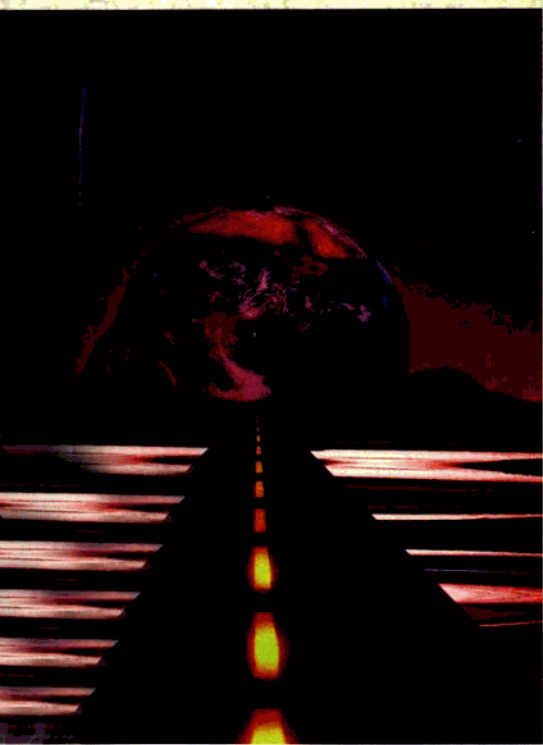


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# 转型经济与政府干预



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## Abstract

### A Study on the Government Roles During the Period of Transformational Development

The government roles during the transformational development differs both from the pattern of planned economy and from that of market economy. With the rapid growth of Chinese economy and the deepening of its market-oriented transformation, the study on the government roles during this period of China's transformational development becomes more and more urgent. This study has a significance both to theoretical creation and practical guide.

The dissertation is divided into eight parts. The main content and theoretical creation of each part are as the following:

1. **Introduction** The significance and purpose of the study, the main course of thought as well as the system and structure of the dissertation are introduced in this part.

So far there have been three standard patterns for government role in economic development: the planned economy theory of an almighty government; the neo-classical theory of a minimal government, and the Keynesian theory of active government intervention. These three standard patterns expound the government role and relationship with market under different economic systems and structures.

Under planned economy, the government appears as a comprehensive substitute for market mechanism from the very beginning. There is a substitutional relationship between government and enterprise and between government and market, with the government situated at the center. The neo—classical and Keynesian patterns, from the viewpoint of the internal logic of economic operation, regard the market as a comprehensive and automatic regulator at the first level and the government as a complementary and artificial regulator at the second level, holding that there is (but hardly any direct) substitutional relationship between government and market in their functions, with the market situated at the center. The above three patterns can hardly elucidate the government role in China's transformational development period. As a result, it is urgent to interpret the special historical stage and structural factors for China's economic phenomena, that is, to seek for adequate government roles during the period of transformational development in planning, motivating, promoting and guiding.

## **2. Examination of the Historical Background for the period of China's transformational development**

On the basis of the extent of China's market—oriented transformation, this part mainly explains that at present China a historical stage of transformational development, so as to determine the government roles during this period.

In a method from the abstract to the concrete, this part first analyses the structural factors of an economic system. An economic System is an organic economic body which should be composed of six basic factors: property relationship, regulating mechanism, economic policy decision,

drive mechanism, limitation and balance, and opening to the outside world.

Then this part analyses the present situation of China's current economic system and its problems, including: the property right structure under the condition of co-existence of multi-economic components; the state of market development and its problems; pluralistic property relationships; decentralization of policy decision; worldly tendency of drive mechanism; dualization of regulating mechanism; the transformational state of limitation and balance mechanism; from the old structure to the new; expansion of the opening system to the outside world.

Finally, according to the market opening and government regulation, including the extents of enterprise autonomy, of domestic opening, of opening to the outside world, and of macro-regulation, this part makes a quantitative analysis of China's market economy and primarily determines the extent of China's market economy as 37%, indicating that China is now in a historical stage of transformational development.

