

今日经济焦点丛书  
China's Economy Today



王清宽

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The role of chinese  
government in the  
marketization process of  
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## 序

中国经济改革走过了 20 多年的历程。在这 20 多年中,世界经济发生了许多重大变化。其中之一就是社会主义国家的经济体制从计划经济向市场经济的过渡。

经济全球化浪潮使各国经济相互渗透,相互依存。同时,国家之间的制度竞争突显出来。社会主义国家的经济转型,就是对这种制度竞争的一种回应。从传统集权的计划经济走向市场经济,是实践的必然,是认识上的共识。

但是,中国与前苏东国家的经济转型却有着本质的不同。前苏东国家抛弃社会主义根本制度,实行全面私有化。中国市场经济道路则实现了社会主义与市场经济的结合,实现了公有制与市场经济的结合。从实际效果看,中国在转轨过程中的经济与社会进步也是最为成功的。近年来,国内外研究转轨经济的学者对中国的经验越来越重视,对中国的道路越来越认同。他们也承认,从计划经济体制向市场经济体制过渡,政府如何发挥作用是成败的关键。因此,他们对从计划经济到市场经济过渡的进程的研究,往往被对这些国家市场化进程中政府作用的研究所取代。

政府与市场的关系是经济学理论的核心问题。在这一问题上的理论变迁与实践更替,正说明市场经济本身也是在不断生长,其理论的创新是因为其实践的不断丰富。曾经行之有效,而对新的实践却不再适用的理论,大多不是因为原有理论的错误,而是由于孕育了这个理论的实践本身的变化。社会主义市场经济是没有先例的伟大实践。因此,当我们今天讨论中国政府在市场化进程中作用的时候,用西方市场经济实践形成的市场经济的理论

来框中国今天的实践,是不能得出正确结论的;抛开了具体的实践分析,抽象地谈论政府在市场化进程中的作用也是不可取的。

本书是王清宪同志的博士论文,它从中国市场化改革 20 多年的实践出发,对中国政府在市场化实践中的作用的的方式方法及其演变规律进行了深入的分析 and 理论概括。强有力的政府主导是中国经济市场化改革的一个显著特点和取得良好效果的重要原因。在我国社会主义市场经济体制初步确立的条件下,总结中国政府主导经济市场化 20 多年的历史经验,对进一步建立完善的市场经济体制具有重要的理论意义和实践意义。

本书对中国政府在经济市场化进程中的作用提出了很多有益的见解,对不少问题有创新性的概括。

如何处理计划、财政,与货币手段配合协调问题,是市场化战略中的重要问题。王清宪同志通过对 20 多年经济改革市场力量增长的阶段性量化分析,得出了这样的结论:

计划行政手段的减少与退出与市场机制的发育水平是互为前提又互为因果的关系。计划行政手段的减少和退出过分超前于市场机制发育水平或过分滞后于市场机制发育水平,都是不利于市场化推进的。

市场化是市场的微观基础不断提高其对市场适应度的渐进过程。这个过程的不同阶段,微观基础总体上对市场信号反应的灵敏程度是不一样的。在这种情况下,我们无法确定一个行政计划与市场机制相结合的规范模式。从一种理想的状态出发,以为只要把某类完美的经济模式建起来就会使我国经济和谐地运转的想法是简单而不切实际的。

在市场化进程的每一个阶段,行政计划与市场调控都是政府主导的手段,而且是互补的关系。最关键的问题不是手段本身的对错,而是我们对经济生活的准确判断。这种判断主要基于对微观经济主体行为方式的把握,特别是微观主体对政策变量的反应弹性。我国经济的市场化进程是渐进的,微观基础处在变动过程

之中。非国有经济在国民经济中的分量由小到大;国有企业对市场反应能力由弱到强。这就决定了微观主体在不同阶段对政策反应的差别。我们只能在不同阶段,准确地找到并确定行政计划与市场结合的点和度,从而最有效地选择手段的组合。同那种不顾市场机制已经得到发育,却不去发挥市场机制的基础作用的倾向一样,那种超越现实条件,不顾市场发育的阶段,过分倚重市场,全面否定行政计划机制作用的倾向,都是不正确的。

任何一种制度安排的效率都不是绝对的,它是以一定的制度环境为基础的。市场的手段与行政的手段也是如此。两者没有哪一个绝对有效率,哪一个绝对无效率之分。其效率是由其作用的对象而具有相对性。在市场化的进程中,政府主导的手段选择出发点不是抽象的计划或抽象的市场概念,而是效率最大的原则。根据调控的对象与环境,哪种手段效率最高就用哪种手段;哪种计划与市场组合更有效率就用哪种组合。

