




李 齐 / 著

德国劳动力市场 政策研究





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摘 要

德国纳粹曾经给世界带来过深重的灾难，德国人民也为人类的文明发展做出了杰出的贡献，同时在其自身的发展过程中创造了多次的辉煌和经济奇迹。在第一次出现经济奇迹的俾斯麦时代，德国率先建立了社会保障体系，劳动力市场政策体系也初成。此后，德国发动了两次世界大战，对人类造成了巨大的灾难。但在二战的废墟上，德国又创造了第二次经济奇迹，很快成为资本主义世界的第二大经济强国。不过从 20 世纪 70 年代后期开始，德国经济与整个西方经济一道，陷入了迷茫。东、西德的统一，客观上给德国经济造成了一定的负担，使德国经济更加低迷。德国一度甚至被称为“欧洲病夫”。然而从 2006 年开始，德国的经济持续向好。即便是在 2008 年世界金融危机爆发以来，整个世界经济低迷，甚至引发了欧洲主权债务危机，造成了许多国家政局动荡的情况下，德国却风景独好，经济一直持续稳定增长，政治团结，社会稳定。很多学者称之为第三次经济奇迹。自 19 世纪以来，这个灾难的肇事者和奇迹的创造者，如何能够经过跌宕起伏，成为世界上首屈一指的工业大国，而且成为当今欧洲、乃至世界经济复苏的新发动机？德国如今取得的成功，到底存在着什么秘诀？虽然答案是多种多样的，但从前总理施密特到现任总理默克尔都认为，成功的劳动力市场政策是多年来德国政治、经济持续稳定发展的重要原因。那么，德国的劳动力市场政策到底有哪些与众不同之处？有着怎样的历史演进过程？产生了哪些重要影响？对当代中国有着怎样的启示？

因此，德国的成功引起了全世界的关注。国内外学者对德国劳动力市场政策进行了广泛和深入的研究。现有的研究主要是：从历史的角度梳理了德国劳动力市场政策的发展过程；从结构的角度分析了德国劳动力市场政策的组成；从社会力量、政党及其主张的角度分析了德国劳动力市场政策的形成；从政策模式及其比较的角度分析了德国劳动力市场政策的特殊

性及其变革的路径；从过程分析的角度划分了20世纪90年代以来德国劳动力市场政策变革的各个阶段，并分析了其特征；从官僚体制的角度分析了决策者对德国劳动力市场政策变革的影响；从微观和实证的角度分析了德国劳动力市场政策细分领域的具体内容及其效果。这都为进一步的研究提供了坚实的基础。本书试图以纵横相结合的方法来考察德国的劳动力市场政策，既强调它的整体特征、强调它的历史连续性，又突出它在各个不同发展阶段上社会、政治、经济、文化、历史等各个方面的因素对劳动力市场的综合影响，即把劳动力市场政策放在各个不同历史阶段的系统之中加以考察。

在对文献进行分析的基础上，为了研究的确定性，本书界定了劳动力市场和劳动力市场政策这两个主要概念，确定在宽泛的意义上理解劳动力市场政策。随之说明了系统的研究方法和历史的研究方法，确定本书以劳动力市场政策演变的历史阶段和历史时期为线索，在每个历史时期都以系统的框架进行分析，全面说明每个历史时期系统环境的变化，因此导致的劳动力市场政策输出的变化。

在现有文献研究的基础上，依据历史方法和系统方法，为了研究德国劳动力市场政策历史演变的逻辑和总体特征，本书首先系统地展开对德国劳动力市场政策的历史研究，共分为四章。在此基础上，第六章论述了德国劳动力市场政策的历史概观和总体特征。最后在结论中论述了德国劳动力市场政策的基本特征，即历史和逻辑的统一，随后说明了德国劳动力市场政策研究带给中国的启示，以及本书研究的不足和将来的研究方向。具体来说：

