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国有企业劳动就业 体制研究

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在发展社会主义市场经济的条件下，要实现生产要素的优化配置，实现企业的生产经营从粗放型向集约型转变，必须建立与之相适应的劳动力就业机制。

——摘自《江泽民同志在国有企业下岗职工基本生活保障和再就业工作会议上的重要讲话》1998年5月14日

谨以此书献给已进入攻坚阶段的国有企业改革和正在实施中的再就业工程

内容提要

在当今世界，劳动就业问题已经成为各国政府高度关注的难题和焦点。在我国，面对目前体制转型和结构调整两个方面重大变化的叠加，劳动就业矛盾更为突出，已成为继解决通货膨胀之后中国经济发展和国企改革所面临的头号难题。本文以马克思主义理论为指导，从劳动就业体制的视角，对建国以来，尤其是转轨时期我国国有企业劳动就业体制进行系统的理论分析和实证研究，并在此基础上，力求客观地给出我们的研究结论和改革方略。

全文除导言外，共分为十一章。

在导言中，首先对本文的选题意图和研究视角作了说明，指出了研究国有企业劳动就业体制问题在理论上的必要性以及重要性。其次对贯穿全文的指导思想和研究方法进行了必要的概括；最后就本文的结构安排作了简要说明。

第一章 劳动就业的范畴界定与运行机制。本章首先从理论上对劳动就业的内涵界定、性质特征、权利关系等基本范畴以及影响劳动就业的相关因素进行一般性分析；其次，在对劳动就业运行机制的一般规定性进行分析的基础上，划分了劳动力资源的两种主要配置方式——劳动力的计划配置和劳动力的市场配置，并分别对其特征、功能、缺陷作了比较分析，最后得出结论认为，在市场经济条件下，要实现充分就业目标，必须在充分发挥市场机制对劳动力资源微观配置的基础上，辅之于有效的宏观调控。

第二章 马克思的社会主义劳动就业思想与传统的充分就业理论。通过对马克思劳动经济思想的挖掘和梳理,揭示马克思的社会主义劳动就业观是以生产力高度发展为前提,是社会主义劳动就业的理想模式或目标模式,而不是社会主义劳动就业的起点模式。这种社会发展阶段的重大差异,决定了马克思关于社会主义“充分就业均衡”模式有其严格的前提假定和严密的运行环境。而这些前提和环境是尚处于初级阶段的社会主义实际经济运行中所不具备的。

为了体现社会主义制度的优越性,包括中国在内的社会主义国家大多以消灭失业、实现全社会充分就业为己任。在本章的第二、三节,通过社会主义传统充分就业理论的剖析和西方学者的评述,揭示了在计划经济体制国家实行劳动力集中统一配置机制的理论渊源,从而为研究我国传统就业体制的形成提供了理论背景。

第三章 国有企业的非经济特征与公有制经济的就业矛盾。福利性就业保障是我国传统劳动就业体制的一个重要特征,而这一特征又直接导源于传统国有企业的非经济特征。本章通过对国有企业泛化功能的分析,指出该功能特征与国有企业劳动就业体制的密切关联性。在公有制及其实现形式——国有制内在基本矛盾的制约下,社会主义公有制经济中存在三大突出矛盾,即直接就业权与间接就业权的矛盾;平等就业与不平等就业的矛盾;完全就业与不完全就业的矛盾。通过对计划经济与市场经济两种体制下就业目标及其实现代价的比较分析,指出了传统计划体制“全面就业”宏观目标的实现是以微观企业劳动力的低效甚至无效配置为代价的。

第四章 国有企业传统就业模式与运行绩效。在上一章对传统就业体制的内在矛盾和运行目标进行宏观分析之后,本章深入微观企业内部,通过对传统国有企业中就业主体劳动供求行为的深入分析,对国有企业就业体制的总体特征和运行绩效作出实证

考察和客观评价,旨在为后续章节对就业体制改革问题的探讨准备必要的研究依据。

第五章 改革中双轨就业体制的生成与困境。改革以来,随着计划经济体制向市场经济体制的过渡,我国的劳动就业体制也呈现出转轨时期的双轨运行状态,即原来高度统一的计划就业体制裂变为市场化就业与行政性安置同时并存的两大板块。这种就业机制的双轨运行虽然较改革前的单一计划就业体制是一个进步,提高了劳动力资源的配置效率,但由于两大板块的摩擦和冲突,不但造成了就业领域本身的矛盾和困境,而且还是我国目前宏观经济结构失衡、效益低下的关键致因所在。

