



中国发展研究基金会
China Development Research
Foundation

International Development Assistance and Cooperation:
Beyond the Historical Dilemma

国际发展援助与合作： 超越历史困局

会议版

摘要

传统的国际发展援助指的是发达和相对富裕的国家为欠发达国家提供各类发展支持，包括资金、人力、技术、装备和设施等广泛内容。但是“援助国－受援国”的隐含不平等关系也被广泛诟病，伴随着新兴援助国以及新发展行动者的兴起，以及新发展援助与合作模式的涌现，以平等伙伴关系和发展导向为特征的国际发展合作的概念得到更多的强调。自 20 世纪 60、70 年代以来，国际发展援助的有效性及其对发展中国家的影响就得到了关注和讨论。过去 20 年里，围绕“援助实效”、“发展实效”两个关键议程，有关国际发展援助与合作体系改革的争论更趋激烈。

当前国际发展援助与合作体系正处于十字路口。现代国际发展援助自诞生以来，就一直具有**外交工具**和**发展工具**的双重属性。冷战时期，美苏在各自阵营推出的发展援助机制和计划，使得承载发展与合作理想的国际发展援助成为冷战阵营对立的工具。此后，随着联合国等多边主义体系独立性增强，不结盟运动的兴起以及第三世界内部广泛的相互支持，特别是冷战结束后全球化的快速推进，国际发展援助的发展工具属性被更多地释放。在 2009 年全球金融经济危机后，世界政治经济格局深度演变，地缘政治竞争日趋激烈，逆全球化思潮涌起，国际发展援助与合作面临三种不同的前景：**一是维持当前高度分割、供给不足、成效不佳的格局；二是再次沦为推动地缘政治竞争、加深国际发展合作体系分裂的工具；三是建立整合、高效的国际发展合作体系，助力实现联合国可持续发展目标，推动构建人类发展共同体和命运共同体。**报告认为，我们应该致力于实现第三种可能。

破解实效困境是国际发展援助与合作的中心问题。自 2003 年以来，以传统援助国主导的国际发展援助界先后开启了以“援助实效”和“发展实效”为核心的改革，但是改革的进展喜忧参半，在实效提升上改进有限，并且面临改革合法性和包容性不足的问题。国际发展援助与合作领域，不仅存在所谓的微观绩效与宏观实效相背离，很多文献记录和讨论了援助项目的低效以及在政治、经济、社会、环境上副作用甚至反作用。本报告针对援助的实效困境，讨论了**技术假说、规模假说、意愿假说和定位假说**。这些假说背后各有一定的逻辑和事实支撑。本报告认为，定位假说更有利于理解发展援助与合作的困境，对援助实效的目标制定以及评价需要与其定位相结合。

从援助流量规模看，传统援助国仍然在发展援助界占据主导地位，但是这些国家内部以及全球层面的结构性变化，给全球国际发展援助与合作既带来了机遇，也不乏深刻的挑战。传统援助国普遍进入高人类发展水平、低增长和高公共负债的常态，主要援助国国内收入分配和财富分配不平等扩大，对全球经济影响力下降。从全球层面看，南方国家群体性崛起正在改变传统南北关系，也改变了南

南关系；大国地缘政治竞争加剧可能带来新型的东西关系，加大了全球分裂的可能；全球发展共识在生成但落实共识的基础在削弱；非国家主体的全球事务中影响力不断提升。

以上变化可能会给国际发展援助与合作带来新的机遇：一是南方国家的崛起提供了更多的工具、资源以及贴合发展中国家实际的做法；二是不同行动者的参与将发挥竞争和互补效应；三是国际发展理念和规范将进一步丰富化；四是国际发展行动者将更加多元化；五是发展融资创新将变得精彩纷呈；六是技术合作领域“南南合作”“三方合作”范式将走向丰富和更加成熟。

与此同时，全球国际发展援助与合作也会面临新的挑战：一是高水平、低增长使发达国家对发展中国家援助议程错置；二是低增长、高负债限制了传统援助国政府提供援助的能力；三是收入和财富分配的恶化挑战国际发展合作的内在逻辑；四是经济地位下降和安全焦虑加剧全球合作的分裂；五是南方国家软硬实力仍待提升，缺乏填补空白的必要准备；六是联合国等多边机构改革乏力，信心、凝聚力和执行力等都面临危机。

面对百年未有之大变局，中国在国际发展援助与合作中量力而行，积极作为，充分展示了大国的责任担当。通过增加国际发展援助与合作投入，创新建立“一带一路”等新的发展合作机制，推动建立亚洲基础设施投资银行、新开发银行等多边合作平台，发起“全球发展倡议”，并通过自身良好的发展示范，为国际发展合作注入新的动力。中国坚持发展视角、重视援助与市场机制相结合、平等互利、不附加任何政治条件、加强全球南方团结互助的理念和经验也得到国际上广泛的关注和认同。