第二章考察了德国劳动力市场政策的形成过程。19世纪初期的德国，仍是一个非常松散的联邦，实际上处于四分五裂的状态，是一个相对落后农业国，资本主义生产仅仅处于萌发阶段。拿破仑战争让普鲁士臣服，更让普鲁士觉醒。民族存亡的压力客观上不仅促进了德意志民族的团结，而且还促使它走上了自强、自救的道路——发展资本主义。这是民众的强烈要求，也是王权继续维持统治的唯一选择。于是改革全面展开，发展资本主义生产，建立现代劳动力市场。此后以普鲁士为主导的关税同盟的建立和铁路运输业的极速扩张让资本主义生产迅速发展。这让普鲁士在1871年通过俾斯麦的强权统一德国成为可能。由于在统一前后，德国的社会处于巨变之中，出现了各种社会问题，劳资间的矛盾突出，政府为维持政治

和社会的稳定，加强了对劳动力市场的干预，从而形成了独具特色的德国劳动力市场政策。

第三章考察了德国劳动力市场政策的发展过程。威廉二世上台后，为了稳定社会，以继续维持统治，不得不积极应对工人阶级和资产阶级提出的要求，实施了对外扩张政策，进行了积极的社会防御，继续扩展劳动力市场政策的相关内容，并在第一次世界大战期间加强了工会的力量，明确了工会的社会地位。第一次世界大战结束后，魏玛共和国政府面对国际社会和国内社会的复杂局势，继续扩展了劳动力市场政策，这在一定程度上缓解了矛盾。但是经济危机的到来，并迅速转化为全面危机，导致了共和政府崩溃和纳粹上台。纳粹政府全面控制了劳动力市场，并发动了第二次世界大战。

第四章考察了德国劳动力市场政策的完善过程。二战后，美、英、法、苏四国主导了德国的事务。在冷战和东西方对峙的情况下，联邦德国和民主德国相继成立。联邦德国在美国主导下实施了社会市场经济制度，放开了对劳动力市场的管制，并对原有的政策进行修改和扩展，这使得经济迅速得到了恢复。此后，根据经济和社会的发展情况，政府推行输出劳动力市场政策，先后对经济和社会进行了重点建设，实现了德国经济的迅速发展和政治与社会的稳定。

第五章考察了德国劳动力市场政策变革过程。联邦德国的经济繁荣和社会稳定，为1990年东德和西德的统一提供了坚实的基础。统一的基础是需要实现东部和西部经济与社会融合，这为德国带来了巨大的经济负担，导致了经济发展缓慢、失业率高居不下。于是政府开始调整劳动力市场政策，但问题并没有被真正解决。20世纪90年代末期，欧洲一体化进程不断加剧，劳动力市场政策问题成为欧洲一体化的重要议题。在欧洲一体化的引导之下，德国劳动力市场政策开始全面改革，实现了新的繁荣和稳定。

第六章对德国劳动力市场政策的演化历程，进行了总结分析。从德国劳动力市场政策的历史演变中寻找到两个逻辑：一是国家干预的历史逻辑，二是劳动力市场政策自身演变的历史逻辑。此外，通过整体的分析，说明了德国劳动力市场政策的总体特征。

第七章结论中，论述了德国劳动力市场政策演变的根本特征，即历史和逻辑的统一。此后，首先分析了本书的研究为当代中国带来的启示。在

学习德国经验的基础上,根据历史条件的特殊性,通过加强制度的学习和适应能力,稳步推进劳动力市场政策的变革和政策模式的转向。其次分析了本书研究的不足和将来的研究方向。系统研究方法、国际比较研究、对中国的启示研究、德国劳动力市场政策将来走向的研究等方面存在不足,需要在以后继续关注前沿,收集资料,不断对现有的研究进行深化和扩展。

由于德国劳动力市场政策本身具有丰富多彩的内容和复杂深奥的特质,因此,笔者在研究过程中深感力不从心。不过,本书还是力图在以下几个方面做出一点贡献:首先,本书对德国劳动力市场政策发展演变的全部历史过程进行了全面的梳理,这相对于已有的研究成果而言更为全面、更为系统,更能够展现德国劳动力市场政策的发展演化的内在逻辑,也能清楚展现其特殊历史条件下的特殊性。其次,本书具体应用系统的方法,从系统和宏观的角度,分析了系统的要素在每个历史阶段和每个历史时期对德国劳动力市场政策演变的影响,相对于劳动力市场政策的一般性研究和微观研究,更注重劳动力市场政策及其所处系统的整体性,从而更好地从整体上把握了劳动力市场政策的总体特征和演变的逻辑。再次,根据对德国劳动力市场政策的历史分析和系统分析,本书指出德国劳动力市场政策的根本特征是历史与逻辑的惊人一致。从历史的角度而言,由于德国历史的特殊性,国家一直积极干预劳动力市场,在劳动力市场政策的演变过程中发挥着重要作用。但是,尽管在历史的过程中,德国的政治制度、政权、政党等都几经变迁,它的劳动力市场政策一直相对平稳、相对温和,或者说相对超脱,总是能够同时兼顾劳资两个方面的利益。究其原因,德国劳动力市场政策的演变的历史过程,不是某个系统要素或偶然因素能够决定的,而是整个社会系统的必然产物,这决定了德国劳动力市场政策的历史和逻辑的统一。

