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# External Contradictions of the Chinese Development Model: export-led growth and the dangers of global economic contraction

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Pages 69-88 | Published online: 22 Jan 2007

Cite this article <https://doi.org/10.1080/10670560500331732>

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## Abstract

China's economic growth has been hard land... renders... the scale... fragility... the US... China... transition... growing... economi... revalue... Longer t...

an economic... size now... market, but... ing financial... could stall... embrace... ina should... uires... lling the US... ically... valuation... nder export-

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led growth, higher wages undermine employment. Under domestic demand-led growth, they support it. The challenge is to raise wages in an efficient decentralized manner. History shows that this requires independent democratic trade unions. However, such unions are currently unacceptable to the Chinese political leadership. Creating a domestic demand-led growth regime therefore requires solving this political roadblock.

## Notes

35. T. I. Palley, 'Labor standards, democracy and wages: some cross-country evidence', *Journal of International Development* 17, (2005), pp. 1-16.

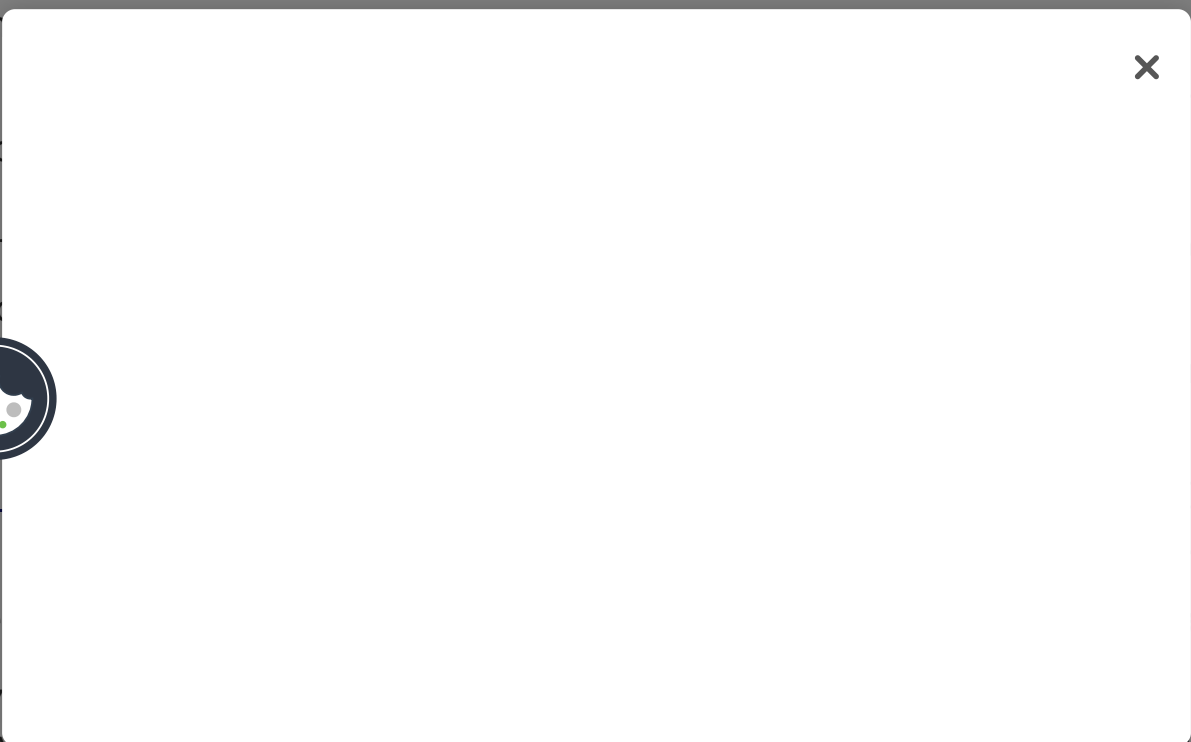
34. For neo-classicals, labor markets set wages such that there is full-employment, and income distribution is a by-product that has no consequence for full-employment. For Keynesians, full-employment requires an appropriate level of AD, and the distribution of income is a key parameter impacting AD.

33. The case for asset based reserve requirements is outlined in Palley. Such a system can be contrasted with the current system which is liability based. See T. I. Palley, 'Asset based reserve requirements: reasserting domestic monetary control in an era of financial innovation and instability', *Review of Political Economy* 16, (January 2004), pp. 43-58.

