# Industrial Planning: How the State Directs Capital

# Planning Process Post 1998

- Two types: "pillar" industries and "strategic" industries
- The economically influential or "pillar" industries are chosen for the degree to which they stimulate complementary industries.
- The "strategic" industries, which are normally weak or infant industries, are supported through policies of industrial "incubation."
- Policies are drawn up by the National Reform and Development Commission (NDRC) after consultation with industry associations.

# **Key Characteristics**

- Import-replacement
- Export requirements
- Requirements for localization of components
- Foreign currency balancing
- Restrictions on foreign investment
- Direct subsidization of preferred companies

# Example: Autos as a "Pillar" Industry

- Forced equity joint ventures for foreign participants
- 70% domestic components targets
- Scale requirements

# SAIC

- Machine Building Minister sought out Volswagen on a visit to Germany in 1978. In 1979, VW tested assembling CKDs in Shanghai. JV signed 1984.
- SAIC is dissatisfied with the CKD model. Shanghai established a Localization Office to support parts manufacturers. Then-Mayor Zhu Rongji decrees that Shanghai taxis will be Santanas.
- To capture more technology, SAIC in 1997 signs with GM, GM invests \$1.6 bln. GM localizes design, creates local R&D center, and trains SAIC engineers.
- SAIC buys foreign assets like MG Rover and takes equity in subs like Anhui Chery.
- SAIC establishes own brand, Rowe.

# Results

- SAIC in total has 23% market share in China, the largest.
- Parts localization has been very successful.
- SAIC revenues dwarfed by international competitors, but growing fast:
  - 2011 SAIC revs: \$69 bln, up 45% YoY
  - 2011 Toyota revs: \$220.86 bln, up 8% YoY
  - Profitability is comparable with Ford, Toyota, GM
- Over 90% of SAIC's sales are from the foreign joint ventures.
- R&D spending has lagged international competitors and both SAIC and foreign automakers say the Shanghai R&D center is not engaged in technical innovation.
- Advantages: government procurement support, spending on NEVs
- SAIC has essentially acted as an OEM partner through the JVs.
- Overall, the autos plan has been successful for the government but not for enterprises.

# "Infant" Industry: Software and ICs

• Early 2000s: High proportion of world electronics made in China, low proportion of value

Product	China Producti	ion	% of world production
Washing Machines	14.43 million		24%
TV sets	39.36 million		29%
Refrigerators	12.79 million		16%
Air conditioner	s 18.27 million		30%
Cameras	55.14 million		over 50%
Microwave ovens	12.57 million		30%
VCD players	20 million		70%
DVD players (2003)	82 million		80%
Mobile Telephones	120 million		28%
Telephones	95.98 million		over 50%
Notebook computers		380,000	12%
Monitors	45.9 million		42%
Radios	240 million		70%
Disposable batteries	17 billion		40%

# Preconditions

- WTO accession 2001: lower tariffs, market access for competitive international distributors, and the general promise of growth in several sectors that consume ICs.
- ITA: zero-level tariffs on high-tech equipment
- The WTO agreement also promised to phase in trading and distribution rights for foreign firms and to remove technology-transfer and export requirements as conditions of investment approval
- Phase-out of technology-transfer restrictions under Cocom

# Foundries

- Initially, policy focused on foundries, a la Taiwanese model.
- Many policy incentives were put in place, and contracted investment in fabs being built during the 10<sup>th</sup> Five Year Plan, from 2001-2005, swelled to about \$14 billion, which roughly quadruples the total investment in the manufacturing sector for the previous 30 years.

# Goals

- To reach large-scale production levels for 0.8-micron, six-inch wafer technology
- To begin production of 0.5-micron, eight-inch wafer technology
- To increase IC design capabilities to encompass the whole range of IC products demanded by the Chinese electronics sector.
- To reach 0.3 micron and advanced packaging technology in research and development centers.
- To develop eight-inch single crystal wafer technology and begin domestic production
- Increasing the level and output of the discrete device industry with the aim of becoming a net exporter of these devices by 2000.

# Means

- The 909 Project: 9.8 billion Renminbi in allocations, plus establishment of five major IC production companies and as many as 20 design and development centers by the year 2000
- "Policies for Encouraging the Development of Software and Integrated Circuit (IC) Industries" (State Council Document 18): rebate on VAT for domestic sales of ICs and software, policies to promote financing and market floats of IC and software businesses
- Shanghai implementation documents: direct subsidies, tax breaks, industrial parks

#### Investment Accelerates

- Between 2000 and 2001, capital spending by IC companies increased by more than 100%.
- Investment in design houses between 2000 and June 2003 was \$2.5 billion, with 300 new design houses established in that period.
- About \$14 billion in investment was committed to the foundries that broke ground between 2001 and 2003. This compares to roughly \$3.11 billion invested in the semiconductor industry between 1980 and 1999.

