李大雨

PROSPERITY FROM COMPETITION

繁荣来自竞争

消除行政性垄断

中国方场化改革的关键

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李大雨 著



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电子邮箱: dbts@esp. com. cn)

摘 要

(代前言)

使中国走上繁荣发展之路,是每个中国人的心愿,也是经济学专业的人致力于实现的目标。

改革开放以来,我国建设事业取得了辉煌成就,国民经济快速增长,人民生活显著提高,更为重要的是,人们的思想观念发生了深刻变革,社会日益开放包容,取得了真正的社会文明进步。经济生活中还存在着一些需要解决的问题,结构性矛盾突出,经济质量不高,下行压力较大。对此,人们提出了许多措施和建议,如调整经济结构、加快科技进步等。但是,倘若我们再问一句,为什么我国经济结构反复出现不合理、科技进步需要人为推动呢?事实上,速度、结构、效益只是经济表象,其背后折射出的是深层次矛盾尚未完全解决。

制度是决定发展的最根本因素。产业革命不只是技术的革命, 更是制度革命。它破除了不适合社会化大生产发展的旧制度,为 生产力的发展扫除了制度上的障碍;它建立了与现代经济相适应 的崭新的竞争制度,为社会经济的发展创造了广阔的制度空间, 提供了坚实的制度保证。中国 1978 年以来的改革开放、日本的 "明治维新",都是制度变革而不是技术变革,由于扫除了社会生 产发展的制度障碍, 科技和经济取得了突飞猛进的发展。

什么制度能为现代生产提供广阔的发展空间?是市场经济制度,更重要的,是健全、规范、完善的市场经济制度,而竞争正是市场经济的灵魂,是社会活力与发展动力的源泉。艾哈德说:"竞争是获致繁荣和保证繁荣最有效的手段",①毛泽东说:"百家争鸣、百花齐放的方针,是促进艺术发展和科学进步的方针,是促进我国的社会主义文化繁荣的方针",②都指出了竞争和繁荣之间具有密不可分的因果联系。我们要发展哪个行业、繁荣哪项事业,绝不能仅靠向它增加政府投资,更不能把它封闭式地"保护"起来,恰恰相反,要繁荣哪里,就要开放哪里,使它充满竞争。

当前,我国的市场经济体制还不完善,旧体制人为封闭分割市场、限制竞争的行政性垄断是制约中国经济发展的最重要矛盾。本书旨在分析产生行政性垄断的条件与原因;研究行政性垄断对宏观经济的系统性影响及其传导机制;提出消除行政性垄断、推进市场化改革的现实可行方案。

本书中运用了马克思的理论和研究方法,也运用了亚当·斯密、凯恩斯、布坎南的理论;使用了现代计量经济学方法,也受到了中国古代哲学思想的启发。通过规范分析与实证分析、逻辑演绎与历史考察,得出以下结论:

1. 行政性垄断是人为干预要素流动和配置、阻碍竞争、造成市场主体机会不均等的行为,其本质是超经济性和歧视性,

① 路德维希·艾哈德:《来自竞争的繁荣》,商务印书馆 1983 年版,第15页。

② 毛泽东:《关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题》,引自《毛泽东选集》第五卷,人民出版社1977年版,第388页。

具有明显的反市场性质。

从国外情况看:围绕行政性垄断的斗争,核心是利益共享还是利益独占问题。行政性垄断不仅是经济体制转轨过程的产物,而且是市场发育起始阶段的产物,还是市场空间拓展过程中的产物。自由竞争文化的确立,是清除行政性垄断的治本良方。联邦或中央政府拥有高于地方的经济管理权,是治理区域行政性垄断的坚实保障。国家集中配置资源方式,可以受益一时却不能收效长久。转轨国家制定专门的反行政性垄断法规十分必要。

从我国情况看:从洋务运动历史可以看到,行政性垄断短期上增加了国库收入,却无法实现祖国繁荣的梦想,是南辕北辙的政策。从民国历史可以看到,行政性垄断无助于控制贫富差距,反而形成了新的分配不公——行政性垄断集团与广大人民群众的利益对立。计划经济体制包含着行政性垄断的因素但不是行政性垄断。改革开放以来的行政性垄断是中国渐进性改革的产物,改革的不同步性造成了行政性垄断。我国行政性垄断具有很强的历史传承。

