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Research on Institutional Change

with Development of Non-State Owned Economy

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摘 要

民营经济是中国经济改革和发展中最亮丽的一道风景线。改革开放 20 多年来,民营经济对中国社会经济持续、稳定和健康发展做出了巨大的贡献,已经成为推动我国经济发展的生力军。本书运用新制度经济学的理论来研究改革开放以来我国民营经济的发展历程、发展动力、发展模式及存在的制度约束,并提出促进民营经济发展的对策。

第一章对经济转型与中国民营经济的发展的时代背景进行探讨。(1) 对经济转型理论进行评述。首先分析了西方经济转型中的两种模式,即被称为“华盛顿共识”的大爆炸或休克疗法的激进转型模式和被称为渐进主义或增量主义的转型模式。其次,分析了马克思主义以生产力和生产关系矛盾发展为主线的经济转型理论。(2) 运用比较分析方法,对社会主义国家经济转型进行横向比较。探讨了俄罗斯的激进转型方式的特点与绩效,分析了中国渐进转型方式的特点与绩效,并对二者进行比较。(3) 深入分析了中国民营经济在中国经济转型中的重要作用,主要表现为三个方面:一是推动作用;二是挤压作用;三是置换作用,并指出民营经济是中国经济转型成功之处的结论。

第二章对民营经济的发展进行理论探讨。(1) 目前,理论界对民营经济概念的认识不一致,因此有必要对民营经济的概念和类型进行界定。民营经济是采取民间经营方式的经济形态,是以经营方式来界定的,不涉及所有权的归属问题。民营经济有广义和狭义之分。狭义上的民营经济包括个体经济和私营经济;广义上的民营经济包括所有非国营经济。民营经济在竞争性领域具有其他经济成份

所不具备的优势，集中表现在经营机制的灵活性和资源配置的有效性上。民营经济的存在有其客观必然性，它天然适应市场经济的要求，是推动社会生产力发展的活跃力量。(2) 制度就是制约人们行为、调节人与人之间利益关系的一系列社会承认的规则，制度功能作用的本质是提供激励与约束，从而影响经济绩效；制度变迁有强制性制度变迁和诱致性制度变迁，制度变迁为民营经济的发展提供动力、扫除障碍、创造宽松的环境。因此，整个民营经济的发展历史就是一部制度变迁史。

第三章对改革开放以来我国民营经济的发展历程进行了系统考察。本书根据民营经济发展的特点，把改革开放以来民营经济的发展历程分为复兴、快速成长、调整、全面发展四个时期。(1) 1978~1984 年为复兴时期。民营经济的复兴是从个体经济的兴起开始的。城乡个体经济的发展带来了私营经济的复苏。(2) 1985~1988 年为快速成长时期。中国共产党十二届三中全会以后，伴随着城市经济体制改革的启动，党和国家对私营企业的发展采取了“不鼓励、不禁止”的做法，私营经济快速成长起来；这一阶段乡镇企业也异军突起。(3) 1989~1991 年为调整时期。由于乡镇企业无序发展，加之经济过热，国家开始治理整顿，加上 1989 年的政治风波，个体经济和私营经济的发展出现了较大的回落。(4) 1992 年至今为全面发展时期。邓小平南方谈话以后，民营经济的发展迎来了第二次高潮；中国共产党十五大把非公有制经济视为社会主义市场经济的重要组成部分，极大地推动了民营经济的发展，民营经济的发展进入第三次高潮；中国共产党十六大提出了两个“毫不动摇”方针，完善了保护私人财产的法律制度，解除了人们的后顾之忧，百姓的创业热情高涨，民营经济发展进入新的时代。

第四章对民营经济发展的动力进行了深刻分析。(1) 分析了经济发展的一般动力。追求物质利益是人类社会发展的基本动力。根据马克思主义的基本观点，利益关系是一切社会关系产生、发展和变化的根源，追求利益是人类进行物质生产和精神生产的源动力。

而根据西方经济学的“理性经济人”假说，人的本性是自利的，追求自身利益是驱动人的经济行为的根本动机，人的理性行为是追求个人“利益最大化”。经济发展是由资本、人力资源、技术进步和制度等多种动力共同推动的结果，这些动力是由人类追求物质利益的源动力所派生的，其中制度发挥着重要作用。(2) 分析了民营经济的发展动力。制度是为生存权而奋斗的民营经济最主要的发展动力，土地、资本、人力资源、技术进步等所有促进民营经济发展的要素都是在制度的框架下起作用的。土地制度使受到束缚的土地的潜力释放出来；金融制度对民营经济发展的作用主要是为民营经济的发展提供金融支持；在人力资源制度上，国家一系列人事制度、用工制度和工资制度改革措施的出台和民营企业的一系列用人制度的建立，大大改善了民营企业的人力资源不足的现状，为推动民营经济的持续发展奠定了良好的基础；党和国家出台的一系列促进科技创新的方针、政策与法规推动了民营经济的发展。产权制度是现代经济发展的基石，明晰的产权制度带来了民营经济的高效率，而明晰产权关系则推动了民营经济的发展。(3) 考察了民营经济制度变迁的两种方式。强制性制度变迁是由政府推动的，政府重大政策的每一次变化，都极大地推动了民营经济的发展。诱致性制度变迁是由民间推动的。在发展民营经济的过程中，温州民众自发地创造了各种制度，是典型的诱致性制度变迁。两种制度变迁方式交织进行，共同推动了民营经济的发展。