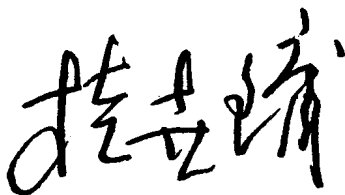
与抽象地、泛泛地谈论政府与市场的关系相比,这些结论具有理论上的明晰与实践上的可操作性。

本书写作参阅的国内外有关文献比较充分。对我国经济体制改革的政策、文献和统计信息有比较广泛的了解和整体的把握。论文逻辑清晰,结构合理,实际上给出了一个分析研究中国政府在经济市场化进程中的作用的理论框架,文字表述规范流畅。这些表明,作者有扎实的理论基础,具备了较强的研究能力与写作水平。

本书采用实证分析与规范分析相结合的方法,对中国政府在经济市场化进程中的作用作了全面分析与深入探讨。比较充分地论述了中国经济市场化改革由政府主导的客观依据,明确指出中国经济的渐进式改革实际是不同于市场自然发育的集约进行过程;从政府主导市场化进程的对象内容、方式方法到政府自身的改革层层展开分析论证,使研究的逻辑和叙述的逻辑得到较好的统一;把市场化改革视为一种制度生产过程,提出并阐释了制度实施

成本和摩擦成本的概念,以此分析论证了政府主导市场化进程的最优化原则和实践效果,并把处理好改革、发展、稳定三者关系上升到政府主导市场化改革进程的方法论高度,把稳定视为应由政府提供的标准公共物品;明确提出在改革开放新的阶段,政府主导市场化最重要的是完善政府自身行为,走向法制政府,减少对经济人行为不必要的法律约束,加强对政府任意权力的法律约束,通过依法治政达到依法治市的目的。是一篇有较高质量和学术水平的论著。

王清宪同志思维敏捷,学风扎实。他的学士、硕士、博士分别读了哲学、新闻学和经济学三个学科,使他形成了知识结构和思维方法上的优势。他思考问题的思路开阔明晰,逻辑严谨而有深度,有很好的理论素养。他是一个有责任感、能吃苦的人,是一个有追求又脚踏实地的人。作为他的博士导师,我愿他做好的学问,做有为的事业,做对时代有价值的人。

A large, stylized handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of three characters: '王清宪' (Wang Qingxian).

2003年8月

## 内容摘要

本论文的核心观点:中国政府是中国经济市场化进程的主导者,在中国经济市场化进程中起着发动者、设计者、调控者、推动者的作用。

中国经济市场化所以要由政府主导,是因为中国经济市场化受到五个方面的制约:一是受时间的制约;二是受市场化进程的体制起点的制约;三是受内部经济二元结构与外部国际竞争的制约;四是受由前面的原因而导致的市场化推进方式的制约;五是受中国思想文化传统的制约。

任何经济条件下,企业、市场、政府之间的关系都是最基本的经济关系。因此,政府主导推进市场化,就要用政府所拥有的各种资源,重新构建这三者的关系。而要重新构造这三者关系,就要对这三者本身进行重塑,并在其从不完善走向完善的过程中,维护市场的秩序与稳定。

重塑微观主体是从两个方面推进的:一是改造传统的国有企业,使之成为符合市场机制要求的具有剩余控制权和剩余索取权的独立经营的法人主体;二是发展多种所有制经济成分,塑造多元化的市场主体。二者在市场化推进的过程中互相促进和推动。

政府培育市场,是我国市场发育过程的一条现实道路。在我国,长期以来卖方市场的状况严重,产品价格、地租、利率、工资等要素价格长期扭曲,因此一步全部放开价格管制并不意味着价格的市场机制就能一步确立。可行的选择只能是政府利用其权威和非市场手段来培育和组织市场,逐步达到存在配额的市场均衡。在这个过程中,政府加快企业市场化改革步伐,理顺政府与企业的关系,确立独立经营、自负盈亏的市场主体地位,培育企业经营者真正成为按市场规律操作企业的企业家,最终健全市场体系。

计划、财政和金融是市场经济下政府进行宏观调控的三大



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支柱,政府必然要对传统计划体制、财政体制和金融体制进行相应的市场化改革。计划管理从微观转向宏观,从短期转向长期;财政税收体制从高度集中转为划分事权财权,分清责权;金融从作为财政的出纳转为经济杠杆,发挥其调控中枢的作用。

和谐的经济环境,良好的经济秩序,是市场正常运行的必要条件。没有任何组织和个人能够代替政府制定并实施市场平等竞争的竞技规则和产权交易规则,以保证市场健康有序地发展。维护市场秩序、保障社会经济良性发展是政府最基本的任务。

