

中国近代公务员工资制度思想研究

杨兵杰 著

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ABSTRACT

Salary system of civil servants is the major section of civil servant system. How to formulate and elaborate effectively its encouragement function, safeguard function, regulation function and honest function does not only play an important role in mustering civil servants to work hard, improving their service consciousness, but also has an effect on preventing civil servants from rent-risking, corruption and building an honest and high efficient government. Compared with Western countries, the research of salary system of civil servants still remains a stage of exploration and study in China. How to combine China's practice when we learn and borrow other countries' advanced experiences, and how to find out the classified system of civil servants, the classified salary system of civil servants, the adjusted salary system of civil servants and the administrative salary system of civil servants as well as the system of retirement and insurance suitable to China are the problems to be explored and thought in the reform of salary system of civil servants, and also the tasks of the researchers. Modern China is the earliest period in which salary system of civil servants was brewed, discussed, learnt and carried out in China. The scholars have made a valuable exploration of it and thus have rich

thoughts of economy and policy. With “Study on the Thought of Salary System of Civil Servants in Modern China” as its title, the paper combs the thought of the salary system of civil servants from Late Qing Dynasty to National Government of Nanjing from the perspective of economic thought and thus makes up for the deficiency of the study about the problem, and digs out some valuable thoughts in the thought of salary system of civil servants in Modern China and thus provides some theoretical advice for today’s reform of salary system of civil servants.

The book adopts the interactive method of historical periods and subject researches, and makes a research on the salary system of civil servants in modern times from economic thought and policy thought. At the same time, the author tries to answer the questions which nowadays people have still pondered over, such as the problem of “high salary maintains cleanness”, the problem of encouraging the civil servant, the problem of combining the Chinese culture with the Western culture, the problem of the Chinese traditional official culture impaction on the civil servant salary system. Basing on these, the author puts forward the feasible policy suggestions to improve the construction of civil servants salary system. The book consists of an introduction and six chapters.

The introduction is mainly about the reason of the title, the current state of its research, the research contents, the difficult points of the research, the methods of the research, and the original points of the paper.

Chapter I is the historical survey of the thought of salary system in ancient China. In the transition of ancient China’s salary system from material salary to money salary, salary had different

references and stood for distinct material treatment respectively, and meanwhile, it had the meaning of subjects' service to their monarch and monarch's reward to his subjects, reflecting the rewarding and being rewarded relationship between monarchs and subjects under the dictatorship of feudal monarchy. The ideas of salary of ranks, of high salary maintaining cleanness, of promotion, of division according to labor, of classified administration are also main parts of the thought of ancient China's salary system, and they become one of the resources of the thought of salary system of civil servants in Modern China.

Chapter II is the appearance of the seeds of thought of salary system of civil servants in Modern China — Late Qing Dynasty (1840 A.D. — 1911 A.D.). In the hot wave of “learning from the West”, and under the background of changes happening to the official system of feudal society, all ranks of subjects in Late Qing Dynasty demanded the reform of official system, and “high salary maintain cleanness” once again became their voice. The departments in central and local governments asked the increase of their official salary, and some scholars suggested plans to solve uneven salary. In this circumstance, Late Qing Government carried out many policies in the new organizations such as the policy of appointing officials according to their abilities, of giving different salaries according to their ranks and positions, of reforming public salary systems, etc. Although following some characteristics of the idea of the ancient rank salary system, the idea of salary in Late Qing Dynasty had absorbed the democratic and equal ideas of the salary of the civil servants in the West and thus had dual characteristics.

Chapter III is the stage of brewing the idea of salary system of civil servants in Modern China—the Period of Northern Sea Government (1912—1927). The period witnessed the scholars using such weapons of thought as democracy and equality, Dr. Sun Yatsen’s “public servant view” and idea of low salary, Wang Di-fan’s “theory on official salary”, Liang Qichao’s “theory on making a living by being an official”, Huang Yuansheng’s “official-based theory”, Zhang Qiang and Liao Zhongkai’s “unity of finance and politics”. Meanwhile the Northern Sea Government made “Laws on the Ranks and Salary of Central Civil Servants” with reference to salary system of civil servants in Japan, carried out a policy of classifying civil servants by combining classification of ranks and classification of positions, and established a set of salary administrative system of civil servants. Ideas of sorting civil servants, of the ranks of their salaries, and of managing their salaries were developed in this period.

