—Influence of Moral Factors on Economy

超越市场与超越政府

----论道德力量在经济中的作用。

Beyond Market

厉以宁 著 苑爱玲 译

外语教学与研究出版社

ind op in the part of the market so as to ensure a certainamount of income for each farming it a certain level. Begides regulation bymarket and government, farmers also set up their own inizing losses causedby market fluctuation or resisting overnment measures injurious to their own inizing losses causedby market fluctuation or resisting overnment measures injurious to their object one relevant nules and the organizations should protect the rights old impenses whilst restriction of the relevant nules and the organizations should protect the rights old impenses whilst restriction of the relevant of the relevant of the relevant of the role place by regulation by market or regulation by government. Actually, their relationship is too complicator viceversa. Or course, we do often see occasions when regulation by market and government or viceversa. Or course, we do often see occasions when regulation by market and government of viceversa. Or course, we do often see occasions when regulation by market and government of the relevant of the relev

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汉英对照

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"博雅双语名家名作"出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降,在深重的民族危机面前,中华民族精英"放眼看世界",向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药,涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候,仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动,但往往会忽略:这些著述最初是用英文写就,我们耳熟能详的中文文本是原初英文文本的译本,这些英文作品在海外学术界和文化界同样享有崇高的声誉。

比如,林语堂的 My Country and My People(《吾国与吾民》)以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言,将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来,在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重,并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名。再比如,梁思成在抗战的烽火中写就的英文版《图像中国建筑史》文稿(A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture),经其挚友费慰梅女士(Wilma C. Fairbank)等人多年的奔走和努力,于 1984 年由麻省理工学院出版社(MIT Press)出版,并获得美国出版联合会颁发的"专业暨学术书籍金奖"。又比如,1939 年,费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以 Peasant Life in China—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley 为名在英国劳特利奇书局(Routledge)出版,后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的"开弦弓村"获得了世界性的声誉,成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外,一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔,在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如,艾恺(Guy S. Alitto)将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文(Has Man a Future?—Dialogues with the Last Confucian),备受海内外读者关注;

此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》(Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period)、狄百瑞(W. T. de Bary) 英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》(Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince),等等。

有鉴于此,外语教学与研究出版社推出"博雅双语名家名作"系列。

博雅,乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育(Liberal Education)早在古希腊时代就得以提倡,旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人,提高人文素质,培养健康人格,中国儒家六艺"礼、乐、射、御、书、数"亦有此功用。

双语,乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式,既同时满足了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求,又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云:"语言的边界,乃是世界的边界",诚哉斯言。

名家,乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域,皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作,乃是该系列的入选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、 市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典,正如卡尔维诺对"经典"的定义: 经典并非你正在读的书,而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》(1919年12月1日,《新青年》第7卷第1号)一文中提出了"研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明"的范式。秉着"记载人类文明、沟通世界文化"的出版理念,我们推出"博雅双语名家名作"系列,既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域"整理国故",亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为"再造文明"、为"向世界说明中国"略尽绵薄之力。

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PREFACE TO THE REVISED EDITION

This book explores how moral factors exert influence on economy.

Not long ago, some students asked me, "Of your published writings, which three books do you believe best reflect your academic standpoint?" I recommended the following: Chinese Economy in Disequilibrium (Economic Daily Press, 1990; Guangdong Economy Publishing House, 1998; Encyclopedia of China Publishing House, 2009), which was reviewed as one of the "Top Ten Economic Works Influencing the Economic Development of New China"); Beyond Market and Government (Economic Science Press, 1999, nominated for the Fifth National Book Award 2003); and, Origin of Capitalism (The Commercial Press, 2003, nominated for the National Publication Award 2007 and Prize of Honor winner in the China Publishing Group Book Award 2007). The second of these, first published in 1999, had the subtitle "Influence of Moral Factors on Economy." This revised edition published in 2009 contains modifications and extra material to reflect the changes occurring during the 10-year interval.

