China Statistical Yearbook.*

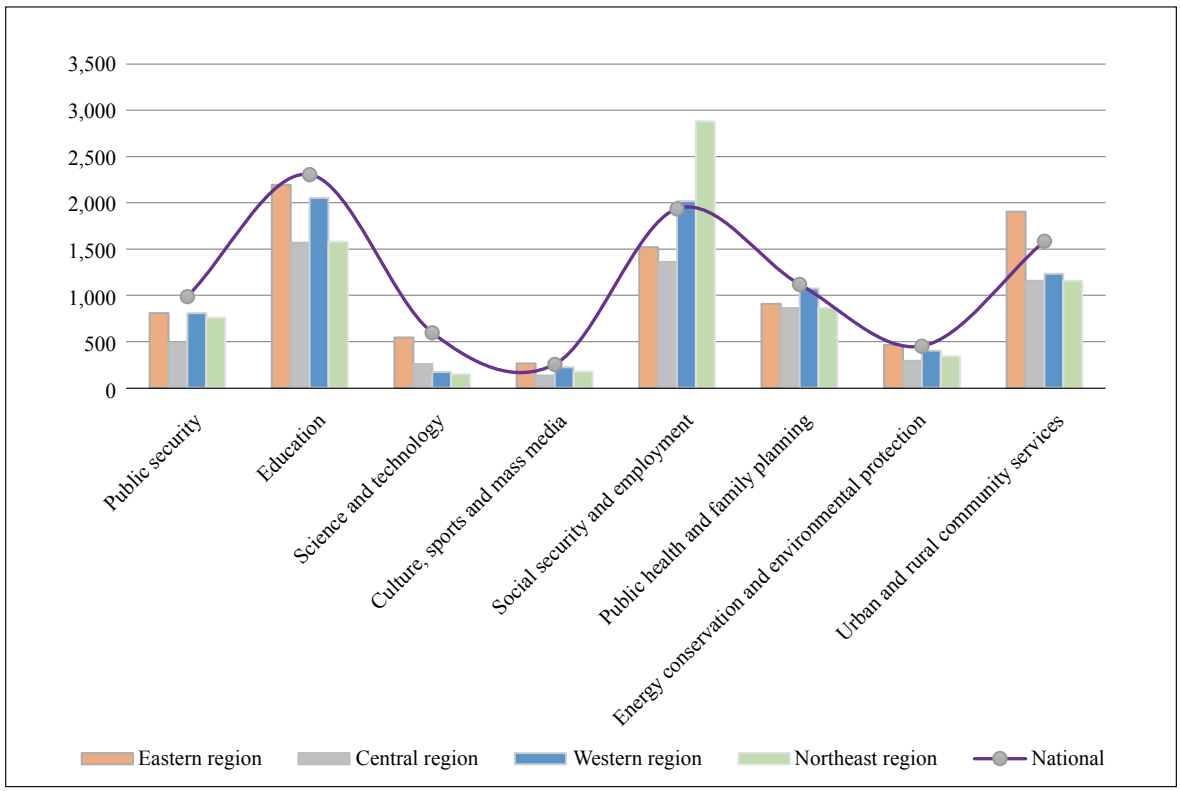

Figure 11: National and RegionalFiscal Spending per Capita in 2018

Sources: Wind database, *China Statistical Yearbook.*

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表 3:2018年全国及四大区域公共财政人均支出情况

单位:元/人

	全国	东部	中部	西部	东北
公共财政人均支出	15831	14752	10437	13240	12726
公共财政人均支出:公共安全	988	806	489	808	757
公共财政人均支出:教育	2305	2196	1568	2053	1578
公共财政人均支出:科学技术	597	545	257	170	144
公共财政人均支出:文化体育与传媒	254	262	131	221	174
公共财政人均支出:社会保障和就业	1936	1520	1362	2020	2881
公共财政人均支出:医疗卫生与计划生育	1120	907	863	1075	861
公共财政人均支出:节能环保	451	464	292	401	341
公共财政人均支出:城乡社区事务	1586	1903	1158	1234	1157