Chapter IV and Chapter V are the development of ideas of salary system of civil servants in Modern China—National Government of Nanjing Period (1927—1949). Before 1937, the scholars in modern China had translated and introduced a lot of thought on salary system of civil servants and personal administrative theory of western countries, especially European and American. They had made a valuable exploration of the argument of the concept of civil Servants, the criticism of “Temporary List of Ranks and Salary of Civil Servants”, whether or how to make salary ranking system of civil Servants in China, whether to carry out the retirement and annuity system of civil servants, and how to collect annuity. Meanwhile, “Temporary List of Ranks

and Salary of Civil servants” was established, the policy of salary system of civil servants of “high salary maintaining cleanness” was carried out, a sorting method was adopted with both traditional and modern bases, and the branch management of salary of civil servants was carried out. After 1937, with the breaking out of Anti-Japanese War and the increasingly rising of prices, the real salary of civil servants decreased dramatically. The Chinese scholars in that period began to shift their attention from the pure translation, introduction and spread of civil servants salary theory of the West to the study of practical problems in China, suggesting ideas of rising civil servants salary, sorting the positions of civil servants, making civil servants salary, differentiating civil servants salary, indexing civil servants salary, supervising and managing civil servants salary, and civil servants’ dreaming of becoming rich by being an official according to Chinese practice. With regard to policy, there were American gradual policy of civil servants salary ranks, the policy of indexing civil servants salary, and that of civil servants retirement and insurance. In that period, there had been built a set of thought of salary system of civil servants including the classified system of civil servants, the ranking system of civil servants salary, the adjusted salary system of civil servants and the administrative salary system of civil servants as well as the system of retirement and insurance.

Chapter VI makes a generalized analysis of the orbits and characteristics of ideas of salary system of civil servants in Modern China, based on which, a policy suggestion is made on the reform and construction of civil servants salary in Contemporary

China. The book has four original points:

1. With regard to the content of the research, it is rare in China to systematically comb the ideas of salary system of civil servants in Modern China from Late Qing Dynasty to National Government of Nanjing from the view point of economic thought.

2. With regard to the use of data, the author refers to a lot of modern literature, periodicals and works, makes a full use of reliability of historical documents and authenticity of regulatory documents, thus many data are comparatively new.

3. With regard to the research method, the author combines economic thought and policy thought, makes a research on ideas of salary system of civil servants in Modern China from the speech and works of the politician-economists of that time and the policy systems of the government of that period, makes a quantitative analysis as supplementary to the qualitative analysis, and puts the study into the world scope.

4. The author builds a set of civil servants salary system including the classified system of civil servants, the ranking system of civil servants salary, the adjusted salary system of civil servants and the administrative salary system of civil servants as well as the system of retirement and insurance.

Last but not least, because of the limited knowledge of the author and the wide range of fields involved by the system of civil servants salary itself, the author can not make a sufficient discussion on the binding idea of civil servants salary and the supervising idea of civil servants salary, thus the research on the income beyond civil servants salary needs a further study.

内容摘要

公务员工资制度是公务员制度中的重要组成部分,如何制定和有效发挥它的激励功能、调节功能、养廉功能和保障功能,不但对调动公务员工作积极性、提高其服务意识有着举足轻重的作用,而且对防止公务员寻租、腐败,建立廉洁高效的政府也至关重要。相较西方各国,我国对公务员工资制度的研究还处于探索和学习阶段。如何在学习和借鉴各国先进经验的同时,更好地结合中国实际,寻找出适合我国国情的公务员分类制度、公务员工资等级制度、公务员工资调整制度、公务员工资管理制度以及退休保险制度,是我们现时公务员工资制度改革要探索和思考的问题,也是研究者的任务所在。中国近代是公务员工资制度在中国本土酝酿、讨论、学习和实施的最早时期,学者们为此进行了可贵的探索,有着丰富的经济思想和政策思想。但目前学术界却忽视了对此课题的研究。本书以中国近代公务员工资制度思想研究为题,一来从经济思想史的角度对从晚清到南京国民政府时期一百多年间的近代公务员工资制度思想进行梳理,弥补学术界对此问题研究的不足;二来挖掘近代公务员工资制度思想中的一些可贵思想,为今天的公务员工资制度改革提供理论借鉴和政策建议。