市场化进程直观表现为一系列经济关系的变化与形成。而与这一过程相关的,是整个社会的价值体系的变化。这个变化对市场化来说,不是外在的,而是内在的。作为一项重要的非正式制度安排,意识形态的制度性作用在于,它是个人与其环境达成协议的一种节约费用的工具;它有助于缩减人们在相互对立的理性之间进行非此即彼的选择时所耗费的时间和成本;新的意识形态有助于节约认识世界和处理相互关系的费用。意识形态的突破,是市场化进程向前推进的先导性力量。而这种突破是在政府主导下完成的。

中国的市场化推进是一个渐进的过程,而且是一个整体渐进的过程。在市场化进程的每一个阶段,行政计划与市场调控都是政府主导的手段,而且是互补的关系。最关键的问题不是手段本身的对错,而是我们对经济生活的准确判断。这种判断主要基于对微观经济主体行为方式的把握,特别是微观主体对调控政策变量的反应弹性。在市场化进程中,政府主导的手段选择出发点不是抽象的计划或抽象的市场概念,而是效率最大的原则。与市场机制能够发挥基础性调节作用后,仍保留过多的计划行政干预一样,在市场机制还无力发挥作用或不能很好地发挥作用的阶段或领域,过早或过度地放弃计划行政手段

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都是不正确的。

市场化改革可以被看作一种制度生产的过程。作为一种生产,必然要发生成本。成本分为两种:一是实施成本,二是摩擦成本。中国政府设计市场化进程的基本逻辑是:以尽可能小的市场化推进成本,换取尽可能大的市场化收益。

处理好改革、发展与稳定的关系,是中国政府从全局和全过程主导市场化进程的方法论。稳定具有公共产品的本质属性,是一种标准的公共产品,维护稳定具有效率价值。所以,稳定只能由政府来提供。

政府是市场化进程的主导,是发起者、设计者、组织者、推动者。但是,随着市场化的推进,政府自身也进行着深刻的变革。政府作为市场化进程的主导者,并不是在市场化之外,而是在市场化的中心。政府变革是经济市场化的最重要内容之一。

就目前我国社会主义市场经济体制初步建立起来的现实而言,我们要进一步完善宏观调控,最主要的是要增强间接参数调控的有效性。间接参数调控方式应该成为我国宏观经济调控的基本方式。从这一认识出发,我国目前计划、财政和金融三大调控手段都需要进一步完善。在调整中央与地方关系上,最重要的是进一步科学划分中央和地方事权范围。重新调整政府部门间职能结构,避免国有资产所有者代表职能由多个部门分割的状况,进一步推进政企分开。进入新的世纪,在社会主义市场经济体制初步建立的情况下,要把机构精简与职能转变真正统一起来,必须采取更加根本性的措施。一是把政府支配的资源量限定在适度的范围内;二是把国有资产主要集中在政府功能领域;三是用市场和中介组织有效分解政府职能。市场经济是法治经济,法治经济的一个重要体现就是用法律约束政府。但是,因为中国市场化进程是由政府发动、政府设计、

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政府组织的,政府的权威与权力与市场化的推进有着极强的正相关关系,往往掩盖了另一个问题:对政府的约束。表现有二:一是政府颁布的限制经济人活动空间的法律太多;二是限制政府任意权力的法律太少。随着包括自然人与企业法人在内的市场主体利益与市场关系的深化与多样化,他们要求对政府的行为进行约束与规范;加入 WTO,建立更加开放的市场经济,与世界通行规则接轨,也必须建立法治政府。

**关键词:** 市场经济 政府主导 市场化

# ABSTRACT

The core viewpoint of the article: Chinese government is the dominator of the marketization process of the Chinese economy, and it plays the role of initiator, designer, regulator and booster in the marketization process of the Chinese economy.

The reason that the marketization process of the Chinese economy is dominated by the government is that the marketization of Chinese economy is restricted by five aspects: the first is the time; the second is the starting point of the system of marketization process; the third is internal dualistic economic structure and outside international competition; the fourth is the manner of marketization caused by previous reasons; the fifth is the traditional Chinese ideology and culture.

Under any economic conditions, the relationship between enterprise, market and government is the most fundamental economic relationship. As a result, government's domination of the marketization process needs to reconstruct the relationship between the three parties with the various kinds of resources owned by the government. To reconstruct the relationship between the three parties, it needs to reshape the three parties themselves. And maintain the order and stability of the market in the process from imperfection to perfection.

The reshaping of micro subject is carried out in two aspects. The first is to reform the traditional State-Owned Enterprises, and turn it into the independent legal entity with residual rights of control and residual claims complying with the requirements of market

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mechanism; the second is to develop diversified ownership economy, and shape the diversified market subjects. The two aspects promote and boost each other in the process of marketization.