资料来源:根据Wind数据库、《中国统计年鉴》统计资料汇编计算得出。

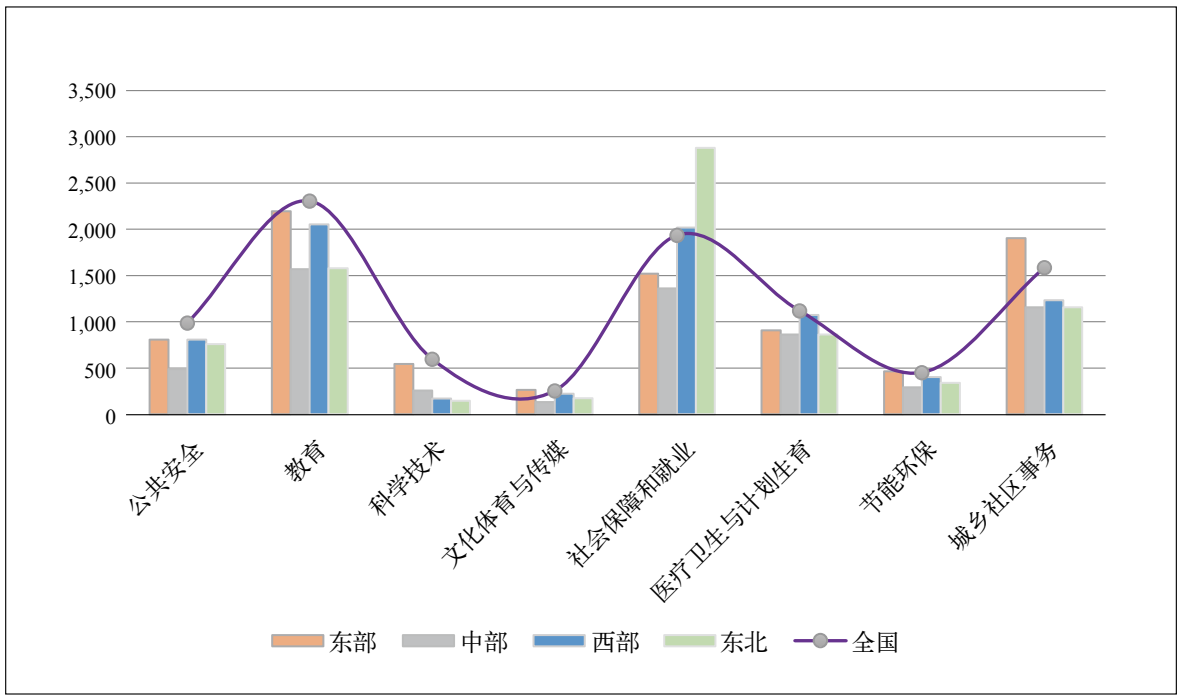

图 11:2018年全国及四大区域公共财政人均支出对比

资料来源:根据Wind数据库、《中国统计年鉴》统计资料汇编计算得出。

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public services is a core element of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects. Coordinated regional development requires equal access to essential public services with higher standards.

3. Coordinated Regional Development: A Key Step towards Modernization

At a new historical juncture, the 19th CPC National Congress in 2017 drafted a grand blueprint for China's development from 2020 to the mid-21st century, stating that "We should not only complete the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects and achieve the first centennial goal, but open a new chapter of building a modernized socialist country in all respects and head toward the second centennial goal," and "From 2020 to 2035, we should strive for another 15 years to achieve socialist modernization at the basic level."[5] In the decisive stage of building a moderately prosperous society, we should review our successful experiences, as, in the coming 15 years, China should continue to coordinate its regional development, expedite equal access to essential public services, encourage certain regions to lead in development and modernization, and achieve socialist modernization on a nationwide scale.

3.1 Promote Equal Access to Public Services to Balance and Promote Regional Development

In its process of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, China should strive to narrow regional development gaps, deliver moderate prosperity to all regions by 2020, and address the principal social contradiction of "uneven and inadequate" development by reducing regional gaps. However, the reduction of regional disparities in terms of both economic and social development is a complex, arduous, and long-term project.

Therefore, equal access to essential public services is vital to regional coordination both at present and in the future. We should focus on improving people's standards of living in less developed regions, narrow interregional social development gaps, deliver equal access to essential public services and welfare to people in all regions, and improve people's standards of living and their quality of life.

We should identify the scope and standards of essential public services, increase fiscal transfer payments and support from the central government, and enhance county-level fiscal inputs to essential public services, particularly in the less developed regions. As a fundamental requirement of socialism, equal access to essential public services will increase people's sense of gain and happiness and allow them to share in the dividends of reform, opening up, and development. The universal coverage of essential public services will expedite the creation of a unified socialist market economy, and thus lay the groundwork for basically achieving socialist modernization.