第六章 双轨制下国有企业的就业行为与调节机制。在上一章所构筑的宏观背景框架下,本章深入国有企业内部,以实证分析为主要手段,分别从改革以来在双轨就业体制下劳动就业主体的行为变异、就业激励机制的运用及其效果、劳动力流动的程度及其原因、冗员沉淀与需求扩张并存的“就业陷阱”等四个方面进行深入分析,揭示了国有企业就业机制双轨运行的内在矛盾,即在政府双重目标取向的制约下,企业内部劳动供给行为的市场化与劳动需求行为的行政化并存,导致了就业体制市场化改革的严重滞后,从而论证了进一步深化改革的必要性。

第七章 西方主要市场就业理论与体制:概述与简评。劳动就业问题是世界各国经济发展中共同面临的难题之一。虽然在不同的社会制度下,各国就业问题的具体生成原因不同,体制背景各异,但其共性都是社会化大生产和市场经济的必然产物,因此存在着某些共同或相似的形成机理和基本特征。本章通过对西方市场就业理论和体制建构的概述与简评,旨在为后续章节对我国国有企业劳动就业体制改革思路的研究提供必要的理论借鉴。

第八章 国有企业劳动就业体制的重新建构。从本章起,进入对国有企业劳动就业体制改革思路与重建方略的探讨。本章在分析国有企业劳动就业体制改革滞后的深层原因的基础上,从制

度创新的角度，指出了改革的总体目标模式——市场就业，实现全社会劳动力资源的市场配置，其基本框架是：主体明确化；工资市场化；失业公开化；保障社会化；政府调控宏观化。要保证这一框架的顺利建构，必须矫正以往“单项突进”的浅层改革思路，设计着眼于制度创新的循序渐进方案。

第九章 劳动用工制度改革与建立失业一再就业机制。劳动用工制度改革是就业体制改革的主要组成部分。就业市场化是国有企业劳动就业体制改革的必然选择，而实现这一目标的核心内容是劳动就业主体行为的市场化，实现劳动主体供求双方行为的市场化对称。在从理论上解决了国有企业职工是否可以被解雇的悖论之后，要切实赋予企业完全意义上的用工自主权。要推进劳动用工制度的改革，走出“就业陷阱”，还必须在引入公开失业机制、剥离分离企业冗员的同时，以政府为主导，积极实施再就业工程。

第十章 就业体制改革与工资市场化。工资是调节劳动力市场供求关系的重要信号，因此，国有企业工资（分配）制度改革，是劳动就业体制创新的一项重要内容。改革的基本目标是建立效率型的现代企业工资体制，在坚持“按劳分配为主体，多种分配形式并存”的基本前提下，构建“主要由劳动力市场机制决定，劳动关系双方协商谈判，政府宏观间接调控”的工资改革目标模式。要实现这一模式，必须在营造适应工资运行市场化的宏观配套环境的同时，着重理顺企业内部的产权关系，建立工资市场化运行的三方分配主体相互制衡机制。

第十一章 国有企业福利保障制度的改革与重构。制约国有企业劳动就业市场化改革深入的一个关键因素，是传统的以企业为主体的封闭式福利保障制度。因此，拆除就业、福利、保障三合一制度的壁垒，建立健全完备的社会保障制度，是国有企业就业体制改革取得成功的必要条件。要建立适应我国国情的新型社会保障制度，总体思路是：资金来源多元化；保障职能社会化；

保障基金独立化；保障水平层次化；保障监管法制化。考虑到转轨时期的复杂性，近期社会保障体制的构建应当是混合型的，即在受益基准制为主的情况下，实行部分供款基准制，待条件成熟后再完成向统一的供款基准制过渡。

Abstract

Nonadays, employment has become a big problem and focus to which the government of each nation in the world attaches great importance. At present in China, economy restructuring and the ownership structure readjusting have changed greatly. With these great changes, the contradiction of employment becomes more prominent and has become the first problem to be solved next to the inflation in the way to develop economy and reform the state-owned enterprises. Guided by Maxism theories and from the angle of employment systems, this thesis makes theoretical analyses and does substantial evidence studies in a systematic way. on the employment systems of the state-owned enterprises since the foundry of our People's Republic especially at the time of changing economic tracks in China. Then, basing on these analyses and studies, this thesis comes to the conclusions and draws up the strageties for reformation.

Besides the introduction, there are eleven chapters in this thesis.

The introduction, first of all, illustrates the intention of selecting the topic and the angle of study; also it points out the necessity and the importance to study the problems of the state-owned enterprises' employment systems. Then, the introduction makes a necessary summary about the guiding ideology and studying methods which go through the whole thesis. Finally, it makes a brief illustration on organizing the structure.