Four reasons account for the choice of title—Beyond Market and Government. Firstly, as the book says, in the long period before the emergence and establishment of market and government, custom and morality were the only modes of regulation. This is not only true of remote antiquity: even in modern times, there have been isolated tribes, remote mountain villages, small islands, or migrant communities cultivating virgin land, where the only things working to regulate social and economic activities are custom and morality—not market or government. Therefore, we are justified in calling custom and morality a kind of regulation beyond market and government.

Secondly, in places where regulation by market or government does work, there are still some gaps that the two modes of regulation cannot reach owing to the limitations of their influence. Each does compensate for the other's limitations, but only up to a point. For example, human

这是一部讨论道德力量在经济中的作用的著作。

不久以前,曾经有一些学生问我:"在您已经出版的若干部著作中,能告诉我们哪三本书是您认为最能反映自己学术观点的代表作吗?"我的回答是这样三本书:《非均衡的中国经济》(经济日报出版社1990年版,广东经济出版社1998年版,中国大百科全书出版社2009年版,被评为"影响新中国经济建设的10本经济学著作"之一);《超越市场与超越政府》(经济科学出版社1999年版,获得2003年第五届国家图书奖提名奖);《资本主义的起源》(商务印书馆2003年版,获得2007年中国出版政府奖图书奖提名奖、2007年中国出版集团图书奖荣誉奖)。

《超越市场与超越政府》一书有一个副标题:论道德力量在经济中的作用,初版于1999年,距今已经10年。我作了一些修改、补充,现在准备出修订版。

为什么这本书以《超越市场与超越政府》命名? 当时主要是考虑到以下四个方面:

第一,书中提出,在市场尚未形成与政府尚未出现的漫长岁月里,那时既没有市场调节,也没有政府调节,习惯与道德调节是这一漫长时间内唯一起作用的调节方式。不仅远古时期的情况是如此,即使在近代社会,在某些未同外界接触或同外界接触不多的部落里,在边远的山村、孤岛上,甚至在开拓荒芜地带的移民团体中,市场调节不起作用,政府调节也不起作用,唯有习惯与道德调节才是在社会经济生活中起作用的调节方式。因此,完全有理由把习惯与道德调节称做超越市场与超越政府的一种调节。

第二,书中提出,在市场调节与政府调节都能起作用的范围内,由于市场力量与政府力量全都有局限性,所以这两种调节之外会留下一些空白。当然,在某些情况下,政府调节可以弥补市场调节的局限性;在另一些情况下,市场调节也可以弥补政府调节的局限性。但政府调节是不可能完全弥补市场调节的局限性的,正如市场调节不可能完全弥补政府调节的局限性一样。一个明显的例子就是:由于人是"社会的人",人不一定只从经济利益的角度来考虑

beings as "social men" do not necessarily think or act only for economic benefit, nor will they always be passively subject to regulation by government. The gap can only be filled by custom and morality. In this sense, regulation by custom and morality can be viewed as a regulatory mode beyond market and government.

Thirdly, social life includes a wide range of activities, one part of which is trading activity and another is non-trading activity. In the former, the market plays the role of regulator at a basic level and government at a higher level. But the same cannot be said of non-trading activity, which is not restricted by market rules and mechanisms nor is subject to government intervention. Government is only responsible for defining its scope and ensuring that such activity does not overstep the boundary. Thus, non-trading activity has to be regulated by factors beyond market and government; namely, moral force.

Fourthly, once markets and governments do emerge, a variety of causes can give rise to market failure or government paralysis, rendering regulation by market or government ineffective or extremely limited. But even in such circumstances, custom and morality still exist and continue working as normal. This is another reason that custom and morality can be regarded as a mode of regulation beyond market and government.