32. Economic growth is not a general equilibrium phenomenon. It is a process that creates its own conditions.

31. There is a case for a new international monetary system of exchange rate management. See T. I. Palley, 'The Case for a New International Monetary System', Washington, DC: Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2003.

[www.iie.org](http://www.iie.org)  
Finance: The Case for a New International Monetary System  
Institute for International Economics  
system', *Review of Political Economy*  
Economy of World Economic Governance (London: Routledge, 1999), J. Williamson,



Crawling Bands or Monitoring Bands: How to Manage Exchange Rates in a World of Capital Mobility, Policy Brief 99-3 (Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics, 1999), available at [www.iie.com/publications/pb/pb99-3.htm](http://www.iie.com/publications/pb/pb99-3.htm); C. Weller and L. Singleton, Reining in Exchange Rates: A Better Way to Stabilize the Global Economy, Briefing Paper #131 (Washington, DC: Economic Policy Institute, September 2002); T. I. Palley, Beyond the Over-valued Dollar: A New Agenda to Avoid Future Dollar Misalignments, unpublished policy discussion paper (Washington, DC: December 2003).

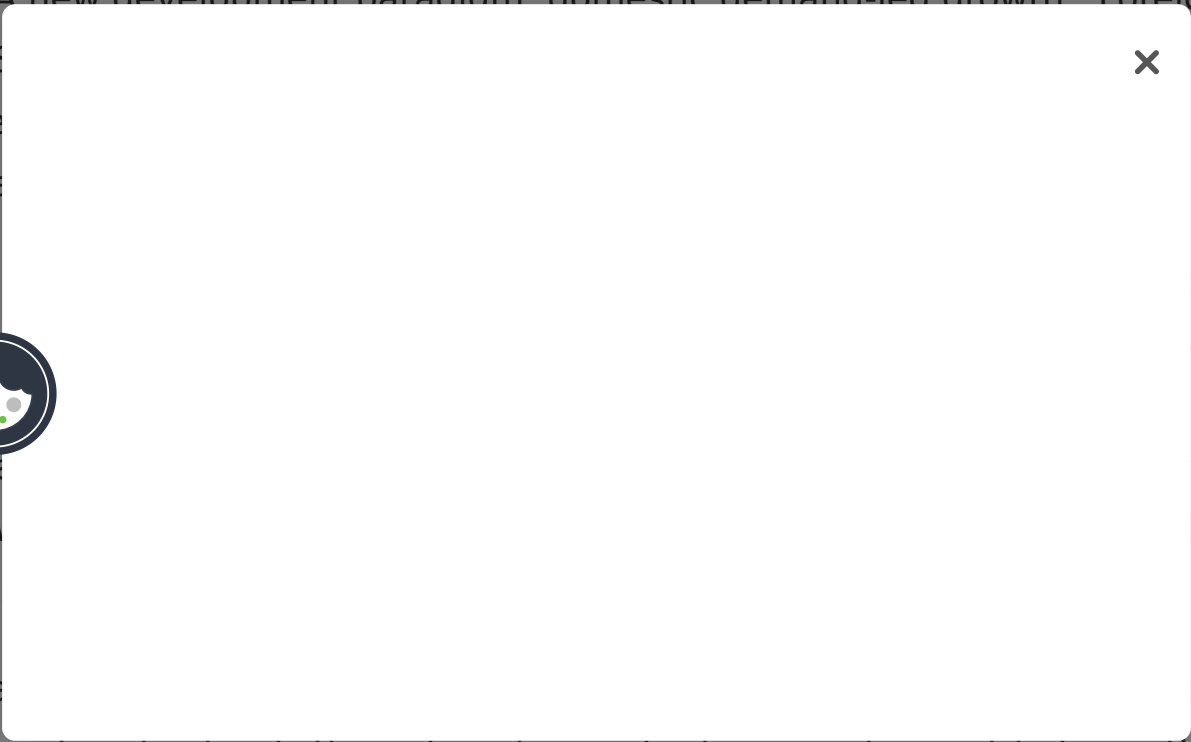
30. Inflation is a political threat because it risks creating discontent among groups, especially the peasant class, that are disproportionately adversely impacted by inflation.

29. The 15–40% range is based on the broadly held consensus that the renminbi is undervalued against the dollar by some amount in this range. See Fair Currency Alliance, Experts Agree: China's Currency is Undervalued, Brief No. 2 (Washington, DC: 28 June 2004).

