

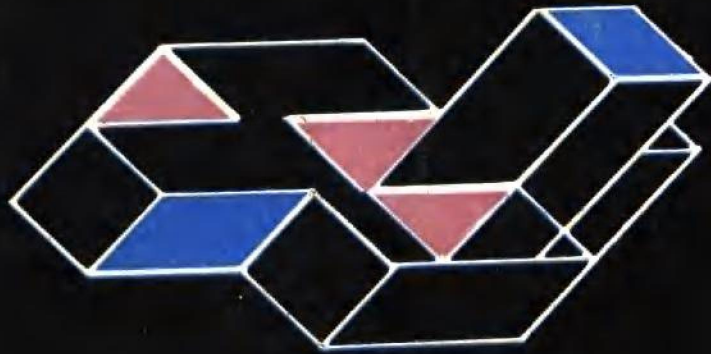


# 模式的变革 与变革的模式

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似乎不用说明，社会主义国家第三次改革浪潮可能会带来传统经济体制在大多数国家失去存在权利的革命性变化。但是新的经济体制究竟如何运转，并不是很清楚的。另一方面，经济体制转轨本身的困难也越来越显得出乎人们的意料。经验似乎表明，对于社会主义国家的改革来说，寻找一个合适的目标模式并不容易，而实现目标更不容易。当然，从理论逻辑上说，这两个方面是不可分割的。探索这个统一的课题，不仅需要研究各国的改革实践，而且需要不断地重新研究传统经济体制的机制，追溯改革的起因，分析社会主义发展的历史和制约经济体制结构的整个社会结构，自然，各种有关的理论和经验总结无疑应当包括其中的了。

不能忘记的是，社会主义国家有许多相似之处，但它们改革的基础和条件却有很大差异。甚至传统经济体制本身的形成或移植，也并非整齐划一的。以中国为例，社会主义是建立在经济发展水平十分落后、传统文化背景极其独特的国度，严格意义的中央集中计划体制在许多方面是

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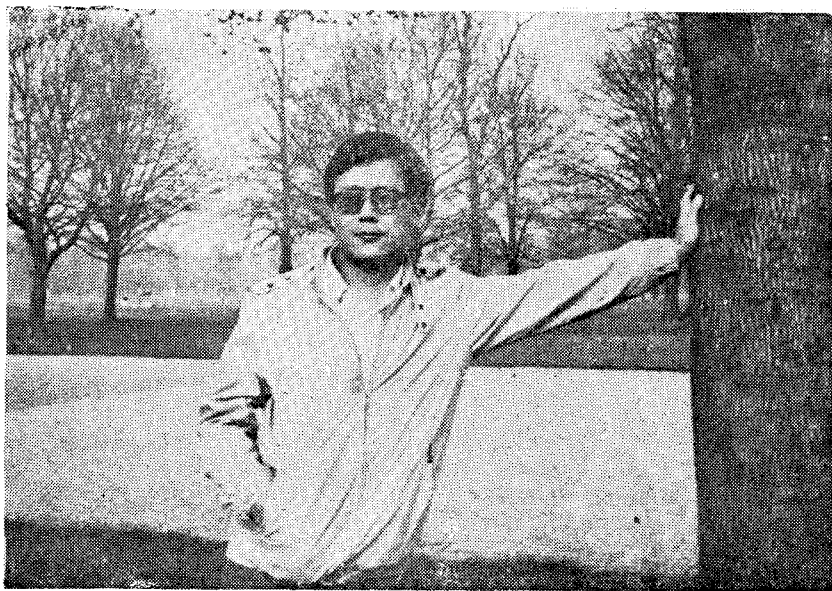
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# 作者近照

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# 作者介绍

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郭树清，1956年生于内蒙古察右后旗。1978年考入南开大学哲学系，1982年初毕业获哲学学士学位，旋即入中国社会科学院研究生院攻读硕士学位，研究方向是比较社会主义体制，1985年初获硕士学位，随后进中国社会科学院马列主义研究所从事研究工作，同时在职攻读博士学位，1988年获博士学位。现为国家计委经济研究中心综合组副组长。

郭树清自1980年起发表学术论文，研究主题从哲学原理、科学方法论、政治经济学逐渐转移到应用经济学和现实经济问题。1984年以来，参加了国家体制改革委员会和国务院有关部门组织的若干政策课题研究，先后几次被抽调、借调到政府部门工作。郭树清著有《比较价格体制》、《中国经济改革的整体设计》(与吴敬琏等合著)等书。

希望是本无所谓有，无所谓无的。这正如地上的路；其实地上本没有路，走的人多了，也便成了路。

——鲁迅

# ABSTRACT

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## CHANGE OF MODEL AND MODEL FOR CHANGE

The aim of this book is to try to find out the causes, conditions, orientations and methods of socialist reform movements which set out almost thirty years ago and which now still keep open.

In contrast with popular explanations, the author does not hold that socialist economic reforms result from the institutional requirement for mature socialism, or from the technology revolution and the transform from extensive growth to intensive growth, or from the international relaxation, or from them all. The major reasons for the reforms are: (1) motivation crisis; (2) impossibility for supply to meet demand in the traditional economic model; (3) negative outcome of direct control and bureaucratic management;

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(4) new developments in capitalist countries.

Western economists and a large number of their eastern colleagues have distinguished between the two patterns of socialist reforms. However, from the author's view, the market-oriented reform and the central planning improvement reform have the some main reasons, and their difference can not exist forever. Generally speaking, in the long run, socialist reforms in these countries will become more and more similar in most substantial aspects.