### **3. Bases for government Intervention in Economy During the period of transformational development**

From the viewpoint of path selection for China's transformational development, this part abstractly analyses the bases for the government's guiding role.

China's path selection for her transitional development is a "gradual path". The transformation is in fact a system reform. An economic system usually has three functions: motivation, resource allocation and interest distribution. The system reform is bound to bring about changes in the

efficiency in the three functions. The increase of the efficiency in motivation and resource allocation will directly raise the productivity of resources with given quantity and quality, while the problems of interest distribution is the key concern of the study on the transformational development.

The basic features of China's transition process are: increment reform, regional development at different levels, reforms outside the system, the unity of economic process and political process.

The bases for the government's guiding role during the period of transformational development are those unique initial conditions of China's transformational development: the unusually enormous traditional agriculture; the dual economic structure with the coexistence of comparatively developed industry and backward agriculture; the lack of adequate soil for market economy during the long feudal, semi-feudal and semi-colonial times; the non-automatic establishment of market economy, system; the powerful stimulating force from Chinese local governments; the cultivating of market by the government—the market development from outside force; “the advantage of the backward”—the unique path of a country of late development.

**4. A Comparative Analysis of Two Typical Countries** On one hand, this part compares China with Russia, a country with the same background for transition from planned economic system to market economic system but with a different path selection. On the other hand, a country also located in East Asia and with the same transition from a less developed country to a modernized one. Thus,

this part provides a kind of experience and revelation.

**5. Limitations for government Intervention in Economy** Strengthening market power, protecting market mechanism, and not interfering in market competition, these are the basic principles of the government's guiding role in China's transformational development. The final goal of the transformational development is a perfectly established market economy, so the government's guiding role will stick to the basic principle all the time.

**6. A Cost—and—Return Analysis of the Costs to the government's Guiding Role** These costs include: difficulties of state-owned enterprises, expansion of regional differences, overstaffed government organizations, and increase in rent-seeking practices.

**7. How to Reduce the Costs of government Intervention During the Period of Transformational Development** This part analyses the conditions under which the costs are created and the measures to minimize the cost.

**8. Conclusion** The logical definition of the most desired orientation of the government's theorem roles during the period of transformational development should be: only when the government's role "is most favorable for the state power to contribute to unified development of economy," and to make economy develop in balance so as to reach a perfect or desired economic state, can the orientation of the government's roles be most desired. The government roles of our country during the period of transformational development are:

A. Protecting Property right.

B. Raising the ability of the State to mobilizing finan-

cial resources.

- C Greatly developing non—state—owned economy.
- D. Protecting market competition and maintaining market order.
- E. Maintaining a long and sustained stable environment.
- F. Establishing a macro—regulating system.
- G. Organizing a highly efficient government.
- H. Cultivating a market system.

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## 导 论

当今中国，正处在从计划经济体制向市场经济体制转型发展时期。改革开放 18 年来，市场经济以其天然活力把中国推上快速发展的历史时段。曾经创造过文化奇迹的中国人，现在又在创造经济奇迹。中国经济持续高速发展的原因何在？政府在经济转型发展时期扮演什么角色？作为当代后发展国家的中国是否具有属于自己特殊的发展模式？本文正是带着这些问题来思考研究中国经济的发展历程。

### 1.1 研究的意义及目的

1992 年中国共产党第 14 次代表大会抛弃了高度集中的计划经济体制，确定了中国经济体制改革的目标模式是建立社会主义市场经济体制。这无疑是一种具有深远历史意义的英明决策。但是，确立市场经济的目标模式并不意味着中国经济现在就是市场经济了。目前中国经济既不是计划经济，也不是

市场经济，而是“转型发展”经济<sup>①</sup>。中国是一个转型发展国家。转型是指中国正在从计划经济体制转变到市场经济体制；发展是指中国正在从不发达状态迈向现代化。转型发展国家面临双重任务：体制转换任务和经济发展任务，正由于转型与发展这两项任务结合在一起，中国所遇到的问题，尤其错综复杂。

