



# RUSSIA

## 俄罗斯 转轨绩效透视

张弛 著

经济日报出版社

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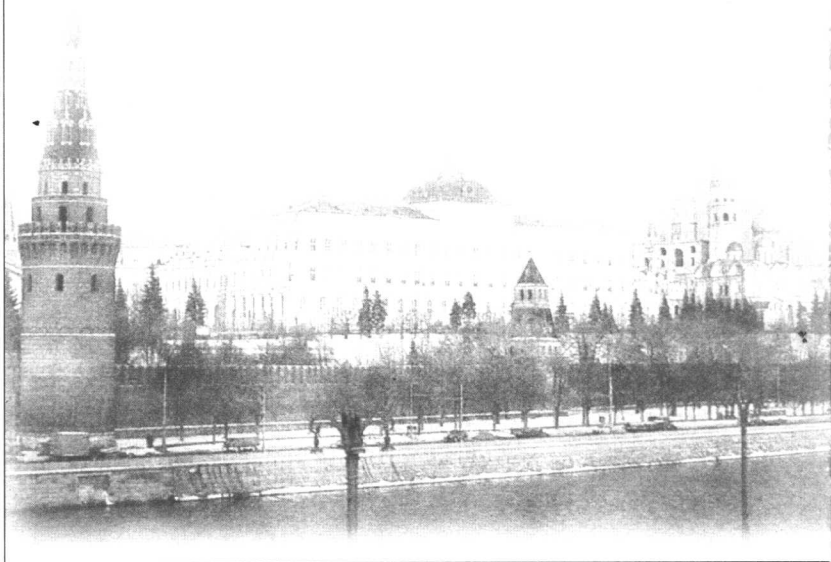
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# R U S S I A



# 序

## 程 伟

转轨是 20 世纪末期以来一个崭新的现象和令世人瞩目的问题，而在转轨国家中俄罗斯又颇具典型性。从 20 世纪 80 年代末开始，俄罗斯步入充满动荡和戏剧性冲突的时期，机会、希望与失败并存。其转轨过程中出现的很多现象，使人困惑、耐人寻味且需要理论上的解释。那么，如何评价俄罗斯的转轨绩效？决定转轨绩效的因素是什么？从叶利钦到普京时代的变化是俄罗斯转轨发展的必然还是偶然？俄罗斯转轨的未来走势如何？其转轨绩效的变化带给其他国家哪些启示？

对于上述问题的回答显然需要理论工作者的深入思考和认真研究，我的学生张弛对此作了有益的尝试。她选择这一富有严肃理论意义和现实针对性的课题作为博士论文，运用制度经济学的基本理论，从历史的长镜头中透视俄罗斯 10 年的转轨轨迹，在一个较为规范的框架内评价了俄罗斯的转轨绩效，写出了一定的特色，得出了某些富有新意的结论。现在她的这本以博士论文为基础修改而成的专著即将与读者见面，作为导师，我感到由衷的欣喜。

俄罗斯的转轨问题十分复杂，而对其转轨绩效的评价是仁者见仁，智者见智。与同类研究成果相比，本书设计了一个较为清晰的逻辑体系，在研究方法和视角上形成了自己的特点。具体地说，作者从对转轨内涵的认识入手，尝试性地将制度环

境引入分析视野，构建了一个制度环境内生的“制度建构—制度演进”研究框架，力图以经济绩效、制度安排、制度环境的互动为主线，运用动态与静态相结合的方法，将时点分析与时期考察相互补充，重新审视俄罗斯的转轨，评价其过去，预测其未来。

在这样一个框架下，全书形成了一条历史和逻辑统一的环相扣的分析脉络。从本书第二章到第四章所作的实证分析中我们可以看到，作者对俄罗斯转轨进程的划分既考虑了历史的自然标准（从叶利钦执政启动转轨，到“十月事件”后新政权的巩固，再到普京时代的开始）；又遵循了逻辑发展的客观进程（从制度安排和制度环境的矛盾，到制度安排和制度环境的调整，再到制度安排和制度环境的整合）；还注意到转轨绩效本身变化的特点（从转轨危机形成，到转轨危机持续，再到转轨危机缓和），将这三条线索有机地结合在一起，得出了本书的基本结论，即：正确评价转轨，既要研究转轨过程中某一历史横断面的结果，又要把这些横断面结合起来观察，它会使我们发现，哪些因素在长期发挥作用，为我们预期的转轨前景提供依据。