Summarizing previous experiences and illustrating with present theories, the book depicts an orientation model for socialist economic reform. Needless to say, the discussion abstracts the principal features from all possible concrete patterns. Individuals should not only be labourers, producers and consumers but also investors, even shareholders. Enterprises, except those in natural monopoly industries, can freely compete with each other in market and also fully bear all

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their risks. The government does not become passive in economy; on the contrary, it should be more active in macro-economic management, especially in making and implementing growth strategy and industrial policies which have been neglected by many economists who support marketization reform.

As concerns the ownership in legal terms, the author argues that both state ownership and traditional private ownership are irrational and impossible to be a main stream. A mixed and mainly institutional share holding pattern is suggested.

A more important and more practical issue for socialist reform is transition methodology. The author first makes clear a number of general conditions, difficulties, and comprehensive strategy and tactics, then concentrates on several basic relations. As about economic reform sequence, the author suggests a four-stage process in which preparation for reform is the first, establishing a commodity market is the second, opening

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labour market and capital market is the third, eventually instituting a mature and highly developed market system which allocates all scarce resources. As about lateral coordinations in economic reforms, four levels are stressed: (1) coordinations among enterprise reform, administration reform and reform for establishing markets; (2) coordination of price reform which directly concerns taxation, fiscal system, trade institution and material supply planning; (3) coordination of wage reform in which employment system, social insurance, and housing management is involved; (4) coordination in opening capital market for which banking, state budget and investment system should change thoroughly.

In the time of economic reform, two types of measures must be distinguished: one is for institutional reform, the other is for economic operation and development. Many economists concern themselves with the former, few treat the latter as an equally important aspect which affects the reform process

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greatly but still keeps independent. This book strongly points out that a high-growth-rate policy will be dangerous, demand expansion must be controlled, economic structure should be adjusted as thoroughly as possible, opening to the world economy should keep a rational pace, and unjust distribution and corruption must be dealt with; otherwise, both reform and growth will be jeopardized.

For a socialist country, any change in the economic sphere signifies the latter a political change. On the other hand, politics after all is politics, it has its own track and move. Therefore, economic reform has to be coordinated with political reform. The former will be impossible without the latter. Nevertheless, according to the author's analysis, the pace and pattern of political reform have to differ from one country to another although their general direction, standardization, modernization and democratization, are the same. In a socio-economically underdeveloped country, like China, both postponed

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and overtaken political reforms would be negative or even disastrous to the reform itself and to social stability. The difficulty is that reform needs both decentralization and centralization.

In reality, however, socialist reforms also involve other social, ideological and psychological factors; it is really a great social revolution. Thus, the socialist reform is a most gigantic and complicated social systematic engineering which embraces five spheres: (1) economic reform and economic policy; (2) political reform and political measure; (3) mental emancipation and ideological change; (4) legal measure and systems; (5) socio-structure change and social policy. The success of reform depends on comprehensive strategy and its implementation.

No matter how tortuous the path and how difficult the project, the author concludes, socialist reforms can by no means be reversed, because it is decided by the tide of history.

# 序

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自 从1982年起，郭树清、王逸舟两位同志就和我一起，着手致力于我们所称之为“比较社会主义体制学”的研究。

鉴于社会主义体制包括了经济、政治、法律、文化以及社会生活其他领域的广泛而复杂的内容，而各个方面又相互影响、相互作用，我们提出对社会主义体制的研究应该采用整体的、综合的、系统的和多学科的研究方法。历史和逻辑应该相结合。比较则应是纵横交错的，要从实际出发比较社会历史条件相对不同的国家在建设社会主义过程中所选择的不同道路和所采取的不同体制和政策，也要比较某一特定的国家在其不同的历史发展时期所采取的不同体制和政策。

近30年来，由于改革已经成为现实社会主义国家的主流，它们的社会经济体制的发展变化是与改革联系在一起，比较自应包

括各个进行改革的国家的条件和目的、方针和政策、经验和教训、成就和困难，以及改革的方向和前景。

因此，我们的研究工作是十分艰巨而复杂的，难以恰到好处地掌握。

郭树清同志在攻读硕士学位期间已牛刀小试，运用上述的方法，写成《比较价格体制》一书，于1987年由浙江人民出版社出版。该书就价格体制这一个方面进行了深刻的探索，深得学术理论界的好评。

郭树清同志在他攻读博士学位的过程中，除广泛而深入地搜集资料，阅读有关著作和论文外，还密切注意我国改革和苏联东欧国家改革的实践，参与提出和制定改革方案，多次参加有关国际会议。他还在英国牛津大学留学一年，与不少世界著名学者直接面谈，并访问了欧洲大陆主要资本主义国家和现实社会主义国家。由此，他的学术水平和眼光

得以发展和扩大，这为他撰写博士论文打下了深厚的基础。

《模式的变革与变革的模式》一书是郭树清同志的博士论文，其写作目的就是从客观现实社会主义国家的实际出发，研究与改革联系在一起的社会经济体制发展和变化的过程及其方向和形式、条件和目的，具有理论与实践的意义

本书的特点在于对社会主义国家的经济改革作出了相当深入的比较分析，如对传统社会主义模式的内在结构和运行机制及其所依据的旧的政治经济学原理的分析批判，引入市场机制和改善集中计划这两种类型的改革的不能截然分开和不能完全对立，改革后的所有权结构势必是复杂的混合的结构，改革的过渡方法、过渡模式和转轨过程中的理论与实际问题以及改革措施、改革方向等等，都是饶有灼见的。本书的特点更在

于从总体上研究了社会主义国家的全面改革的战略方向，充分研究了改革中的经济、政治、社会结构、社会生活方式等等，因此从更广阔的联系上把握了社会主义国家的改革，将其看作是一场革命性的变革。

本书作为博士论文得到答辩委员会的一致通过，并被评为优秀博士论文，故乐为之序。

苏绍智

1989年1月

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