The organization of the market by the government is a realistic pathway for the market development process of our country. For a long period of time, the condition of seller's market is very severe in our country, the factors such as product price, land rent, interest rate and salary are distorted, therefore the deregulation of price controls does not mean that the market mechanism of price can be established at once. The feasible choice is that the government foster and organize the market with its authority and non-market measures, and achieve market equilibrium with quotas step by step. During the process, the government accelerate the market reform of enterprises, rationalize the relationship between government and enterprise, establish the market subject position of independent management and assuming the sole responsibility for its profits and losses, nurture the enterprise operators into the entrepreneurs that operate enterprise according to market rules and perfect the market system eventually.

Planning, finance and banking are the three pillars used by government to carry out macro regulation and control under market economy, it is necessary for the government to carry out corresponding market reform of traditional planning system, financial system and banking system. Planning management turn from micro to macro, and short-term to long-term; financial and tax system turn

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from high concentration to division of administrative authority and financial authority, as well as division of obligations; banking turn from the cashier to economic lever, and play the role of regulatory center.

Harmonious economic environment and sound economic order are the necessary conditions for normal market operation. Not any organization and individual can replace the government to enact and enforce the rules of fair competition and rules of property rights transaction to ensure the healthy and orderly development of market. To maintain market order and ensure the sound development of social economy are the most basic tasks of government.

The marketization process is represented by the change and formation of a series of economic relationships. What is related to the process is the change of value system of the whole society. The change is intrinsic not extrinsic to the marketization. As an important informal institutional arrangement, the institutional role of ideology lies in that it is an expense - saving tool used by individual to reach agreements with the environment; it is helpful for the people to reduce the time and cost when choosing among contradicting reasons; new ideology is helpful to save the expenses of knowing about the world and handling the relationship between each other. The breakthrough of ideology is the leading force of marketization process. And this kind of breakthrough is completed under the domination of government.

The marketization process of China is a progressive process and

# ABSTRACT

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also an integral progressive process . In every phase of marketization process, administrative planning and market regulation are the measures of government domination, and they are complementary. The key problem is not the measure itself, but the accurate judgment of economic life. The judgment is mainly based on the manner of behavior of macro economic subjects, especially the reaction elasticity of micro subjects to regulatory policy change. During the process of marketization, the starting point of the selection of measures of government domination is not the abstract plan or abstract market concept, but the principle of maximum efficiency. After market mechanism can play the basic regulatory role, it still retain many planning and administrative interventions, similarly, in the phases or fields that market mechanism cannot play a role or play a good role, to abandon the planning and administrative measures too early or unduly are not correct.

Marketization reform can be regarded as a production process of system. As a kind of production, the cost is inevitable. The cost has two kinds, one is implementation cost, and the other is frictional cost. The basic logic of Chinese government to design the marketization process is to get as most as possible benefits of marketization with as least as possible cost of marketization process.

Handling the relationship between reform, development and stability properly is the methodology adopted by the Chinese government to dominate the marketization process in the whole context and process . Stability has the essential attribute of public goods , it is a

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standard public goods, and the maintenance of stability has value of efficiency. As a result, stability can only be rendered by the government.

The government is the dominator of the marketization process, it is also the initiator, designer, organizer and booster. But along with the process of marketization, government itself also carries out profound reforms. Government, as the dominator of the marketization process, is not outside the marketization but in the center of it. Government reform is one of the most important contents of economic marketization.

As regards to the reality that the socialist market economic system was established initially, we must further perfect the macro regulation and control, the most important is to strengthen the effectiveness of indirect parametric regulation and control. Indirect parametric regulation and control should become the basic manner of the macroeconomic regulation and control of our country. Starting from the recognition, the present three measures of regulation and control planning, finance and banking need further improvement. In adjusting the relationship between central government and local government, the most important is to further divide the administrative authority scientifically. To readjust the functional structure between governmental departments, avoid the situation that the representative function of the owner of state-owned assets is segmented by different departments, and further accelerate the separation of government functions from enterprise management. Entering the new cen-



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ture, under the circumstance that the socialist market economic system was established initially, to unify the streamlining of government with transformation of functions, more fundamental measures must be adopted. The first is to restrict the resources dominated by the government within a reasonable range. The second is to concentrate the state-owned assets in the functional areas of government. The third is to effectively divide government functions with market and intermediary organizations.

Market economy is rule-of-law economy; the most important aspect of rule-of-law economy is to restrict government with law. But the marketization process of China is initiated, designed and organized by the government, the authority and power of government has strong positive correlation with marketization process, it usually hide another problem: the restriction on government. There are two aspects: the first is that the government promulgated too many laws that restrict the activities of economic entities. The second is that the laws restricting the rights of government are scarce. Along with the deepening and diversification of market relationships and the interests of market subjects including natural person and enterprise, they ask to the restrict and normalize government behavior; to join the WTO, establish more open market economy and comply with international rules, the establishment of rule-of-law government is also necessary.

**Key words:** Market economy, Government domination, Marketization