For the above reasons, this book is titled *Beyond Market and Government*. It must be explained that regulation by custom and morality lies between regulation by market and regulation by government. Regulation by market is called the "invisible hand" and regulation by government the "visible hand." Regulation by custom and morality is closer to the "visible hand" when its power to restrict is relatively strong and closer to the "invisible hand" when it is weaker.

But when is such power stronger or weaker? There are two main deciding factors. One factor is whether or not regulation by custom and morality has become a convention or a rule universally accepted by all members of the group. If so, its restricting power will be stronger; if not, it will be weaker. For example, a village rule is an agreement among all villagers and they are obliged to follow it. In this situation, the restricting

问题和选择行为方式,人也不一定只是被动地接受政府的调节,所以市场调节与政府调节都难以进入到人作为"社会的人"这个深层次来发挥作用。市场调节与政府调节留下的空白只有依靠习惯与道德调节来弥补。从这个意义上说,习惯与道德调节是超越市场与超越政府的一种调节。

第三,书中提出,社会生活是一个广泛的领域,其中一部分是交易活动,另一部分是非交易活动。在交易活动中,市场调节起着基础性调节的作用,政府调节起着高层次调节的作用。

而在非交易活动中,情况便大不一样了。由于这些活动是非交易性质的,所以不受市场规则的制约,市场机制在非交易活动中是不起作用的。至于政府调节,则只是划定了非交易活动的范围,使它们不至于越过边界,而并不进入非交易活动范围之内进行干预。这样,非交易活动就要由市场调节与政府调节之外的道德力量来进行调节。

第四,书中提出,在市场出现与政府形成之后,由于种种原因,市场可能失灵,政府可能瘫痪,市场调节与政府调节都有可能不发生作用或只发生十分有限的作用。但即使在这些情况之下,习惯与道德调节也依然存在,并照常发生作用。这又是可以把习惯与道德调节称做超越市场与超越政府的调节的理由之一。

以上就是本书以《超越市场与超越政府》为书名的依据。

接着需要说明的是,习惯与道德调节是介于市场调节与政府调节之间的。市场调节被称做"无形之手",政府调节被称做"有形之手",习惯与道德调节介于"无形之手"与"有形之手"之间。在习惯与道德调节的约束力较强时,它接近于政府调节;而在其约束力较弱时,又接近于市场调节。那么,为什么习惯与道德调节的约束力有时较强,有时却较弱呢?这主要取决于两个因素:

一是习惯与道德调节是否已经成为一种被群体内的各个成员认同的约定或守则。如果它已经成为各个成员认同的约定或守则,约束力就较强;否则就较弱。比如说,乡规民约是一个群体的所有成员共同约定的,成员们就有遵守的义务,这时,体现于乡规民约中

power of regulation by custom and morality embodied in the village rule is stronger. The second factor is the degree to which each member identifies with the group. If the degree is high, the restricting power is stronger; if not, it will be weaker. For example, if villagers have a high degree of self-identification with their group, they will be more self-disciplined in following village rules. That is to say, the rules have more restricting power on the villagers.

Of course, in some situations, the restricting power of regulation by custom and morality is relatively weak, but this does not imply that it has no effect at all. Moreover, stronger does not always mean better where such power is concerned, since regulation by custom and morality takes many different forms. The above-mentioned village rules generally have stronger restricting power, whereas some regulation by custom and morality formed through self-discipline, despite involving no restricting power, can often play a role and influence individual behaviors.

In terms of social development trends, we note a continual increase in non-trading activities, in which regulation by custom and morality plays a major part. In the past when productivity was very low, trading activities barely existed, whereas non-trading activities covered almost all social and economic life. Later, with the increase in productivity, the traded sector gradually increased and expanded and the non-traded sector shrank correspondingly. When productivity increased to a high level, the share of the non-traded sector in socio-economic life would gradually rise again. In other words, once the economy is highly developed, with income per capita increasing, people's values and attitudes will change accordingly, as regards benefits, occupation, life style and life itself, family and children, interpersonal relations, material wealth and spiritual enjoyment, etc. When national revenue and disposable personal income rise to a certain level, non-trading activities will increase and various relations within the non-traded sector will develop. This is an inevitable trend of social and economic development. Consequently, as the major mode of regulation in the non-traded sector, regulation by custom and morality will play an ever more important role in social and economic life.