### **Official Achievements**

Technology	Developer	Explanation	Status
	CAS Computer Institute and		
	a consortium including		
Longxin (Godson)	Haier, Great Wall, and		in mass
Series (龙芯)	Legend	CPU chip for net computing	production
Arca 1-3 CPU	Arca Technologies		in mass
(方舟)	(Fangzhou)	400MHz, 32-bit CPU	production
	Fudan University		in mass
Shenwei 1 (神威)	Microelectronics Lab	32-bit CISC microprocessor	production
	Shanghai Jiaotong		
	University/Shanghai		in mass
Hanxin-1 (汉芯)	Broadband Technology	18-micron DSP chip	production
	Nanjing Southeastern	radio-frequency IC chip with maximum	-
RFIC	University	speed of 40 Gbps	testing
Patriot Series	-		in mass
(爱国者)	Hai'er	Chips for set-top boxes	production
Yanhuang (炎黄)	Chengdu Westar	Digital TV display chip	testing
Qingdao(青岛)	Beijing University Jade Bird	Embedded 16-bit RISC CPU processor	prototype
S698	China Toptech (Shenzhen)	Embedded 32-bit CPU processor	prototype
	Peking University	-	
	Microprocessor Research		
	and Development		
	Center/PKU Unity		in mass
Unity (众志)	Microsystems	System-on-a-chip CPU	production
-	-		in mass
Xingguang (星光)	Vimicro	Digital multimedia CPU chip	production
Wantong (万通)	LHWT	Wireless LAN baseband chip	testing

### Green Tech



# Promotion of Solar, Wind, and Biothermal Power

- Use of VAT rebates
- Government procurement
- Golden Sun Project, FIT
- Tax benefits
- Low-interest loans
- Preferential access to capital

# Results

- Wind turbine technology acquisitions but failure in commercialization
- Low grid connection rate for wind
- Solar: Chinese module capacity now at about 36GW, world demand at about 18 GW
- Price below cost for most players

# Hogs



# Policy Focus on Slaughterhouses

- Massive capacity build by players like Shineway, Yurun, Zhongpin
- But supply of hogs is highly disaggregated
- Most companies have turned to using the subsidy programs to invest in real estate.

# Legacy problems from the planned economy erode efficiency of R&D investment



Reference examples of resource misallocation: TD-SCDMA, or WAPI, or crystalline solar, or NEVs, or . . .

Businesses living in the value chain of the big SOEs can make money but are essentially client industries and thus captive to cyclical investment ebbs and flows



#### The "client" system spawns cost-based competition

✓ Service-based tech businesses selling to the export market find the most secure margins and can develop solid technology.

✓ Ex: VanceInfo, Camelot, Rockwell, Siemens, Emerson

✓ Selling domestically, service-based tech businesses over time find growing competition, margin squeeze, and poor differentiation.

- ✓ China Automation, Hollysys
- ✓ Vimicro
- ✓ Digital China

✓ A fundamental reason is that domestic companies often must get their start by making "insider" sales to supportive government agencies or SOEs. As the industry grows, new patrons sponsor new client companies, while existing players, too dependent on monopsony buyers and subsidies, fail to develop solid technology.

#### Implications for the tech economy

The Weakening Of The Private Sector

- Most critically needed for consumption growth is private enterprise, and that is what is most politically difficult to achieve.
- A strong recentralization theme lurks behind many FYP policy directions e.g. steel, mining, logistics. The coal resources of Shanxi were dramatically returned to the control of large government enterprises (Poly Holdings, CITIC and Shenhua) after several years of successful privatization, and the creation of many wealthy families

Lack of incentive for efficiency retards tech

- IT penetration into business in logistics, marketing, inventory management, etc. has been weak
- The government hampers information exchange, which would otherwise drive online efficiencies

The Realities of Green Growth

- Plan envisions 5 trillion RMB investment in alternative energy; but a close read indicates that much of this is expected to be provided by private investors
- The plan actually will increase the use of fossil fuels, by re-powering the big SOEs in fossil fuels, restructuring energy pricing, and opening up huge reserves in Xinjiang and Inner Mongolia
- Electric autos are a major focus, but the investment will lead to massive over capacity.

#### Be careful what you wish for

he support programs for tech have generally had a deleterious effect on technological developmer

• The supports for semiconductors and software in reality represent a retreat from direct subsidies: the chief subsidies in electronics are now aimed at supporting the consumer electronics companies like Skyworth and TCL, but with an eye to pulling through demand for ICs.

• Chinese industry, after orgies of investment in the 2000-2004 and 2008-9 periods, still finds itself backward in ERPs, automation, software systems, billing systems, and even bar coding.

• In many cases, the supportive policies are directly responsible for killing off competitiveness in the favored companies.

• 1998 domestic cell phone promotion policy: all the beneficiaries are now out of the cell phone business (Panda, TCL Handsets, Konka, Kejian, etc.)

• IC design program of 2002

• Semis generally: for 40 years, the government promoted domestic monocrystalline and IC production, but nothing happened until the ITA in 2000—and then the biggest policy favorites, like Leshan and Luoyang, despite massive funding, never made anything worth selling.

#### The problem of fraud