关键词: 德国; 劳动力市场政策; 逻辑; 特征; 启示

Abstract

Germany has made great contributions to the development of human civilization and also brought disasters to the world. During its development, the country has created prosperity and economic miracles. The first economic miracle occurred at the Bismarck Era when Germany built the first labor market system and social security system. Two World Wars launched by Germany were the disasters for the world. After the World War II, Germany became the second largest economy of the capitalist world and created the second economic miracle. However, from the second half of 1970s, Germany entered a period of economic downturn with the rest of the western world. The reunion of the separated East Germany and West Germany brought a heavy burden and a far worse recession to the new country's economy, which left Germany a nickname as the "Sick man of Europe". From 2006, German economy has been growing. In 2008, the world was in the financial crisis and the European debt crisis caused political unrest in many countries. In contrast, German economy was in good shape and grew steadily along with the political solidarity and social stability. This was called the third economic miracle in the history of Germany. Since the 19th century, the perpetrator of disaster and miracle maker has went through ups and downs, and has become the world's leading industrialized nation and a new engine in the economic recovery in Europe and even the world. What is the secret of its success? There are so many different reasons. However, both the ex-Chancellor Schmidt to the current Chancellor Merkel think that the success of labor market policy is the main reason for the current prosperity in Germany. Then, what are the characteristics of the German labor market

policy? How did this policy come into being and evolve? What are its influences? What are its implications for China?

The success of Germany has drawn the attention worldwide. Researchers at home and abroad have made extensive studies of the labor market policies of Germany, focusing on its historical process or on the analysis of its structure. Some papers analyze the policies advocated by different social forces, political parties as well as their proposals. Some papers report the specific features of the policies based on the analysis of different policy patterns. Some researches divide the revolution process of labor market policies into several stages since the 1990s and present the characteristic of each stage. Some deal with the analysis of bureaucratic system in which policy-makers exert a certain influence on changes of labor market policies. Other studies, based on microscopic and empirical analyses, concentrate on details of the labor market policies and the practical effect they have had. All the researches lay a solid foundation for further studies. The author, trying to give a comprehensive analysis of the labor market policies of Germany, depicts the overall characteristics and historical continuity of the policies and analyzes the policies in a systematic way in different historical periods in terms of society, politics, economy, culture and the history itself.

On the basis of the literature review, and for the validity of the study, the dissertation defines two major concepts of labor market and labor market policies, suggesting that we should understand the labor market policies in a broad sense. Next, the dissertation expresses the systematic research method and historical research method to define the clue of this study—the historical phrases and period of labor market policies' evolution, describing the changes of each historical period in the labor market policy systems and the consequences of labor market policies' output.

Therefore, on the basis of current literature review, taking historical and systematical methods, this study aims to explore the general characteristics of the historical revolution of German labor market policies. The dissertation first unfolds the historical research on German labor market policies in four chapters. Then, Chapter six discusses the historical overview and

general characteristics of German labor market policies. In the conclusion, it discusses the implications that German labor market policy research has brought to China, the limitations of the study and suggestions for future research.

The second chapter explains the formation process of the German labor market policy. In the early 19th century, Germany was still a very loose federation, divided in several parts. It is a relatively backward agricultural country, with a capitalist production only at germination stage. The war waged by Napoleon let the Prussian surrender, and also awakened the Prussian. The life of the nation not only promoted the unification of the German nation, but also pushed the nation to develop capitalism, which met people's aspiration and was the only way to rescue itself and to maintain the royal rule. Then the reform was in full swing, the capitalist production developed, and the modern labor market was established. Since then, the establishment of customs union led by Prussian and the rapid development of railway transportation led to a rapid development of capitalist production. This allowed Prussia to unify Germany in 1871 through the power of Bismarck. During the time of the unification, German society was in a great change, and various social problems emerged. The contradiction between labor and management was sharp. In order to maintain political and social stability, the government strengthened the intervention in the labor market, thus formed the labor market policy with unique German characteristics.