28. Palley provides an exploratory analysis of the types of policies needed to develop the demand side. Unlike conventional Keynesian economics, the focus is not on increasing individual components of AD. Instead, it is on establishing an income generation and production process that ensures income gets into the hands of those who will spend it, and encouraging production of needed goods that have high domestic employment and expenditure multipliers. This can be termed 'structural Keynesianism' and contrasts with conventional 'demand side Keynesianism'. See T. I. Palley, 'A new development paradigm: domestic demand-led growth' Foreign Policy in Focus, (Spring 2004). See also T. I. Palley, 'After neoclassical economics', J. Weaver and J. Ba

27. This ... ries can ... e the ... consumers ... therefore ... f good

26. Private ... hese ... government understands the national security dangers of export-led growth that relies



excessively on a single market (the US). However, the government does not yet appear to have considered the economic dangers resulting from limits to export-led growth.

25. The MFA ended on 1 January 2005.

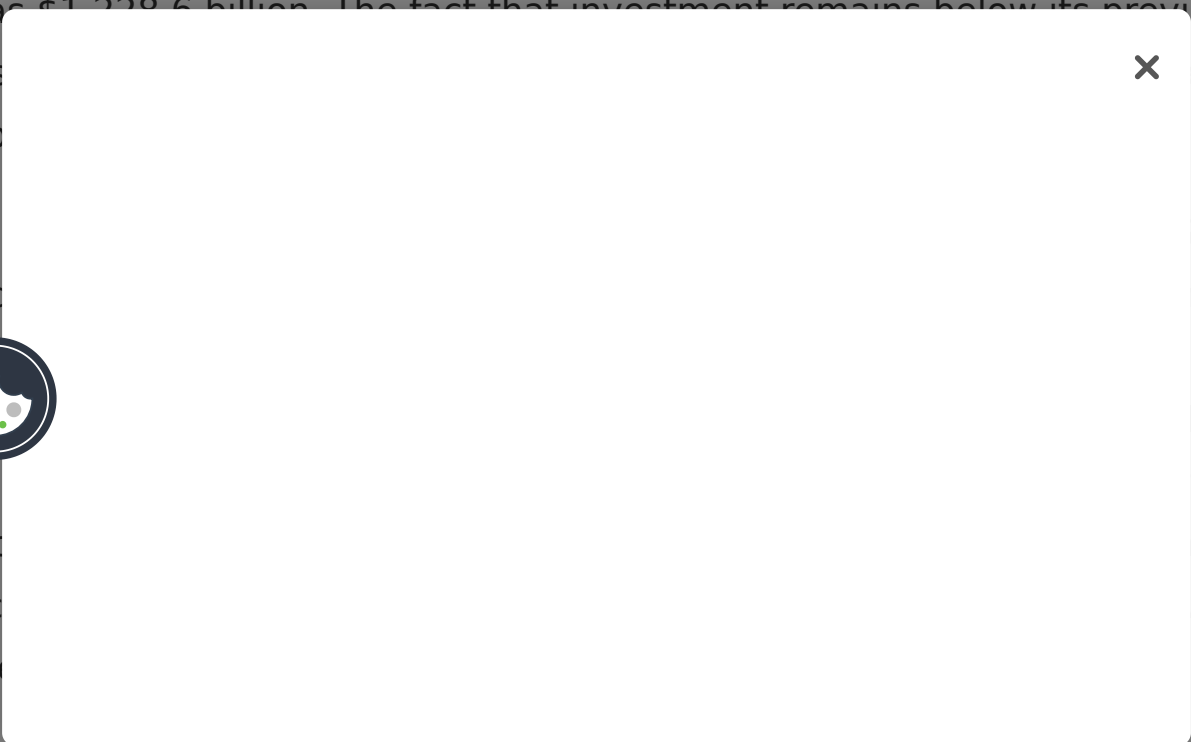
24. The US trade deficit debate evokes competing theoretical explanations that cannot be tackled in the current paper. Essentially, there are two positions. One position is that the deficit is due to inadequate US saving. A second position is that it is due to severe relative international price misalignments in conjunction with export-led growth. The former view calls for the US to reduce spending and increase saving. The latter view calls for major international relative price realignments and a shift away from export-led growth. This will cause expenditure switching in the US but total spending will remain unchanged. This paper implicitly adopts the second position.

