



国家发改委经济体制与管理研究所

THE PHENOMENON OF
THE REFORM OBSTRUCTION IN CHINA:
THE PERFORMANCE,
ORIGIN AND SOLUTION

改革梗阻现象： 表现、根源与治理

张林山 孙凤仪 等 / 著



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摘 要

改革举措能否真正落地生根，关系党的十八届三中全会以来改革蓝图能否实现，决定改革的成败。在经济发展进入新常态、改革进入深水区的关键时期，改革越向纵深挺进，一些深层次的体制机制弊端和既得利益阻碍会越发凸显，改革面临的矛盾和问题将更加复杂。面对严峻形势，国家发改委经济体制与管理研究所课题组选定“如何推进改革方案设计科学合理、改革执行协调顺畅高效、改革监督考评精准有力，确保改革落地生根”这些重大问题，开创性地以改革推进机制为切入点，开展了详细深入的分析研究，形成了1篇总报告、5篇专题报告、1篇综述报告和2篇调研报告等丰富研究成果。

总报告首先在“顶层设计”“改革梗阻”“政策执行”等概念界定的基础上，分析了当前我国改革梗阻的六种主要表现形式，即“你有政策，我有对策”的替换性执行，搞“土政策”的附加性执行，“断章取义，为我所用”的选择性执行，“阳奉阴违”的象征性执行，“变形、走样”的片面性执行及“左顾右盼”的观望式执行。其次，从机制缺陷、利益固化与权力集中三方面，每方面分主体、程序、方式三要件挖掘出当前我国改革梗阻问题产生的背景和原因。再次，明确了当前破除改革梗阻、完善改革推进机制的总体思路即“围绕一个总体目标、破解两大核心问题、推进三大关键举措”。最后，从决策设计机制、执行协调机制和监督考评机制三方面提出了政策建议，即：强化中央深改组



在改革决策中的主导地位，重塑改革决策体系；完善横向部门间和纵向政府间协调机制，给改革者更多的激励保障；加强改革督察和考评，打通改革精准落地关键“堵点”。对行政审批制度改革、国有企业改革、财税体制改革、户籍制度改革、医药卫生体制改革五个重点改革领域分别设计了具体改革措施。

5篇专题报告分基础理论、决策设计机制、执行协调机制、监督考评机制和重点领域五个模块分析改革落地实施的关键梗阻问题；综述报告从相关概念、梗阻表现形式、出现原因、破解方法等方面进行述评，提供了有力的基础理论支撑；2篇调研报告分别根据广东、四川等六省，湖北、深圳两地问卷结果及调研情况进行分析，得出了实事求是的结论，并提出了具有较高参考价值的建议。

本研究创新之处在于：一是建立起一套改革推进机制理论体系。目前国内外对改革推进机制的研究较少且不成体系，本研究以改革推进的决策设计、执行协调和监督考评三大机制为核心，建立起我国全面深化改革时期改革推进机制理论体系；二是提出了一套全面深化改革过程中有效破除改革梗阻的实施办法。本研究加强了改革促进工作的相关制度设计，对当前和今后一段时期我国全面深化改革过程中可能面临的梗阻问题，提出了破解的总体思路 and 分阶段分领域的政策建议。

Abstract

Whether the reform measures can really take root, influences the achievement of the reform blueprint since the third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, and determines the success of the reform. During the crucial period when the economic development entered the “new normal” and the deep-water period of reform, the deeper the reform advance, the deep-seated institutional mechanisms and the drawbacks of the obstacles of the vested interest become more prominent, and the contradictions and problems facing the reform become more complex. In the face of the stern situation, the research group of the Institute of Economic System and Management of the NDRC selected and studied on the important issue “how to promote the design of reform to be scientific and reasonable, the coordination and implementation of reform to be smooth and efficient, and the supervision and evaluation of reform to be accurate and powerful, to ultimately ensure the reform policies implemented. And taking the promoting mechanism as the breakthrough point, the research group carry out detailed analysis and research thoroughly, and the achieved abundant results including one main report, five project reports, one research review report and two investigation reports.

First of all, based on the definitions of “the top-level design”, “the reform obstruction”, and “the policy execution”, the general report analyzes the six main manifestations of current reform obstructions in China, that is, the alternative execution of “superior has the policy, inferior has the countermeasure”, the additive implementation of “the local policy”, the selective execution of “garbling a statement for their interests”, the symbolic execution of “complying in public but opposed in private”, the one-sided



implementation of “deformation and distortion”, and the wait-and-see execution of “glancing left and right”. Then we dig out the background and reasons of the current reform obstructions in three aspects, the defects of the mechanism, the interests of curing and the concentration of power, and every aspect is composed of the subject, procedure and method three elements. Thirdly, we clarify the general idea of improving the reform promoting mechanism and unplugging the obstruction currently, which is “focusing on one general target, breaking two core issues, and promoting three key initiatives”. Finally, we put forward policy suggestions from three aspects, the policy making and design mechanism, the coordination and implementation mechanism and the supervision and evaluation mechanism of reform as below: to strengthen the dominant position of the Central Reform Leading Group in the reform policy-making process to reshape the policy-making system; to improve the coordination mechanism between transverse departments and longitudinal intergovernmental, which provides more incentives to the reformers; to strengthen the supervision and evaluation of reform and break through the “blocking” of reform promoting process. And we put forward specific reform measures of five key areas including the reform of administrative approval system, the reform of state-owned enterprises, the reform of the taxation system, the reform of the household registration system, and the reform of medical and health system.

The five project reports are composed of five modules including the basic theory, the policy making and design mechanism, the coordination and implementation mechanism, the supervision and evaluation mechanism, and major fields of reform to solve the obstruction problems and make suggestions. The research review report illustrates and comments on the relevant concepts, obstruction manifestation, reasons, and solutions, which provides detailed basic theory support. The two investigation reports analyze the questionnaire results and investigation in six provinces including Guangdong and Sichuan, and the other two areas of Hubei and Shenzhen, and then come to high-value

conclusions and suggestions as well.

The innovation of this research lies in two aspects: Firstly, to establish a theory system of the promoting mechanism of reform. At present, the research on the promoting mechanism of reform at home and abroad is too few to form a system. Our research bases on three mechanisms including the policy making and design mechanism, the coordination and implementation mechanism and the supervision and evaluation mechanism of reform as the core, to establish the reform promoting theory system at the period of comprehensively deepening reform. Secondly, to put forward a set of effective measures to unplug the obstructions during the process of comprehensively deepening reform. We strengthen the related system design of reform promoting in our research, and put forward the general idea and the policy recommendations period by period in several fields in order to solve the obstruction problems in China's comprehensively deepening reform process at present and in the future.

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