In the past, regulation by morality has been an issue of interest to and

的习惯与道德调节就会有较强的约束力。

二是群体的各个成员对群体的认同程度的高低。如果成员对群体的认同程度较高,习惯与道德调节的约束力就较强;否则就较弱。不妨仍以乡规民约为例。乡规民约是某一群体的成员所制定的,如果该群体的成员对群体的认同程度较高,他们遵守乡规民约的自觉性较高,从而乡规民约对成员行为的约束力也就较强。

当然,即使习惯与道德调节在某些场合的约束力较小,这也并不意味着习惯与道德调节不起作用,而且,也不是任何情况下习惯与道德调节的约束力越强越好。这是因为,习惯与道德调节的形式多种多样,乡规民约这种形式下的习惯与道德调节一般会有较强的约束力,而自律这种形式下的习惯与道德调节虽然没有什么约束力,但却经常发挥作用,对个人的行为产生影响。

从社会发展的趋势来看,由习惯与道德调节起主要作用的非交易 领域内的活动有可能不断增多。这是一个值得注意的现象。历史上, 在生产力发展水平极低的时候,交易领域几乎不存在,那时非交易领 域几乎覆盖全部社会经济生活。以后,随着生产力的发展,交易领域 逐渐扩大,非交易领域则相应地逐渐缩小。而在生产力发展水平大大 提高以后,非交易领域在社会经济生活中所占的比例又会逐渐增加。 也就是说,在经济高度发展之后,随着人均收入的增长,人们的需要 也将随之发生由较低层次向较高层次的转变,人们的价值观念必然相 应地发生变化,包括对利益的看法、对职业的看法、对生活方式和生 活本身的看法、对家庭和子女的看法、对人与人之间关系的看法、对 物质财富和精神享受的看法等,都处于不断变化之中。于是非交易领 域的活动也将随着国民收入和个人可支配收入上升到一个新阶段之后 而增多,非交易领域内的各种关系也会因此而得到发展。这是社会经 济发展的必然趋势。习惯与道德调节既然在非交易领域内起着主要作 用,那么显而易见,随着非交易领域的不断扩大,习惯与道德调节在 社会经济生活中的作用也将越来越突出。

过去,如果说超越市场和超越政府的道德调节还只是哲学界、

exploration by specialists in philosophy, economics and sociology, but I hope in the future more non-professionals will join us and think earnestly how regulation by morality plays a role beyond market and government.

This book devotes seven chapters to the role of moral factors in economy. At present, discussion on this topic in academic circles is far from enough, as is our awareness of its importance in social and economic life (including the traded and non-traded sectors). That said, I believe this situation will change in the future: More people will join us in this study and the role of regulation by custom and morality will be fully deployed. In this sense, my effort in writing this book will be worthwhile.

厉的学

October, 2009

经济学界、社会学界的专业人士感兴趣和不断探讨的问题,我希望今后更多的非专业人士能认真思考道德调节超越市场和超越政府的作用。

关于道德力量在经济中的作用,本书将分七章对其加以论述。虽然迄今为止,学术界对习惯与道德调节的探讨远远不够,而且在社会经济生活中(包括交易领域和非交易领域),人们对习惯与道德调节的重视程度也远远不够,但我深信,这种情况以后是会改变的。我撰写这本著作的主要目的,就是希望我的论述能够引起社会各界的重视,大家一起来加强这方面的研究工作,并让习惯与道德调节的作用发挥得更加充分。

厉的学

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汉英对照

超越市场与超越政府

——论道德力量在经济中的作用

厉以宁 著 苑爱玲 译

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