Chapter three explores the development process of German labor market. After William II came to power, in order to stabilize the society and continue to maintain the rule, he had to actively respond to the demands of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. He implemented the external expansion policy, and carried on the positive social defense, and further relevant content about labor market policy was added by him. He also strengthened the force of labor union during World War I, confirming the Union's social status. After the war, the government of the Republic of Weimar, in the face of international and domestic social situation, continued to expand the labor market policy, which eased the tensions to a certain extent. But the e-

conomic crisis broke out and quickly turned into a full-scale crisis, leading to the collapse of the republic government. Then the Nazis came to power. The Nazi government was in full control of the labor market, and launched the Second World War.

Chapter four discusses the improvement process of German labor market policy. After World War II, the United States, Britain, France and the Soviet Union dominated the German affairs. Under the situation of the Cold War and the East-West confrontation, Federal Republic of Germany and Democratic Republic of Germany were established respectively. The Federal Republic of Germany constructed the market economic system, deregulated the labor markets, modified and extended the former policies under the control of the United States, which was conducive to restoring the economic growth. Henceforth, based on the development of the economy and society, the government carried out the labor market policies and focused on the economic and social construction successively, which brought about the rapid economic development and political and social stability in Germany.

Chapter five dwells on the changing process of the labor market policies in Germany. The economic prosperity and political and social stability of the Federal Republic of Germany provided fundamental supports for East and West German reunification. However, reunification called for economic and social integration between the East and West, which resulted in great economic burdens on Germany, namely, economic slowdown and high unemployment. So the government set out to adjust the labor market policies, but the problems were not yet resolved. With the intensified European integration process, the labor market policies became an important issue for European integration in the end of the 1990s. Guided by European integration, the labor market policies in Germany underwent a comprehensive reform, giving rise to a new prosperity and stability at last.

Chapter six reviews the developmental history of the labor market policies in Germany. Two logics can be found in the historical development of the labor market policies, one is about state intervention, and the other is about the self-evolution of the labor market policies. In addition, with o-

verall analysis, this chapter summarized the basic features of the labor market polices in Germany.

The conclusion, emphasizing the unity of history and logic of the developmental history of the labor market policies in Germany, presents the implications of this study for contemporary China. It covers the reform of labor market policies in China according to unique historical conditions and steady promotion of the reform by means of reinforcing institutional learning and adaptive capacity. It also points out the limitations of this study and directions of future research. Due to the insufficient methods of systematic study, the factors of system about the labor market policies are needed to extend in future studies. For the lack of international perspectives, comparative studies of labor market policy of different countries are encouraged. In order to have more implications for China, comparative studies of labor market policy between China and Germany should be investigated, revealing the comment practice and specific features that can be adopted in China. Limitations exist in the study of tendency of the labor market polices in Germany, and more attention should be paid to changes of the policies.

It is by no means easy to study the labor market polices in Germany which are extensive and profound. However, this dissertation has made certain achievements as follows. Firstly, the author sort out the revolution process of the labor market polices in Germany, which, compared with former researches, was conducted more comprehensively and more systematically. Therefore, it helps to explain its inner logic and its various features under different historical conditions. Secondly, employing the system approach, the author analyzes how system elements make an impact on the labor market polices in each historical period in Germany. In comparison with general studies and microscopic studies, this study is more concerned with the integrity of the policies and system that the policies operate in. Thirdly, based on historical approach and system approach, the author finds out that the fundamental characteristic of the labor market policies in Germany is the high degree of unity of history and logic. In terms of history, the history of the German nation leads to the fact that the government has conducted posi-

tive interventions in the labor market. Changes took place constantly in political system, regime and parties in the history of Germany, but the labor market policies, always meeting the demands of both the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, have been comparatively smooth, steady and even transcended. How could this happen? This is because the revolution process of the labor market policies in Germany is not the result of one single system element or an accident, but an inevitable outcome of the whole system of the society, which leads to the unity of history and logic in the policies.

Key words: Germany; labor market policy; logic; characteristics; implications

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