Chapter One The category definations and operating mechanisms of employment

First, this chapter makes a general analysis on the basic categories, including connotation, character and the relations between right and on the related factors which affect the employment. Then, this chapter analyzes the common rules of operating mechanisms of employment. And basing on the analyses, allocating the resources of labour forces falls into two kinds——planned allocation and market-oriented allocation. At the same time, this chapter individually makes comparisons of character, functions, and defects between the two allocations. Finally, it comes to the conclusion: in order to realize full employment under the conditions of market-oriented economy, we must bring the micro-allocation of market mechanisms towards labour forces into full play, while making macro-control subsidiary.

Chapter Two Marx's socialist ideologies of employment and traditional theories of full employment

By excavating and sorting out the Marx's ideologies of labour economy, this chapter reveals that Marx's point of view about socialist employment makes the high development of productive forces as its prerequisite and that it is the ideal pattern or objective pattern but not starting-point pattern for socialist employment. The great difference at the stage of society developing decides that Marx's "full-employment balance" pattern in socialism has its own strict prerequisites and assumptions and its tight functioning surroundings. And all these prerequisites and surroundings do not exist in the particle functioning of the economy when socialism is still at the Primary Stage.

To show the superiority of socialist systems, all the socialist countries, including China, look it as their own duties to put an end to unemployment and to realize full employment. With the conclusions of analyzing the socialist and traditional theories of full employment, and with the commentaries of the Western scholars, Section

Two and Section Three of this chapter reveal the theoretical origin of carrying out the centralized and unified allocation mechanisms of the labour forces in the countries which adopt the planned economy systems; thereby, the two sections provide us with theoretical supports to study traditional employment systems in China.

Chapter Three The non-economic character of the state-owned enterprises and the contradictions of the public ownership economy's employment.

Welfarish employment security is an important character of the traditional employment systems in China. And this character derives directly from the non-economic character of the traditional state-owned enterprises. This chapter analyzes the generalized functions of the state-owned enterprises. With the analysis, the chapter points out the close connection between the function's character and the employment systems in the state-owned enterprises. Restricted by public ownership and its form to bring about the national inner fundamental contradiction, the socialist public ownership economy has three prominent contradictions: the contradiction between direct and indirect rights to obtain employment; the contradiction between complete and unequal employment; the contradiction between equal and unequal employment. By comparing the objectives of employment and its price paid for realization under the planned and market-oriented economies, this chapter points out that the price to realize macro-objectives of "total employment" under traditional planning systems is paid by the low-efficient even inefficient allocation of the microenterprises' labour forces.

Chapter Four The State-owned enterprises traditional employment pattern and its operating effects.

In the above chapter, we macroscopically analyzed the inner

contradiction of the traditional employment systems and the aims of its operation. In this chapter, we will study further into the inside of the micro-enterprises. By deeply analyzing the supply and demand on the major labour of the employment in the traditional state-owned enterprises, we will make an on-the-spot investigation substantially and evaluate objectively the general features of the employment systems in the state-owned enterprises and the operating effects. It aims to offer the necessary study foundation of the reformation of the employment systems in the next chapters.

Chapter Five The formations and troubles of the double tracks employment systems in the reformation

Since the reformation is performed with the transition of the planned economy systems to the market one, the employment systems in our country in the changing period. That is: the original planned employment systems which is highly unified is changed into two parts that the employment by market and administrative arrangement exit together. Compared with single planned employment systems before the reform, the double track operation of the employment systems is the great progress. It improves the contradiction of the two parts, it not only causes the contradiction and trouble in the employment field, but also causes the unbalance of the structure of micro-economy and the low-efficiency in the present China.

Chapter Six The employment behavior and adjusting mechanisms of the state-owned enterprises under the double track employment systems.

In the frame of macro-background built in the last chapter, this chapter goes deep into inner state-owned enterprises, and by the main means of substantial evidence, it makes deeper analyses on the behavior's variation of the main body of employment, the application

and results of the impelling mechanisms, the defer and the reasons of labour forces floating and the "employment trap" in which redundant personnel forms a sediment and demands exist side by side. Also, this chapter reveals the inner contradiction existing in the double-track functioning of employment mechanism, that is, restricted by government's aims at double objectives, the marketized supply behavior and administratized labour demand behavior exist side by side. This kind of existence leads the marketing reform of employment systems to lay far behind. Therefore, the necessity to bring the reform into deeper way is testified.