本书采用历史时期与专题研究相结合的方法,从经济思想和政策思想两方面对近代公务员工资制度进行研究,同时试图对困

扰人们至今的高薪养廉问题、公务员工资激励问题、中西文化结合问题、中国官本位文化对公务员工资制度的影响问题作出理论上的阐释和回答,并在此基础上对当前的公务员工资制度改革提出可行的政策建议。全书共分为绪论和六个章节。

绪论主要包括选题的缘由、研究状况、研究内容、研究方法和本书的创新。

第一章是对中国古代俸禄制度思想的历史考察。在中国古代俸禄制度从实物俸禄逐渐向货币俸禄过渡的过程中,俸禄各有所指,各代表一定的物质待遇项目。同时,又蕴含着臣对君的奉侍和君对臣的禄赐的含义,反映了封建君主专制下君臣之间恩赐与被恩赐的关系。品位俸禄思想、厚禄养廉思想、考核升级思想、按劳分配思想、折色思想和分级管理思想也是中国古代俸禄制度思想的主要组成部分,这些思想成为中国近代公务员工资制度思想的历史渊源之一。

第二章是中国近代公务员工资制度思想的萌芽出现——晚清时期(1840~1911)。在西学东渐“向西方学习”的热潮中,在封建官制发生变革的背景下,这一时期厚禄养廉再度成为众口一词,群臣上下出现了改革官制的呼声、增加官费的要求、解决官俸不均的方案。在此思想指导下,晚清政府在一些新式部门进行俸制改革,实行量能授职的任官制度、职务薪俸的等级制度和改陋规为公费的公费改革。晚清俸制思想虽然仍沿袭古代品位俸禄制度思想的一些特征,但其已吸收了西方文官工资制度的民主平等意识,呈现二元化的特点。

第三章是中国近代公务员工资制度思想的酝酿产生——北洋政府时期(1912~1927)。这一时期学者主要运用民主平等的思想武器,出现了孙中山的“公仆观”和低薪制思想、汪笛帆的“官俸议”、梁启超的“做官谋生说”、黄远生的“官本位论”,还有张謇、廖仲凯的“财政统一论”。与此同时,北洋政府以日本文官工资制度

为参照对象,制定了《中央文官官等官俸法》;实行品位分类与职位分类相结合的文官分类方法;初步建立了一套文官工资管理制度。这一时期已初步形成文官分类思想、文官工资等级思想和文官工资管理思想。

第四、第五章是中国近代公务员工资制度思想的发展——南京国民政府时期(1927~1949)。1937年前,学者们主要大量翻译和介绍西方公务员工资制度和人事行政理论,他们在公务员概念的争议上,在对《暂行文官官等官俸表》的批驳上,以及围绕着中国是否实行和如何进行公务员职位分类、公务员工资等级制度如何厘订、公务员退休养老制度是否实行、养老金如何筹措等诸多问题进行了可贵的探讨。同时,南京国民政府制定了《暂行文官官等官俸表》,实施高薪养廉的公务员工资政策,采用兼具传统和现代的公务员分类法,并实行公务员工资的分支管理。1937年后,随着抗日战争的爆发和物价的不断上涨,公务员真实工资水平急剧下降。这一时期中国学者开始尝试利用西方公务员工资理论研究中国实际问题,提出了与中国国情相结合的提高公务员工资待遇的思想主张、公务员职位分类思想、公务员工资制定思想、公务员工资差别思想、公务员工资指数化思想、公务员工资监督管理思想以及公务员寻租思想和做官发财思想。在政策实施上,主要实行美国式的公务员职位分类制度、公务员工资指数化制度、公务员退休养老保险制度以及公务员工资监督管理制度。这一时期已逐渐形成了一套关于公务员职位分类、公务员工资等级、公务员工资调整、公务员工资管理、公务员退休养老保险的公务员工资制度思想。

第六章对中国近代公务员工资制度思想发展的轨迹和特点进行了概括分析,并在此基础上,对目前我国的公务员工资制度改革和建设提出了可行性的政策建议。

笔者认为,本书有以下四点创新之处:

(1)在研究内容上,从经济思想史的角度系统地对从晚清到南京政府时期一百多年来的中国近代公务员工资制度思想进行梳理,这种梳理在国内还较为鲜见。

(2)在资料运用上,查阅大量近代文献期刊和著作,充分利用历史档案的可靠性和法规文件的真实性,许多资料比较创新。

(3)在研究方法上,采用经济思想和政策思想相结合的分析方法,从当时政治经济学者的言论著述和当时政府的政策制度中同时对中国近代公务员工资制度思想进行研究;在定性分析的同时,运用大量的家计调查统计资料进行定量辅助分析;始终把中国近代公务员工资制度思想放在世界的范围当中进行研究,贯穿了中外比较的方法。

(4)提出一套包括公务员职位分类制度、公务员工资等级制度、公务员工资调整制度、公务员工资管理制度、公务员退休养老保险制度在内的公务员工资制度体系。

由于时间和学识有限,加之公务员工资制度本身涉及领域较广,笔者对公务员工资约束思想和公务员监督思想论述不够,公务员工资外的收入研究还有待进一步深入。

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绪 论

第一节 选题缘由

笔者之所以选择中国近代公务员工资制度思想研究作为本书的选题,主要基于两个方面的缘由。

一、世界各国掀起的行政改革风潮和国内公务员工资制度建设的需要

20 世纪 70 年代末 80 年代初以来,西方各国掀起了一场声势浩大且旷日持久的行政改革风潮,其中最著名的大规模改革包括英国的续阶方案、美国政府的再造、加拿大的公共服务两千计划、欧洲共同体会员国倡导的公共服务改革、新西兰的财政与人事改革、澳大利亚的财政管理改进计划等。由于发达国家凭借其政治、经济、文化的先进性对后发国家具有强烈的示范效应,因而,行政改革从观念的产生、理论的提出到实践的运作,不仅在发达国家内部引发诸多检讨与争论,而且在政治制度、行政体制面临从传统型转变的发展中国家,也得到积极与广泛的回应。近年来,希腊、马来西亚、南非、纳米比亚、智利、加纳、加勒比海诸国均明确提出了本国行政改革的行政计划具体方案。尽管各国改革的性质、规模

和途径不同,但都是以“新公共管理”(New Pubic Management)或“管理主义”范式作为其指导思想。新公共管理运动的兴起意味着公共部门管理尤其是政府管理研究领域范式的转变。有如休斯(O. Hughes)在《公共行政与管理》一书中所说:“自从20世纪80年代中期以来,发达国家的公共部门管理已发生了转变,曾经在本世纪的大部分时间中居于支配地位的传统公共行政管理的那种刻板(僵化)、层级官僚体制形式逐步转变为一种灵活的、以市场为基础的(新)公共管理形式,后者并不是一种改革事务或管理方式的微小变化,而是政府与公民社会关系的一种深刻变化。传统的公共行政在理论与实践上都已受到怀疑。新公共管理的采纳意味着公共部门管理领域中新范式的出现。”^①新公共管理一个很重要的内容就是在政府部门引入市场竞争机制,对公务员实行高效廉洁的管理;在此方针指导下,各国都在试图探索建立一套具有激励竞争优势的公务员工资制度。

与此同时,随着中国经济体制改革的逐渐深入,邓小平也于20世纪80年代初提出改革中国政治体制的设想,要求废除领导终身制、整顿官僚作风、充实干部队伍新鲜血液,实行干部年轻化、职业化,参照古代科举制和西方文官制度实行“公正、公开、择优”的公务员制度。接着中共十三大报告对公务员制度建立的必要性、内容、原则作了系统明确的阐述;但针对这一制度,一些人存有疑问:公务员制度本身到底是西方多党制产物,还是一种较为科学的管理方法和手段?为澄清这些模糊认识,中共十四大报告提出要尽快推行国家公务员制度以适应经济体制改革的要求和世界政治形势发展的趋势。经过十多年来的酝酿,党中央于1993年正式确立在中国实行国家公务员制度,并着手进一步健全和完善各项

^① Owen Hughes, *Public Management and Administration: An Introduction* (2ed.), Macmillan Press Ltd., St. Martins Press, Inc., p. 1, 1998.