经济发展局与生存战略

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1960年10月，联合国派出的专家组开始考察一个小岛，岛上的政府执政才一年多。新加坡有一个港口、悠久的贸易传统和一支英国驻军。它几乎没有工厂，人口增长迅速，专家估计其失业率高达两位数。专家组组长、荷兰经济学家温斯敏（Albert Winsemius）此后担任政府经济顾问长达二十多年。考察团所建议设立的机构——EDB——于1961年8月1日成立，至今仍在运作。

本章探讨新加坡这个国家如何通过工业化创造就业，以及如何选择以外国资本作为这一战略的引擎。本章首先介绍联合国考察团和经济发展局的成立，随后追溯1965年后转向跨国公司投资的过程、1967年和1968年宣布的英军撤离所带来的冲击，以及政府用以重塑劳资关系和土地所有权的各种手段。最后几节将各条线索归结为一个主题：国家作为市场的设计者，而这一角色后来由金融中心从工厂手中继承下来。

本章在日内瓦卷中没有完全对应的章节，而这种缺失本身就颇具启发意义。日内瓦的金融中心源于私人银行、新教网络和联邦法律秩序，而日内瓦州长期以来倾向于低调行事，而非明确的经济规划。新加坡的现代经济则是由一小群部长和官员设计的，他们把招商引资视为关乎国家存亡的大事。本章末

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尾的比较将回到这一差异。它也解释了为何第E部分所探讨的监管风格——强有力的机构以及政府与企业之间的密切对话——深深植根于20世纪60年代。

要点

由温斯敏率领的联合国工业考察团自1960年10月起在新加坡工作，建议推行一项工业化计划以吸纳大规模失业人口，该计划于1961年6月以*A Proposed Industrialisation Programme for the State of Singapore*为题发表。经济发展局于1961年8月1日开始运作，1961年至1964年获拨资本1亿元，并负责开发裕廊工业区。1965年与马来西亚分家后，战略从受保护的共同市场转向由跨国公司主导的出口制造业，辅以先锋企业免税期、《1967年经济扩展奖励（所得税减免）法》以及德州仪器（Texas Instruments）等电子企业的进驻。英国决定撤出其约占经济五分之一的驻军，新加坡的应对是把基地改建为船厂和工业用地。1968年的劳工立法、1972年成立的全国工资理事会以及《1966年土地征用法》，使国家得以掌控小岛上最稀缺的两种生产要素：劳动力和土地。

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