- 3. 我国目前的行政性垄断是由认识原因、历史原因、现实体制原因等共同造成的,且具有深刻的文化渊源。
- 4. 行政性垄断对宏观经济具有重大的系统性影响。尽管行政性垄断在我国改革开放初期曾发挥了重要历史作用,维护经济秩序和社会稳定,减轻了转轨风险,缓解了财政压力,实现了改革开放的破冰起航,但目前已成为进一步发展的重大障碍,也无益于国家的安全稳定,无法实现政策初衷。行政性垄断作为一项扭曲的基础制度,把我国经济体制维持在"半市场化"状态,使市场不能在国民经济中发挥完整的作用,进而通

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过在经济系统中传导,造成了资源的扭曲配置和宏观经济的扭曲运行,表现为经济总量损失、经济结构失衡、产业结构高级化困难、经济质量不高等一系列经济现象。它是我国当前诸多矛盾的体制根源。消除行政性垄断,有利于解决我国经济中的深层次矛盾,使经济运行进入良性轨道,并将为我国再赢得10年的宝贵高速增长期。

- 5. 消除行政性垄断,要立足现实,两手抓、两手硬,建立效率与安全并重的规范健康市场经济制度。改革路径应是:深化体制改革以消除行政性垄断基础,同步构建安全体系以防范化解风险,最后全面开放市场。这将完成中国市场化改革。
- 6. 一个社会中基础制度的规范性尤为重要,要避免以扭曲治理扭曲的情况。化繁为简,是解决问题行之有效的方法。

繁荣与竞争之间具有密不可分的必然联系,繁荣来自竞争。我们必须坚定不移地推进改革开放向前发展,坚决破除旧体制中封闭、垄断的思维和行为对生产发展的阻碍,建立起以统一、开放、竞争、安全为特征的崭新体制,才能完成历史赋予我们的中国经济转型重任,为中华民族的繁荣复兴打下坚实的制度基础。

ABSTRACT

(PREFACE)

To see the nation become more prosperous and developed is the wish of every Chinese people, and it is also a goal that people of economics are committed to achieve.

Since the reform and opening-up policy, China has seen significant progress. Along with the rapid growth of the national economy, people's living standards have been remarkably improved. And more importantly, people's ideology has profoundly changed, and the society is now becoming increasingly open, tolerant and more civilized. However, there are still some defects existing in the economy including structural problems, low level of quality and downside trend of growth rate. In this regard, many suggestive measures have been proposed, such as adjusting economic structure, accelerating scientific and technological improvement, etc. However, a further issue is that, in China, why the unreasonable economic structure has become the 'chronic disease' for a long term, and why scientific and technological improvement and economic quality need to be promoted by human factors? As a matter of fact, speed, structure and effec-

tiveness are only economic appearance, and what being refracted is the incompletely resolved in-depth institutional contradictions.

System is the most fundamental factor that determines development. The industrial revolution is not only technological revolution but also institutional revolution. It broke away the old system which was not suitable for the development of social mass production and removed the institutional obstacles for the development of productive forces; it has set up a new competition system which is in line with the modern economy, and has created a vast institutional space for the development of social economy and provided a solid institutional guarantee. China's reform and opening-up since 1978 and Japan's Meiji restoration are both institutional changes rather than technological changes. As a result of removing the institutional obstacles to the development of social production, they have made rapid progress in science and technology and economy.

What system can provide extensive development space for modern production? It is market economy system, and more importantly, a sound, standardized and perfect market economy system. Competition is the soul of market economy; competition is the source of social vitality and development. There is an inextricable causal relationship between competition and prosperity. If we want to develop an industry and prosper a cause, we may not increase investment to it only, nor should we 'protect' it in a closed form, on the contrary, we should open it up to competition.

The market economy system in China is still imperfect. The administrative monopoly of the old system, featured by intentional mar-

ket closure and segmentation, restricting competition, is the most significant issue that constrains the economic development of China. This book aims to analyze the conditions and causes of administrative monopoly, study the systematic influence of administrative monopoly on macro-economy and its transmission mechanism, and propose a practical and feasible plan to eliminate administrative monopoly and promote market-oriented reform.

In this book, not only the theory and methodology of Marx, but also the theories of Adam Smith, Keynes and Buchanan are applied. In the meantime, modern econometric methods are used, and the inspiration of the philosophical thoughts of ancient China as well.

Through normative analysis and empirical analysis, logical deduction and historical investigation, our conclusions are as follows.