历史与逻辑统一的脉络决定了本书较为丰富的内涵。它既从制度安排的变化出发，触及了俄罗斯的经济体制转轨；又从制度环境的变化出发，触及了俄罗斯的政治体制转轨，并尝试分析二者之间的关系；它包含了微观主体改造、政府职能定位、对外经济关系调整等方面的问题，并将这些问题统一在一个规范的分析框架之内，进行了较为全面和深刻的研究。应当指出的是，这与作者进行的较为细致的前期资料准备工作是分不开的。

因此，全书具有一定独到性的基本结论正是立足于严谨的结构、翔实的资料，通过较为严密的论证而得出的，并非来自于脱离实际状况的主观判断。可以说，冷静客观的研究立场是本书的另一个特点。

当然，由于转轨绩效的评价是一项刚刚开始的工作，缺少一致的标准和工具，作为一项阶段性研究成果，本书存在不足和缺憾在所难免。而且，现实的发展也伴随着不断产生的新现象和新问题，这些都有待作者在后续的研究中继续弥补、充实和完善。

值得指出的是，池元吉、周新城、佟家栋、冯舜华、金明善、赫国盛等知名教授曾对这篇博士论文提出许多宝贵而中肯的修改意见，并给予较高的评价，对作者进行了无私的指点和帮助，这在很大程度上提高了今天这本书的水准。

作为老师，看到学生的论文出版，看到学生不断成长固然感到欣慰，但更多的是希望。希望张弛博士以此为起点，在未来的教学和科研工作中更加努力，用辛勤的汗水和诚实的劳动去争取更大的成绩。

## Abstract

Russia's transformation is an arguable subject that attracts many attentions. In recent years, scholars of many countries have carried out a series of research on this problem from different angles and levels. In many people's opinion, it was the "lost decade" of Russia during the 1990s. Therefore, they draw a conclusion that Russia's reform is unsuccessful. After Putin's coming into power, the social and economic conditions are turning better. Its Gross National Product and Gross Industrial Product present upward tendency and so does the investment. Is it inevitable or accidental? How to comment on its performance in history scope? What factors have influenced the reformation performance? And how will the Russia's transformation be in the future? The answers to these questions are the research objects of this book.

On the basis of the achievement of the same research, the researching method and angle of this book is specific and creative. The book starts with the understanding of the connotation of transformation, pointing out that transformation is a special kind of institutional change which includes Constitutional order, institutional arrangement and behavior standards. It is a process of replacement on the basis of a certain institutional structure through the institutional selection and it's also a unity of institutional inventions and institutional evolution. On this point of view, different from the research angles of most scholars, this



book is outlined by the correlation of economic performance, institutional arrangement and institutional circumstances and put the analysis of institutional environment into frame. It explains the transformation in Russia in a new point of view. It comments the past and expects the future through the methods combine with static and dynamic analysis on both time and period observation.

This book includes preface and six chapters.

The first chapter is the introduction of theories, which emphasize the analytical mode of the book. This chapter firstly introduce the currently various viewpoints on transformation and compare these with the reform connotation, pointing out that there are four defects existed in the current researching mode: (1) taking institution as granted (2) considering institutional circumstances to be external variables (3) researching method is static equilibrium (4) lacking systematical elaboration. According to all above, this book, taking the Materialism theory as guidance, drawing the current achievements, especially the essential parts, combining the characteristics of the transformation, analysis and constitutes the frame structure, which can explain the transformation. The book holds the view that transforming which based on a certain institutional structure, is a process of institutional substitution through selection and is the unity of institutional inventions and institutional evolution. Then, it puts forward the evaluating standards, established evaluating system and specifies the method. Transformation performance is not equal to economic achievements, additionally, economic achievement doesn't have the simple correlation with system reform and transformation performance is influenced by economic achievements,

institutional arrangement and institutional circumstances. They affect on each other and among them circumstances plays the most important role.