报告认为，把握百年未有之变局，国际发展合作共同体需要超越历史的困局。要以联合国“可持续发展目标”为抓手，不断推动国际发展合作的顶层设计，实现逐步升级完善的总目标；筑牢国际发展合作的底线规范，协调和管控好大国在国际发展合作领域的竞争；不断坚持发展导向和优先性，维护平等、开放、包容、合作的发展伙伴关系，孵化包容创新和鼓励多元的合作模式；积极推动基于评估的经验分享，强化国际发展合作成效的评估，完善国际发展合作知识体系。

报告建议，中国也应在推动构建全球统一的全球发展合作体系中积极发挥领导力，积极补足国际发展合作领域的能力短板，加强国际发展合作领域的互学互鉴，加强发展有效性评估，加强国际发展合作数据库的建设，持续优化技术合作模式，继续拓展创新发展融资方式。

ABSTRACT

Traditional international development assistance refers to the provision of various types of development support by developed and relatively rich countries to less developed countries, including a wide range of finance, human resource, technology, equipment and facilities. However, the implicitly unequal relationship of "donor-recipient" has also been widely criticized. With new donors, development actors, and models of development assistance and cooperation, the concept of international development cooperation, characterized by equal partnership and development orientation, has been more emphasized. Since the 1960s and 1970s, the effectiveness of international development assistance and its impact on developing countries have raised attention and discussion. Over the past two decades, the debate on the reform of the International Development Assistance and Cooperation (IDAC) system has intensified around two key agendas: "aid effectiveness" and "development effectiveness".

The current system of IDAC is at a crossroads. Since its birth, modern international development assistance has always had the dual nature of **diplomatic** and **development tools**. During the Cold War, the development assistance mechanisms and programs launched by the United States and the Soviet Union in their camps made international development assistance, which carried the ideals of development and cooperation, an antagonistic tool. Since then, with the increased independence of the multilateralist system such as the United Nations (UN), the rise of the Non-Aligned Movement and the widespread mutual support within the Third World, especially the rapid globalization after the end of the Cold War, the development tool nature of international development assistance have been more obvious. In the wake of the global financial and economic crisis in 2009, the world political and economic landscape has evolved deeply, geopolitical competition has become increasingly fierce, and anti-globalization thoughts has emerged; IDAC are facing three different prospects: **first, to maintain the current highly segmented, undersupplied and ineffective pattern; second, to once again become a tool to promote geopolitical competition and deepen the fragmentation of the international development cooperation system; third, to establish an integrated and efficient international development cooperation system to help achieve the UN Sustainable Development Goals**

(SDGs) and promote the construction of a community of shared development and future for humanity. The report argues that we should work to realize the third possibility.

Solving the effectiveness dilemma is the core issue of IDAC. Since 2003, the international development assistance community, led by traditional donors, has launched reforms focusing on "aid effectiveness" and "development effectiveness". However, the progress of reforms has been mixed, with limited improvement in effectiveness and facing the problem of insufficient legitimacy and inclusiveness of reform. In the field of IDAC, not only is the so-called micro-performance at odds with macro-effectiveness, but the ineffectiveness of aid programs and their political, economic, social, and environmental side effects and even counterproductive effects have been well documented and discussed. This report addresses the aid effectiveness dilemma by discussing **the technology hypothesis, the scale hypothesis, the willingness hypothesis, and the positioning hypothesis**. Each of these hypotheses has certain logic and evidence as supportive. This report argues that the positioning hypothesis is more conducive to understanding the development aid and cooperation dilemma and that targeting and evaluating aid effectiveness must be integrated with its positioning.

Traditional donors still dominate the development assistance community regarding the size of aid flows, but structural changes within these countries and at the global level present both opportunities and profound challenges to global IDAC. Traditional aid donors have generally reached a new norm of high human development levels, low economic growth, and high public debts. Inequalities in income and wealth distribution within major aid donors have widened, and their influence on the global economy has declined. At the global level, the rise of the Global South as a group is changing traditional North-South relations and South-South relations. Increased geopolitical competition among major powers may bring about a new type of East-West relations and increase the possibility of global fragmentation. Global development consensus is deepening, but the basis for its implementation is weakening; the influence of non-state actors in global affairs is increasing.

The above changes may bring new opportunities for IDAC: first, the rise of the Global South will provide more tools, resources, and approaches tailored to the realities of developing countries; second, the participation of different actors will have competitive and complementary effects; third, international development concepts and norms will be further enriched; fourth, international development actors will become more diversified; fifth, innovation in development financing will become more active; sixth, the paradigm of "South-South Cooperation" and "Triangular Cooperation" in technical cooperation will become more abundant and mature.