3.2 Foster an Integrated Domestic Market and Chinese-Style Globalization

Unveiled at the 19th CPC National Congress in 2017, the strategy for coordinated regional development in the new era calls for a greater synergy and integration of regional development at all levels. After accomplishing the goal of building a moderately prosperous society, we should coordinate development across China's regions, economic belts, urban and rural areas, and regions of different types, and strive to foster a unified national market with the free flow of market factors, and unleash development dynamism and potentials in all regions.

We should set a limit on the number of state-level zone plans and preferential policies, improve the layout of land development beyond the boundary of administrative jurisdictions, and promote cross-regional cooperation on all fronts. Economic circles and belts should share resources, complement each other's strengths, and work closely together to guide the cross-regional flow of production factors. In particular, the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) will present opportunities to the central and western

[5] *Compendium of the 19th CPC National Congress* [M]. People's Publishing House, 2017.

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力”的侵扰造成公共安全压力较大。东北地区在社会保障和就业方面人均支出比其他地区更多，受传统经济和重工业、国企改革影响，东北地区不得不在社会保障和就业方面投入很多的财政资金；同时，东北地区在科学技术方面的人均支出是最低的，全国人均支出是东北地区的4.1倍，导致其创新能力不足。中部地区在在节能环保方面比其他地区更少，但其正在承接来自东部地区的产业转移，如果不重视节能环保的投入，也将会产生严重的后果。

目前没有全面建成小康社会在以上公共财政各类项目人均支出的标准，但可以通过各区域之间在各项目的人均支出进行对比，折射出各区域基本公共服务水平的高低。基本公共服务水平均等化是全面建成小康社会的核心内容之一，区域协调发展必须按照更高标准推进基本公共服务均等化，这是全面小康社会建成的重要内容。

三、在全面建成小康社会基础上，通过区域协调发展迈向基本实现现代化

党的十九大站在新的历史起点上，描绘了中国从2020年到21世纪中叶的宏伟蓝图，提出“既要全面建成小康社会，实现第一个百年奋斗目标，又要乘势而上开启全面建设社会主义现代化国家新征程，向第二个百年奋斗目标进军”，“ 从二〇二〇年到二〇三五年，在全面建成小康社会的基础上，再奋斗十五年，基本实现社会主义现代化”[5]。因此，在全面建成小康社会决胜期，要积累在全面建成小康社会历史进程中的成功经验，在未来十五年新的经济社会发展时期，继续贯彻实施区域协调发展战略的新理念，加快实现基本公共服务均等化的协调发展，鼓励有条件的区域率先发展并迈向基本实现现代化，最终通过区域协调发展推动全国基本实现社会主义现代化的宏伟目标。

（一）以实现基本公共服务均等化作为区域协调发展的基本手段，确保全国一道全面建成小康社会及解决“不平衡不充分”的主要矛盾

全面建成小康社会重点就是要缩小区域发展差距，确保全国所有区域在2020年全面建成小康社会，同时，解决“不平衡不充分”社会主要矛盾的重点也是缩小区域发展差距，实现各区域均衡发展。但是，缩小区域发展差距是一个复杂的系统工程，具有艰巨性、长期性。区域发展差距包括经济发展差距和社会发展差距，在区域间经济发展差距目标短期内无法显著缩小的背景下，坚持以人为本，推进区域间基本公共服务的均等化成为区域协调发展的基本手段和重要途径，也应该构成现阶段和一定时期内区域协调发展的重要内容。要把普遍提高欠发达地区的人民生活水平，逐步缩小区域间社会发展差距作为缓解区域发展差距的出发点和区域协调发展的基本手段，使各地区人民都能享受到均等化的基本公共服务，保证各地区人民获得相对公平的社会公共服务和福利，生活水平得到提升，生活质量也得到一定程度的改进。要明确全国基本公共服务的范围和标准，加大中央政府财政转移支付支持力度，重点加强县级政府提供基本公共服务的财力保障，提高欠发达地区的基本公共服务水平，进而推进区域基本公共服务均等化。实现基本公共服务均等化是社会主义

[5] 参见《中国共产党第十九次全国代表大会文件汇编》.人民出版社2017年版.

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regions. As a manifestation of Chinese-style globalization, the BRI calls for removing non-economic barriers, such as ethnic and religious barriers, to the free flow of human capital across countries and regions, and overcoming the drawbacks of economic globalization (Li, 2017).

We should empower all regions of China to participate in globalization under the BRI, increase the synergy between the BRI and China's national development strategies, and identify regional development priorities in the context of the BRI. Regional infrastructure development should contribute to economic interactions between various regions at home and with other countries. By integrating various economic belts, we could remove regional barriers and foster the integrated economic drivers supporting socialist modernization.