确立了以社会主义市场经济为中国改革的目标模式以来，有关“市场机制”、“市场经济”的论著可谓汗牛充栋，令中国公众目不暇接。可是研究转型发展理论的成果却依旧太少，而且对于政策指导又太薄弱，以致于实践中心中无底。随着中国经济快速增长，市场化进程不断深入，以中国转型发展阶段为对象的探究显得越来越迫切。尽管系统地专门对转型发展时期经济理论研究的著作，迄今为止并不多见，但人们已经在许多具体理论上对此进行了某些分析考察，各种理论之间的相互论战，都构成本文重要的思想材料。

本文以中国转型发展时期的政府角色为对象，尽可能全面地把政府在转型发展时期的各种行为描述出来加以概括，以供人们思考。

## 1.2 主要思路和研究方法

迄今以来，政府在经济发展中的角色有三种标

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① 参见厉以宁：《转型发展理论》，同心出版社，1996年。

准模式：

计划经济的“政府万能论”，新古典主义的“最小政府论”；凯恩斯主义的“政府积极干预论”。

### 1.2.1 第一种标准模式是计划经济体制模式， 即把政府看作无所不知的、包罗万象的 “万能政府论”或“政府中心论”

自1917年十月革命，世界上建立起第一个社会主义国家以来，社会主义经历了风风雨雨、潮起潮落，却始终实行计划经济。其政府在经济发展中的角色就取决它所选择的计划经济的经济体制。这是一种与市场经济体制截然相反的经济体制。根据比较经济学的通行叫法，也可称为“命令经济”或“统制经济”。在这种体制下，政府对资源配置起基础性的作用。而计划经济体制中的计划编制者和组织实施者无疑就是作为生产资料所有者和劳动人民利益代表者的社会主义国家。政府成为国民经济的全方位的主导者和主宰者；小到企业生产什么、生产多少，卖给何人，大到国民经济重大比例关系和参数的确定、协调，都由政府一手操办。具体来说：政府是国有资产所有者，代表全体人民统一管理国有资产，实行国有资产的统一管理；政府编制国民经济发展计划并且组织实施，用指令性计划配置资源；政府依照国民经济计划由财政部门统一向各行业拨款，是各项事业的投资者；政府是国有企业的

经营者，所有国有企业按部门行业归类，从属政府主管部门，国有企业的生产、经营、财务、销售等决策听从政府主管部门的指令，人事安排由上级任免；政府为公民创造就业机会，提供公费医疗、退休养老、补贴亏损企业。这是一种经济体制的集中模式，这种集中模式是由斯大林确立，以后的社会主义各国都沿袭了这种集中模式，并把它作为唯一符合社会经济本质的体制模式。这种集中模式作为一种特殊的标准的体制典型的特征是：①在财产关系上，是单一的公有制结构，私有经济已基本消灭；②行政指令性计划的调节系统。资源配置主要通过政府计划来进行，政府计划调节着生产、流通、分配和消费各个领域以及宏观、中观和微观各个层次；③高度集中的决策机构。经济决策首先由执政党的领导制定，然后由国家机关层层贯彻执行，国家与企业的关系是行政隶属关系；④限制物质激励的动力系统。靠阶级觉悟，对领袖忠诚的政治热情和对社会主义的自豪感，实行单一的精神激励。这种集中模式的弊端是：产权不清；政企不分；企业缺乏自主权；排斥市场机制；激励动力系统失衡。

### 1.2.2 第二种标准模式是新古典主义 模式，基本否定政府作用

其基本理论是：在任何经济中，大体存在着三种市场主体，即作为生产主体的企业，作为消费主

体家庭和政府。作为生产主体的企业为提供商品和劳务进行生产活动；作为消费主体的家庭和政府进行着对商品和劳务的消费活动。各市场主体之间进行着对商品和劳务的交换活动。在各个市场上商品和劳务之间交换之比率称之为价格，各种商品交换关系的总合称之为市场。