From Chapter 2 to Chapter 4, it applies the theories put forward in the first chapter to discuss Russia's transformation performance in different phase. Chapter 2 describes the starting point of Russia's reform. It recovers the backgrounds of the reform, summarizes the intentions of Russia's institutional arrangement in the beginning phase, analyzes the characteristics of the institutional circumstances at that time, demonstrates the restrictive co-relation among economic achievements, institutional arrangement and institutional circumstances. It concludes that it is the main reason that caused the Russia's reform crisis.

Chapter 3 is the general inspection on Russia's transforming condition during Yelstin's times. This chapter firstly applies the index system put forward by LNU to make a static evaluation on Russia's performance during 1990s and considers that the reform crisis would last from then on. Then it studies separately Russia's institutional arrangement and shows that in 1990s, Russia improved gradually on its institutional arrangement and made some progress on the establishment of institutional circumstances. However, because of the inevitable conflict among "benefit groups" and the long-term characteristic of changing tense situation from informal restriction to formal restriction, the institutional circumstances was still unstable. Therefore, in this period, the restricting relations among economic achievement, institutional arrangement and institutional circumstances can't be broken up, but

the restriction imposed on each other was becoming weak, which build a solid foundation for the later transformation. From this point, we cannot deny the achievement during 1990s completely.

The 4th chapter, taking the progress made after Putin's coming into power as object, indicates that Putin's administration makes Russia break away from the transformation crisis and the performance increases progressively. Through studying Putin's strategies, we found that his reform route is a critically heritage of Russia's reform route since a long period. At that time, Russia's institutional circumstances have changed thoroughly and tends to be stable. Grasping this opportunity, Putin further optimized the institutional circumstances and regulated some institution and eventually the restricting relationship among economic effects, institutional arrangement and institutional circumstances was broken up, which becomes the foundation of Russia's transformation.

Chapter 5 is based on the previous 4 chapters, foreseeing the trend of Russia's reformation. It is considered that Russia's institutional change would proceed under the improvement of economic condition and its institutional transformation maybe marginal adjustment, which is beneficial to keep the interactive relation among economic achievement, institutional arrangement and institutional circumstances. The prospect of Russia's transformation is relatively optimistic but the breakthrough will happen in medium-term rather than in short term.

On the basis of vertical study of the transformation performance in different periods in Russia, chapter 6 describes the special features on the change of Russia's transformation performance on the whole. It in-

dicates that there is a obvious tendency from bad to good in the transformation performance. Compared with the same kind of transforming countries, Russia experienced a longer period of decline in the economy and a wider range of worsening after its transformation. But at the same time, the cost paid in the earlier time also makes preparations for a certain reversing strength. While going into the optimum period, the transformation performance improved progressively which leads to the economy developing at a higher speed. Based on all of these, this chapter sums up several inspiring points. The key to success in the institutional transformation is to adjust the relation between institutional circumstances and institutional arrangement in the economical transformation. Therefore, China should absorb the experiences and lessons from Russia's transformation. We should deal with the speed and depth of the institutional arrangement and institutional circumstances transformation correctly in the course of our gradual reform, and achieve development unobstructedly in the good correlation among the institutional circumstances, institutional arrangement and the economical performance.

In summary, the static analysis of Russia's transformation performance in my book depends on the quantitative estimate of many indicators in different times. Whileas the dynamic analysis of Russia's transformation performance depends on the examination of the long-term changing tendency of different factors. Whether or not the method is scientific and objective will be further inspected by the practice in the development of economy.

Key words: Russia Transformation performance Economic achievement Institutional arrangement Institutional circumstances

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# 导 言

## 一、俄罗斯转轨令世界关注

20 世纪末期，从计划经济向市场经济的过渡，掀开了人类社会经济发展史的新篇章。这一转变过程几乎覆盖了所有前计划经济国家，但由于各国国情的不同而形成了不同的转轨模式，转轨绩效<sup>①</sup>也各不相同。其中俄罗斯的转轨特别引人注目。这不仅因为俄罗斯是计划经济发祥地苏联的继承国，而且因为，随着转轨，俄罗斯进入了一个大动荡和大变动的时期，其经济一直大幅度滑坡，并常与恶性通货膨胀相伴。直到 1999 年，这一现象才略有改观。