3.3 Encourage Differentiated Regional Development Based on Local Advantages

The early development of the eastern region was a key experience in China's regional development since China's reform and opening up in 1978. With numerous economic development models and experiences, the eastern region has contributed to China's coordinated development and prosperity. The 18th and 19th CPC National Congresses once again called for "supporting the eastern region to lead in development" and encouraging "localities with adequate conditions to lead in modernization and contribute to nationwide reform and development." These principles are conducive to China's prosperity and international competitiveness.

After accomplishing the goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, we should encourage regions with sufficient conditions to achieve modernization and transition towards innovation-driven growth. Such regions will set examples and create conditions for other regions to follow. We should also encourage regions to pursue differentiated development based on their local conditions.

According to "realm economics" (Jin, 2019), China's regional differences are influenced by local cultural values and behavioral rules. The same systems and policies, when applied in various regions, will lead to different results. The reason lies in the role of realms. Regional economic development, cooperation and liberalization are underpinned by economic rationality and, more importantly, by profound and extensive cultural values and institutional realities that require further research to unravel. Future research should be carried out to investigate the frontier issues and key challenges that may arise and thus forecast the evolution of realms.

3.4 China's Socialist System as Fundamental Assurance for Coordinated Regional Development

The Fourth Plenum of the 19th CPC Central Committee reaffirmed the Committee's strategic commitments to improving China's socialist system and modernizing the country's national governance. The Chinese socialist system should underpin coordinated regional development. We have identified five major experiences that occurred during China's regional coordination and building of a moderately prosperous society, as listed below:

(1) The central leadership of the Communist Party of China has ensured political stability for building a moderately prosperous society in all respects along the socialist path; (2) China's socialist system has been capable of mobilizing all the stakeholders and resources needed to accomplish large projects. This institutional advantage offers assurance for building a moderately prosperous society and implementing regional coordination policies; (3) China has adopted the concept of innovative, balanced, green, open, and shared development, promoted social governance and ecological civilization based on participation and shared benefits, and striven to modernize in all respects. Such development concepts have undergirded China's wide-ranging endeavors to build a moderately prosperous society in all respects; (4) China has implemented a host of regional coordination policies that have been compatible with its unique national conditions and were based on the complex internal structure of its economy and diverse cultural and institutional attributes. As part of China's valuable experience in reform, opening

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的本质要求，有利于提高人民的获得感和幸福感，让广大民众分享改革、开放和发展的成果，实现共享式发展，最终将有利于加快构建统一的社会主义市场经济，为推动基本实现社会主义现代化打下坚实的基础。

（二）以“四大板块”和“四大战略”的全面协调作为区域协调发展的主要动力，促进形成国内市场一体化和实现中国版全球化

为了解决区域发展不平衡的问题，党的十九大提出在新时期实施区域协调发展战略，要求着力提升各层面区域战略的联动性和全局性，增强区域发展的协同性和整体性。在全面建成小康社会的基础上，全面协调发展需要在“四大板块”+“四大战略”基础上，统领板块之间、经济带之间、城乡之间及类型区之间的发展关系，着力促进全国统一大市场的形成和市场要素的自由流动，激发各地区的发展活力和发展潜力。要严控国家级区域规划和区域优惠政策数量，打破行政区划的界线，进一步优化国土开发格局，全面推进跨区域合作，形成资源共享、优势互补、带动力强、联系紧密的各类经济圈和经济带，引导生产要素跨区域合理流动。“一带一路”倡议是中西部地区重大发展机遇，李曦辉（2017）认为，“一带一路”是中国版本的全球化，就是要克服包括民族宗教因素在内的非经济因素障碍，实现不同国家、地区间劳动力的无障碍流动，克服经济全球模式在现实中存在的弊端（李曦辉，2017）。因此，要积极提升各区域参与“一带一路”全球化的能力，加强“一带一路”倡议与国家重大区域战略统筹对接，促进国内区域发展转向对外开放和对内开发相衔接，明确不同区域对接“一带一路”的重点方向，按照全球化的要求发展各地区基础设施，促进形成重点区域内外开放的良性互动。“四大板块”和“四大战略”推动着我国区域经济版图打破地区封锁和利益藩篱，向区域联动、轴带引领、多极支撑的新格局转变，为基本实现社会主义现代化注入了新的动力。