- 1. The essence of administrative monopoly is supra economic attribute and discriminatory, because it intervenes in the flow and configuration of the factors, impedes competition and creates unequal opportunities for market players. It has an obvious anti-market nature.
- 2. The historical implications of administrative monopoly at home and abroad.

Viewing from overseas situations: The substance of fight around breaking administrative monopoly or not is actually the issue regarding whether the interests should be shared or monopolized. Administrative monopoly is not only the product of transition towards market economic system and the initial phase of market development, but also, from the general extent, a possible product in the process of market expansion. The fundamental solution to administrative monopoly lies in the establishment and popularization of the free competition spirit. Allowing federal or central authorities to have higher economic management rights than local authorities is a solid guarantee to maintain unified market. The centralized allocation of resources in a country can benefit temporarily but not for long. It is highly necessary for transitional countries to enact laws and regulations over anti-administrative monopoly.

Viewing from domestic situations: Administrative monopoly increased the revenue of the exchequer in the short run, but failed to realize the dream of the prosperity of the motherland, so it's a polesapart policy. Administrative monopoly did not help to control the gap between the rich and the poor, but instead formed a new unfair distribution—the interest conflict between administrative monopoly group and the people. The planned economy system contains factors of administrative monopoly but it's not administrative monopoly itself. Administrative monopoly since the reform and opening-up is the product of gradual reform of China, because it's the non-synchronism of the reform that has resulted in administrative monopoly. It can be seen from the historical track that administrative monopoly in China has a strong historical inheritance.

- 3. The current administrative monopoly in China is caused by a combination of the historical reasons, the cognitional reasons and the institutional reasons, and has profound cultural origins.
- 4. Administrative monopoly has great systemic influence on macro-economy.

Although administrative monopoly has played an important historical role at the initial stage of China's reform and opening-up such as maintaining economic order and social stability, lowering transitional risk, mitigating fiscal pressure and realizing the icebreaking and sailing off of reform and opening-up, it has become a major obstacle for further development, and it's no longer conducive to the security and stability of the country, which makes it cannot realize the original intention of the policy. As a distorted basic system, administrative monopoly keeps our economic system in a semi-marketized state, so that the market cannot play a complete role in the national economy. And then through conduction in economic course, it causes the distortion of resource allocation and the distortion of macro-economy. This finally shows a series of economic phenomena including the loss of gross output of national economy, the imbalances in economic structure, the difficulties in sophistication of industrial structure and in the promotion of economic quality. Therefore, it is the systematic origin of many current contradictions in China. The elimination of administrative monopoly will resolve indepth institutional contradictions, put the economy on a good track, and win another ten-year valuable and rapid growth for China.

5. The target mode of reform is to build up a normal and healthy market economy system which attaches equal importance to security and efficiency. The path of reform is: deepening administrative management system and fiscal system reform to eliminate the foundations of administrative monopoly, building up secure system to prevent and dissolve risks at the same time, and opening the market com-

pletely to realize equal competition in the end. This will complete the reform of China's marketization.

6. The normative nature of the basic system in a society is particularly important, and we should avoid using distorted governance over distortions. The effective way to solve the problem is to simplify the complicated system.

In sum, there are inseparable and inevitable connections between prosperity and competition; prosperity comes from competition. We must unswervingly push forward the development of reform and opening-up, resolutely discard the thoughts and behaviors of closure and monopoly of the old system which impede the development of productivity, and build up a brand new mechanism which is featured by unity, openness, competition and security. Only in this way can we be able to complete the mission of China's economic transformation entrusted to us by history, thereby laying a solid institutional foundation for the prosperity and rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

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绪 论

1.1 背景与目的

我国的市场经济体制还不完善,旧体制旧观念人为封闭分割市场的行政性垄断,把我国经济体制维持在"半市场化"状态,使市场不能在国民经济中发挥完整的作用。目前我国经济生活中的一些矛盾问题,如结构失衡、质量不高、下行压力等经济现象,与行政性垄断阻碍市场机制有效发挥资源配置功能具有重大关系,是经济体制改革尚不到位、市场经济制度尚不完善的产物。

本书旨在分析产生行政性垄断的条件与原因;研究行政性 垄断对宏观经济的系统性影响及其传导机制,论证繁荣与竞争 之间的必然联系;提出消除行政性垄断、推进市场化改革的现 实可行方案。