历史的每一次转折和骤变，经过若干年后都会受到世人的评说。近年来世界各国的学者和政治家从不同的角度和层面对俄罗斯的这段历史进行归纳和总结。所有这些探讨几乎都源自对俄罗斯转轨绩效的思考。很多人认为，20 世纪 90 年代是俄罗斯“失去的 10 年”，并据此得出结论，俄罗斯的转轨是失败的。

毫无疑问，从所有的经济指标上看，这一结论无可争辩。

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<sup>①</sup> 关于转轨绩效的不同理解，可参见本文第一章有关论述。

然而，如果我们把目光放得远一些，进行长阶段的历史分析，我们是否可以说，90年代的一切问题都产生于俄罗斯转轨模式的错误，全部是其政策的失误造成的？是否可以认为，对于未来它没有产生任何积极、正面的作用，没有奠定任何良好的基础？而如果答案是否定的，或者不完全是肯定的，我们该如何评价俄罗斯的转轨绩效呢？对于这些问题，我们有必要进行更加深入、客观、负责任的研究。

就我们为此寻找答案的时候，俄罗斯历史上又出现了戏剧性的一幕：1999年最后一天，叶利钦突然主动辞去总统职务，名不见经传的普京任代总统进而顺利地当选为新总统，成为举世瞩目的一位焦点人物。此后，俄罗斯经济开始回升，从1999年到目前为止，其国民生产总值、工业总产值均呈现上升趋势和正增长，卢布汇率稳定，投资亦有所增加。一时间，人们纷纷著书立作，研究普京的治国方略，寻找其成功的原因所在。目前，比较主流的观点是：与叶利钦相比，普京在选择改革道路时更加注重考虑俄罗斯的现实，采取了审慎、渐进的转轨方式，所以收到了较好的效果。应该说，这是一种简单化的思维方式。如果我们赞成这样的观点，就等于承认，历史是可以割裂的，国家的兴衰完全取决于领袖个人的能力。这是不符合马克思辩证唯物主义和历史唯物主义基本观点的。道格拉斯·C·诺斯也有一句名言：历史在起作用（history matter）。由此引申的具体含义是，现在的以及面向未来的选择决定于过去已经做出的选择。经济的、社会的变迁不是骤然发生的，而是许多因素长期累积的结果。要理解现在，展望未来，首先必须重新审视过去。

因此，概括起来，摆在我们面前的问题就是：究竟应该怎



样在历史的长镜头中评价俄罗斯的转轨绩效？决定转轨绩效的因素是什么？这个问题的解决，将是我们破解“俄罗斯之谜”的关键所在，而它对于转轨理论的丰富和转轨实践的指导无疑也具有重要的意义。

## 二、中外学者对俄罗斯转轨绩效众说纷纭

对于俄罗斯转轨问题的研究，是正在形成中的“转轨经济学”或者“过渡经济学”的一个主要内容。关注这一问题的不仅有正在经历改革实践国家的经济学家，也有西方众多的国际知名的一流学者。他们运用各种范式和工具，对俄罗斯的转轨绩效做出了不同的评价。

### （一）俄罗斯学者的研究

俄罗斯学者对转轨绩效的看法或预期主要体现在他们对转轨道路和模式的主张中。从1991年末俄罗斯开始实施转轨以来，其国内关于转轨的思想就存在着严重的分歧与对立。争论的焦点集中体现在俄罗斯选择何种转轨方式上，即激进式和渐进式的改革路径之争。在俄罗斯理论界基本形成两个派别，一是以曾任俄罗斯政府代总理、第一副总理要职的著名经济学家盖达尔为代表的激进派，包括绍欣、丘拜斯、费奥多罗夫等，他们主张用西方新自由主义经济学及货币主义理论来指导改革，主张实行自由市场经济模式，最大限度地减少政府在市场经济中的行政干预作用。在经济转轨的方式上，他们极力主张采用萨克斯的“休克疗法”，施行激进的一步到位的经济转轨。并天真地公开宣称，采用激进的经济转轨方案，通过在最短的时间内采取最大量的根本措施，能够在几个月内就实现市场自