亚当·斯密这样概括市场机制的作用：

在完全竞争市场结构中，由于买者卖者众多，单个市场主体完全不可能影响市场价格，生产主体只能将由市场供求所决定的价格看作是既定的，是自己无法左右的，只能以此为基础，通过追求利益最大化的经济人的经济活动来选择自己的生产量。同样，消费主体也只能将价格视为既定的，通过追求效用最大化经济人的经济活动来决定自己的消费量。资源配置主要是由一种竞争的价格制度来决定的。市场主体，无论是生产主体还是消费主体拥有充分的自由选择权，从各自的经济利益出发，在市场价格信号的指引下，分散地个别地进行经济决策，并通过市场交换和竞争达到他们的目的，调整他们的行为，决定自己的供给量或消费量。

新古典主义经济学认为，在市场机制下，尽管生产主体的供给量和消费主体的需求量都由各主体独立决定，但完全竞争下的价格信号却完全有能力使这些被各主体独立决定的供求总量实现均衡。这是因为，尽管对个别主体来说，商品和劳务的价格是既定的、不可变动的，但对整个市场来说，如果由各个消费主体所决定的对某种商品或劳务的需求

总量超过了由各个生产主体所决定的对这种商品的供给总量，那么价格就会自动上升。价格的上升会使生产主体增加供给量或者使消费主体减少消费量，最终使市场实现均衡；反之，如果供给总量超过了需求总量，那么价格就会自动回落，这又可以使供给者减少供给，消费者增加需求，最终才能使市场实现均衡。由于价格机制拥有这样的机能，所有对商品和劳务的需求和供给都将趋于一致，最终都能达到“竞争性均衡”。而在这样的竞争性均衡中，资源将得到最有效的配置。因为市场上的自由竞争，能够强制生产主体作出最大的生产努力，降低成本，提高效率，并进行不断的创新，从而使整个经济实现高效率的增长。另外，价格、利息率以及工资等价格信号的灵活变动，还可以使生产要素在时间上实现最优分配，以保证经济的均衡增长。最后，在等价交换原则下，市场还能使高质量的商品得到较高的价格，从而使生产这些商品的生产者得到较高的报酬。自由竞争还可以将资本和劳动不断地分配到有较高收益机会的行业中去，从而使行业间的收益得到调整，最终实现公平而有效的收入分配。

正是由于价格机制能够产生这样的奇迹，因此，新古典主义认为，政府对经济的直接介入不仅没有任何必要，而且还会破坏市场机制原有的机能，带来种种恶果。新古典主义认为，政府或君主无权干预经济生活，也无正确实施干预的智慧，它只能充当自由竞争的“守夜人”，其职责只限于完成三项应尽的义务：国防义务；制定法律和维持秩序义务；



创造和维护某些公共工程和公共事业。政府的职能只是保证“经济人”有一个积累资本、自由地使用资本来追求自己私利的和平环境，并为此提供一些基本的服务措施，而不能直接插手“经济人”的经济活动，否则就会扰乱市场的自然秩序。这实际上是一种近乎绝对自由的放任主义，是完全否认政府有干预经济的必要的政府虚无论。

自由市场经济在其有效地运行了一个多世纪之后，终于暴露了它固有的弊端。于是，人们对于自由市场经济究竟是不是一种理想的经济制度产生了怀疑，西方的经济学家们也为此从理论上对自由市场经济制度效率进行了深入的探讨。在这种探讨中，他们逐步发现，在现实的经济生活中，市场机制并不是万能的，市场机制在其作用过程中往往会产生所谓的“市场失灵”情况。西方经济学家根据时间因素的相对重要性，将市场失灵的原因分为两组：（1）与时间考虑无关的因素，它们是：第一，缺乏充分就业；第二，垄断成分；第三，外部性；第四，公共产品；第五，社会公平。（2）与时间考虑有关的因素，它们是：第一，与不确定性有关的问题；第二，蛛网和其他收敛困难；第三，市场均衡的时间等。<sup>①</sup>

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<sup>①</sup> 参见华民：《西方混合经济体制研究》，复旦大学出版社，1995年。