23. Much is made of China as an engine of demand growth, particularly with regard to Japan's economic recovery. However, China's internal demand growth is significantly derived from the prosperity generated by exporting to the US economy. In this sense, the US economy is the ultimate source of demand growth, and this demand growth is then multiplied in the global economy with China being an important participant in the multiplier process.

22. The arguments about consumer demand leakage and investment profitability apply to other East Asian countries running trade surpluses with the United States.

21. US real fixed non-residential investment peaked at \$1,232.1 billion in 2000 and in 2004 was \$1,228.6 billion. The fact that investment remains below its previous peak level is s... items can be linked to

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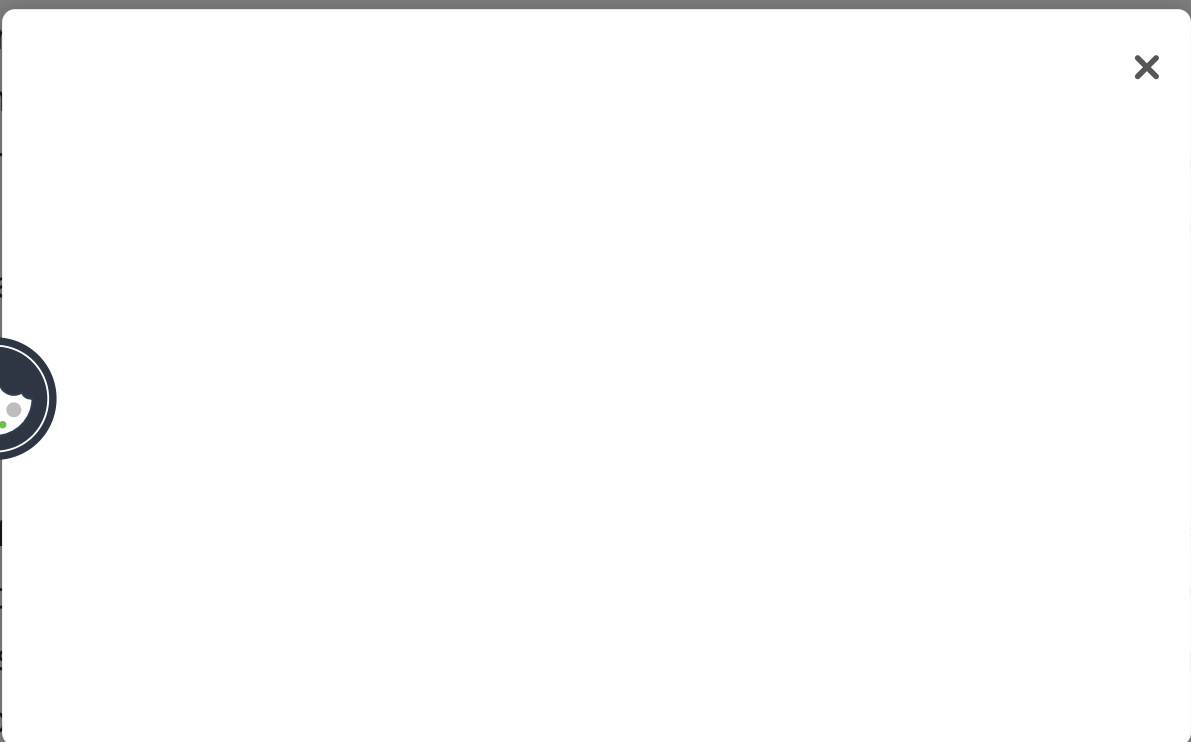
19. K. Bronfenbrenner and S. Luce, *The Changing Nature of Corporate Global Restructuring: The Impact of Production Shifts on Jobs in the US, China, and Around the Globe*, report prepared for the US-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Washington, DC, October 2004.

18. A more complete discussion of the employment implications of the China trade deficit is contained in T. I. Palley, *Trade, Employment and Outsourcing: Some Observations on US-China Economic Relations*, paper presented at France/ILO Dialogue, 'The Internationalization of Employment: A Challenge for a Fair Globalization?', Annecy, France, 11-12 April 2005 and forthcoming.

17. R. Scott, *US-China Trade, 1989-2003: Impact on Jobs and Industries, Nationally and State-by-State*, report prepared for the US-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Washington, DC, January 2005.