（三）以基本实现社会主义现代化作为区域协调发展的核心目标，推动区域根据优势和域境率先发展及差异化发展

东部地区率先发展是我国改革开放以来区域协调发展的重要实践，创造了许多各具特色的经济发展模式和宝贵经验，辐射带动了全国的区域协调发展和全面建成小康社会。党的十八大、十九大继续重申“积极支持东部地区率先发展”，也鼓励“有条件的地方在现代化建设中继续走在前列，为全国改革发展做出更大的贡献”，这符合我国区域经济发展的客观规律，是对全面小康理论的科学发展和理论升华，有利于继续保持我国经济持续快速发展的势头，继续提高我国整体国际竞争力。在全面建成小康社会的基础上，鼓励有条件的地区率先发展，迈开基本实现现代化的步伐，要加快增长动力向创新驱动转变。有条件的地区率先实现基本现代化的目标，可以为全局实现基本现代化积累经验、创造条件，发挥示范、引领的作用。在鼓励率先发展的同时，还要鼓励不同的区域根据域境特点选择各具特色的差异化发展方式。金碚（2019）提出了“域观经济学”，认为中国经济的东、中、西差异以及南、北差异，均受其各自文化价值和行为规则的域差异影响，同样的制度安排和政策安排，在不同地区会出现不同的结果，域观基因密码在其中发挥着重要而深刻的作用（金碚，2019）。因此，各区域经济发展、合作协调和经济自由化，不仅仅是经济理性问题，而是涉及深刻而广泛的价值文化和制度形态的问题，必须投入更大力量进行研究，特别是对于前沿性的问题和可能出现的重大现实挑战，要有前瞻性的关注和研究，从而科学预见域际演化前景（金碚，2019）。

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up and development, China's leaders called for "letting some people and regions to prosper first," "giving priority to efficiency while taking fairness into account," and "achieving common prosperity." Specifically, Chinese leaders decided to open special economic zones, promote partner assistance, and reduce poverty for target groups and regions, among other initiatives. Such innovations have undergirded the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects; and (5) China has fostered an all-around special economic layout based on the "four segments" and "four strategies." Regional coordination strategy offers spatial assurance for the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects. In balancing regional development and building a moderately prosperous society, China has made continuous explorations, reforms and innovations.

We should therefore continue to take stock of our experiences and practices, step up institutional innovation, strengthen and modernize our national governance, and achieve socialist modernization after building a moderately prosperous society.

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（四）以中国特色社会主义的制度体系作为区域协调发展的根本保障，总结中国经验及建设更美好的小康世界

党的十九届四中全会进一步明确了坚持和完善中国特色社会主义制度、推进国家治理体系和治理能力现代化这一重大战略任务，要以中国特色社会主义的制度体系作为区域协调发展的根本保障，对区域协调发展与全面建成小康社会的中国道路、中国经验进行研究和总结，主要包括：一是坚持中国共产党的集中统一领导，发挥党的领导制度体系的制度优势。这是全面建成小康社会的根本保证，确保了全面建成小康社会的政治稳定，始终沿着社会主义方向和宏伟蓝图不断前进。二是坚持全国一盘棋，调动各方面积极性，发挥中国特色社会主义行政体制的制度优势，充分发挥社会主义集中力量办大事的显著优势。这是全面建成小康社会的机制保证，确保了区域协调发展政策的贯彻实施。三是贯彻落实创新、协调、绿色、开放、共享的发展理念，坚持五位一体全面进步，发挥共建共治共享的社会治理制度体系和生态文明制度体系的制度优势，促进现代化建设各个环节、各个方面协调发展，保证全面小康社会覆盖的领域要全面。这是全面建成小康社会的理念保证，确保“全面”目标的实现。四是结合中国经济体极为复杂的内部结构以及多元文化和制度特质的域观特征，实施符合中国的独特国情的系列区域协调发展政策，“让少数人与少数地区先富裕起来”，“效率优先，兼顾公平”，“共同富裕”是中国改革开放与发展的一条重要经验，包括经济特区、对口支援、精准扶贫等本土化政策，符合域观经济规律。这是全面建成小康社会的创新保证。五是打造中国区域经济的“升级版”，形成“四大板块”+“四大战略”的全方位开放型空间经济格局，将区域协调发展战略上升为统领性战略。这是全面建成小康社会的空间保证。区域协调发展与全面建成小康社会的“中国经验”总结，是在长期不断探索实践、不断改革创新中形成的，要继续从国情出发，及时总结实践中的好经验好做法，继续加强制度创新，在实践中不断推进国家治理体系和治理能力现代化，在全面建成小康社会的基础上，推动基本实现社会主义现代化。

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