At the same time, global IDAC will also face new challenges: first, high development levels and low economic growth have misplaced the aid agenda of developed countries to developing countries; second, low economic growth and high public debts have limited the ability of traditional donor governments to assist; third, the deterioration of income and wealth distribution has challenged the inherent logic of international development cooperation; fourth, declining focus on economy and rising anxiety of security have exacerbated the fragmentation of global cooperation; fifth, the soft and hard power of the Global South still needs to be improved and lacks the necessary preparation to fill the gaps; sixth, multilateral institutions such as the UN have been weakly reformed and are facing a crisis of confidence, cohesion, and implementation capacity.

Facing the profound changes unseen in a century, China has taken a proactive role in IDAC, fully demonstrating its responsibility as a great power. By increasing investment in IDAC, innovating and establishing new development cooperation mechanisms such as the Belt and Road Initiative, promoting the establishment of multilateral cooperation platforms such as the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and the New Development Bank, and launching the Global Development Initiative, China has injected new momentum into international

development cooperation through its successful development example. China's philosophy and experience of development, as well as the focus on combining aid with market mechanisms, equality, mutual benefit, no political conditionality, and strengthening solidarity in the Global South, have also gained wide international attention and recognition.

The report argues that in the face of the profound changes unseen in a century, the international development cooperation community needs to transcend the historical dilemma. We should take the SDGs as the grasp, continuously promote the top-level design of international development cooperation, and achieve the overall goal of gradual upgrading and improvement; establish the bottom-line norms of international development cooperation, and coordinate the great power competition in the field. We should continue to adhere to development orientation and priority, maintain equal, open, inclusive, and cooperative development partnerships, and incubate inclusive, diversified, and innovative cooperation models; actively promote evaluation-based experience sharing, strengthen evaluation of the effectiveness, and improve the knowledge system of international development cooperation.

The report recommends that China should play an active leading role in promoting the construction of an integrated global development cooperation system, actively make up for its capacity shortcomings, strengthen mutual learning, enhance the assessment of development effectiveness, speed up the construction of the IDAC database, continuously optimize the technical cooperation model, and expand innovative development financing methods.

目录

CONTENTS

一、十字路口的国际发展援助与合作	01
二、实效困境：从“援助实效”到“合作实效”的议程变迁	03
三、内外结构性变化：挑战与机遇并存	09
（一）发展援助的实效困境：四种可能假说	09
1. 技术假说	09
2. 规模假说	10
3. 意愿假说	13
4. 定位假说	13
（二）“传统”援助国的结构性变化	15
（三）全球层面的结构性变化	19
（四）变局中的挑战与机遇	21
1. 潜在的机遇	21
2. 挑战	25
四、中国：国际发展援助与合作的新变量	27
（一）中国在全球发展合作新格局中的角色	27
（二）中国做对了什么？	33
五、结语与建议	37
（一）对国际发展合作共同体的建议	37
（二）对中国的建议	39

1. International Development Assistance and Cooperation at the Crossroads	01
2. Effectiveness Dilemma: The Changing Agenda from "Aid Effectiveness" to "Cooperation Effectiveness"	03
3. Internal and External Structural Changes: Challenges and Opportunities in Parallel	09
3.1 The Development Aid Effectiveness Dilemma: Four Possible Hypotheses	09
3.1.1 Technical Hypothesis	09
3.1.2 Scale Hypothesis	10
3.1.3 Willingness Hypothesis	13
3.1.4 Positioning Hypothesis	13
3.2 Structural Changes in "Traditional" donors	15
3.3 Structural Changes at the Global Level	19
3.4 Challenges and Opportunities in a Changing Situation	21
3.4.1 Potential Opportunities	21
3.4.2 Challenges	25
4. China: A New Variable in International Development Assistance and Cooperation	27
4.1 China's Role in the New Pattern of Global Development Cooperation	27
4.2 What Has China Done Right?	33
5. Concluding Remarks and Recommendations	37
5.1 Suggestions for the International Development Cooperation Community	37
5.2 Suggestions for China	39

© 中国发展研究基金会

中国发展研究基金会是在国务院领导同志直接关怀下，由国务院发展研究中心于 1997 年 11 月 27 日发起设立并领导的、在民政部注册的全国性、公募型基金基金会。

地址：北京东城区安定门外大街 138 号皇城国际中心 A 座 15 层

邮编：100011

电话：86-10-64255855

传真：86-10-84080850

邮箱：comm@cdrf.org.cn

官网：<https://www.cdrf.org.cn>

© China Development Research Foundation

The China Development Research Foundation (CDRF) is a public foundation initiated by the Development Research Center of the State Council (DRC) of China.

Street address: Floor 15, Tower A, Imperial International Center,
No. 138, Andingmen Wai Avenue, Dongcheng District,
Beijing, China

Postal address: CDRF
100011 Beijing, China

Telephone: +86 10 64255855

E-mail: comm@cdrf.org.cn

Internet: <https://www.cdrf.org.cn>