16. Detailed theoretical and empirical critiques of the export-led growth paradigm, focusing on why it will not work if simultaneously adopted by all developing countries, are provided by R. A. Blecker, *The Diminishing Returns to Export-Led Growth*, paper prepared for the Council of Foreign Relations Working Group on Development, New York, 2000; and T. I. Palley, 'Export-led growth: is there any evidence of crowding-out?', in P. Arestis et al., eds, *Globalization, Regionalism, and Economic Activity* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2003).

15. China's partial privatization of the banking system represents a form of managing entry of foreign financial competition. Rather than setting up new foreign banks, which would do... China aims to reform... foreign firms. The... credit misalloc... elling shares, a... Chinese market... have no ince... n firms from opening... ization may be insuff... ever, if China de... will get fleeced s... at turn out to be wo...



14. Another argument put forward by interna contradictionists regarding why China should revalue and cease running massive trade surpluses is that these surpluses are invested in relatively low-yielding US treasury bills and represent poor use of resources. The claim is that China would be better off directing these resources toward internal consumption which would yield a higher welfare return given China's low level of income. See J. Williamson, The Choice of Exchange Rate Regime: The Relevance of International Experience to China's Decision, outline of a lecture at the Central University of Finance and Economics, Beijing, China, 7 September 2004, available at [www.iie.com/publications/papers/williamson1103.htm](http://www.iie.com/publications/papers/williamson1103.htm).

13. Goldstein and Lardy, 'Don't hail China's soft landing too soon'.

12. Open market sterilization operations have the central bank selling bonds, thereby draining deposits from the banking system. Such operations can offset expansions of the money supply resulting from defense of the undervalued exchange rate.

11. Western economists emphasize the economic distortions associated with inflation. Chinese policymakers are probably more concerned with the political consequences. China already faces political difficulties associated with downsizing employment in the SOE sector and absorbing surplus labor from the agrarian sector. Inflation exacerbates these problems since its costs hit the rural poor hard. The last major political troubles in China—Tiananmen Square, 1989—occurred at a time of rising inflation. Chinese policymakers are likely aware of this, and may fear inflation more for political than economic reasons.

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7. In 2004 total Chinese fixed asset accumulation was 5,862 billion RMB. Total utilized FDI was \$60.6 billion, which translates to 503 billion RMB using an exchange rate of 8.30 RMB per dollar. That implies that FDI was 8.6% of the total, fixed asset accumulation. Data are from the Hong Kong Trade & Development Council, available at [www.tdctrade.com/main/china.htm](http://www.tdctrade.com/main/china.htm).

6. The idea that developing countries should run trade deficits for extended periods of time while they develop belongs to the earlier import-substitution development paradigm. The new FDI-export-led growth paradigm has developing countries run surpluses along the development path. Producing cheap exports is the way to attract FDI, which builds the supply-side; demand is provided by export markets rather than domestic markets.

5. Hong Kong Trade Development Council, available at [www.tdctrade.com/main/china.htm](http://www.tdctrade.com/main/china.htm).

4. UNCTAD, 'Country fact sheet: China', World Investment Report, (2004).

3. Since delivering this paper (October 2004) the external contradictions story has begun to surface on Wall Street. Stephen Roach writes in the Financial Times, (Friday 22 April 2005), p. 15: 'In China the name of the game is exports. China's biggest export market is the US, absorbing fully one-third of its overseas shipments in 2004'.

2. The external contradictions hypothesis does not deny the significance of the problems identified by the internal contradictions hypothesis. China's economy would be greatly strengthened by remedying these internal problems. However, these internal

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# Additional information

## Notes on contributors

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\*Thomas Palley was the Chief Economist of the US-China Economic and Security Review Commission established by Congress. He can be reached at [www.thomaspalley.com](http://www.thomaspalley.com). He holds a B.A. degree from Oxford University, and an M.A. degree in International Relations and Ph.D. in Economics, both from Yale University. He has published in numerous academic journals, and written for The Atlantic Monthly, American Prospect and Nation magazines. Prior to joining the Commission, Dr Palley was Director of the Open Society Institute's Globalization Reform Project, and Assistant Director of Economic Policy at the AFL-CIO. Dr Palley is the author of *Plenty of Nothing: The Downsizing of the American Dream and the Case for Structural Keynesianism*, published by Princeton University Press. This paper was presented at a conference on 'China-US Relations in the Asia-Pacific Context', co-sponsored by the Graduate School of International Studies, Denver University and the School of International Studies, Peking University, held in Beijing, China, 21-23 October 2004.

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