Chapter Seven The predominant western market employment theory and system : summary and concise comment.

Labor employment problem is one of the most difficult problems that every country in the world would face in the course of economic development. The problem's geneticality is the outcome of large-scale socialized production and market economy, though the social systems, the exact causes and the systematic backgrounds are different. Therefore, there exist some common or similar forming mechanism and basic characters. The objective of this chapter is to provide the research into Chinese SOE's mechanism reform by summarizing and concisely commenting on the western market employment theory and system.

Chapter Eight Reconstruction of the state-owned labour employment systems

From this chapter, we will discuss the thought of State-owned labor employment systematic reform. On the basis of the deep cause of labour employment systematic reform lag, it points out the general objective pattern of reform—employment according to the market from the systematic innovation angle, to realize the market allocation

of the whole social labour resources. And its basis frame work is main-body darification; wages marketization; unemployment publication; ensurance socialization; government macro-centralization.

To ensure to build the framework smoothly, we should rectify the former superficial reform idea of "individual development" and design the systematic innovation plan.

Chapter Nine Reform the labour recruitment system and establish the employment and re-employment mechanism

The labour recruitment system reform is the major part of employment systems reform. The marketization of employment is the inevitable choice of the labour employment systems reform in the state-owned enterprise, and the central content in which we try to fulfil the aims to marketize the main body of labour employment and to carry out labour main body. After we have theoretically solved the perverse argument, that we can dismiss staff and workers or not, we should really give enterprise complete power to make their own decisions. To carry forward the reform of labour recruitment systems, and step out of "employment trap", it is also necessary to introduce open unemployment mechanisms and to separate the redundant personnel, at the same time, to implement the reemployment project actively with the government as the leading factor.

Chapter Ten Employment systems reformation and wages marketization

Wages is an important signal of regulating the relations between supply and demand in labour markets. Thus, wages (distribution) systems reform of the state-owned enterprises is one important content of the employ systems' innovations. The basic aims of reformation is to build wages systems of modern enterprises which are characterized by efficiency and to set up the objective pattern in which

market mechanisms make decisions, enterprises take charge of distribution by themselves and the government controls and regulates the systems under the basic prerequisite of keeping to the systems in which distribution according to work is dominant and in which a variety of modes of distribution coexist. And turning the pattern into realization, Not only needs to deepen the reformation of inner distribution mechanisms of enterprises, but also needs to build necessary macro-surroundings from the outside of enterprises to harmonize with the reformation.

Chapter Eleven Reforming and rebuilding the welfare security systems of the state-owned enterprises.

The traditional enterprises-oriented and closed welfare security system is a key factor which restricts the state-owned enterprises' employment marketization to deeper reform. Thus, tearing down the barrier in which employment, welfare and security are confined into one. and building a perfect social security system are the necessary factors to achieve the success of the state-owned enterprises' employment systems. To build new social security systems according to China's conditions, the total idea is: pluralizing the resources of funds; socializing the functions of security; independtizing the funds of security; layerizing the levels of security and legalizing the supervision of security. Because of the complex at the time of chaining tracks, the structure of social security system at present should be a mixed pattern, that is, despite the system of benefit standard is dominant, the system of partial providing fund is carried out and it will fulfil the transition to the unified system of providing funds when the time is ripe.

Key Words: the state-owned enterprises, employment, labour forces market, systems innovation.

导 言

一、研究视角与选题意图

增强国有经济的活力，提高国有企业的效率，始终是中国城市经济体制改革面临的重大课题之一。然而真正要使这场改革收到实效，不仅要求物质资源的配置和流转接受市场规则的约束，而且人力资源的配置也面临着一场彻底的变革。不解决国有企业人力资源配置的市场化问题，国有经济的改革几乎会在所有的环节上陷入困境。从一定意义上甚至可以说，就业体制改革的成功，将标志着中国经济体制改革相互牵制的不良循环步入协调发展的轨道。笔者之所以将博士学位论文的研究视角投向国有企业的劳动就业体制问题，除上述基本认识外，还基于以下几方面的长期思考：

1. 严重的失业问题是中国经济体制转轨过程中最难化解的“硬核”。我们知道，传统计划体制的一切弊端最终表现为低效率。因此，一旦体制转轨，发挥市场机制对资源的基础作用，必将使要素效率大大提高，而这时资本存量的增长如果还达不到吸收全部剩余劳动力，就必然出现大量的劳动力剩余，形成严重的社会失业现象，这是计划经济转向市场经济时最难以化解的“硬核”。前苏联、东欧各国从1989年起伴随着制度变迁而产生的严