第五章对民营经济发展的模式进行制度上的比较。(1) 模式是制度变迁作用的结果。苏南模式以乡镇集体企业为支撑，是由乡镇政府发动的强制性制度变迁所成就的。苏南模式在 20 世纪整个 80 年代最为典型，但 90 年代以后，随着内外条件的变化，苏南乡镇企业相继进行了产权改革，一部分企业转为私人独资、合伙制企业，但大部分转为公司制企业。向股份制公司转变在某种程度上标志着新苏南模式的出现。温州模式是发达的民营经济与市场的有效结合，是由民间推动的诱致性制度变迁所引致的。从改革开放初期的家庭工业到 20 世纪 80 年代中期的股份合作制，再到 1992 年以

后的现代企业制度的变迁,标志着传统的温州模式向新温州模式转变。珠江模式以集体经济为主,带有较多的外向性,是强制性制度变迁和诱致性制度变迁共同作用的结果。20世纪90年代以后,珠江模式也进行了产权改革和产业结构升级,但仍然保持其外向型特色。(2)从制度基础、产权制度、金融支持制度、商会制度、制度变迁中地方政府作用等方面的比较来看,苏南模式、温州模式和珠江模式各具特色。由于制度基础不同,最主要的还是制度变迁方式不同,产生了不同的发展模式,但三种模式都合乎经济效率原则,都因地制宜地走出了独特的发展路子;模式是特殊条件下的产物,不可机械模仿;模式也是发展变化的,各种制度演变是它发展的动力。未来民营经济发展模式的取向应该是把内源型和外源型发展道路结合起来,把本地特色体现出来,并辅之于产业集群,这样才能保证模式发展的持续性。

第六章是对民营经济发展的制度约束进行剖析,并提出促进民营经济发展的对策。(1)在经济转型期,阻碍民营经济发展的最主要因素是制度约束,包括产权制度、金融制度、商会制度、文化观念、市场准入制度及产权保护制度等制度约束。第一,家族企业内部产权不明晰和“戴红帽子”,使企业产权关系模糊,进而使民营企业缺乏进一步发展的动力,妨碍了民营企业做强做大。第二,金融约束成为民营经济发展的瓶颈。目前,民营企业主要依靠的内源融资限制了企业扩大生产规模,而外源融资上,金融机构对民营企业的贷款主要是短期流动资金贷款,中长期贷款较少,在资本市场不发育的条件下,民营企业很难从股票、债券市场获得金融支持;而风险投资是针对民营科技企业设立的,与一般民营企业无缘。第三,商会是调节市场经济的“第三只手”,其独特作用无法替代。但目前我国商会力量薄弱,功能未能充分发挥,这一方面是政会不分所致,另一方面是商会自身建设滞后造成的。第四,创业文化缺乏、诚信意识淡薄、家族观念过强和企业文化建设滞后。第五,实施机制约束上主要是国家鼓励、支持、引导民营经济发展的许多政策还停留在宏观层面,与之相配套的具体制度安排和体制保障不到

位,更突出的是,民营经济的市场准入和产权保护问题还没有完全解决。(2)必须加快制度创新、增加对民营经济的制度供给。第一,明晰家族企业内部和“戴红帽子”企业的产权关系。第二,在间接融资方面,要从现有国有商业银行派生出面向民营企业的贷款部门,并通过立法形式强制规定对民营企业的融资比例,同时还要设立民营中小银行;在直接融资方面,必须大力发展多层次的资本市场,构建多层次资本市场体系。第三,商会必须练好内功,加强自身建设,提高承接政府转移职能的能力,并与政府建立良性的互动机制。第四,积极培育创业文化、加强企业文化和淡化家族观念。(3)提出了构建民营经济制度体系的设想,认为制度体系由根本性制度、重大性制度和一般性制度构成,各种制度要配套使用,更为重要的是要建立制度落实的监督和评估机制。

另外,在研究方法上,本书综合运用新制度经济学、发展经济学、马克思主义经济理论、区域经济学,采取理论分析与实证分析相结合、定性分析和定量分析相结合、对比分析和综合归纳相结合的方法,从理论到实践,从历史到现实,从个别到一般,从具体到抽象,用制度变迁理论探讨改革开放以来民营经济发展的基本问题。

本书的创新之处体现在:

1. 把民营经济的发展放到宏观经济背景中加以考察,用翔实的材料、缜密的分析、系统地研究了民营经济发展的四个阶段:复兴时期、快速成长时期、调整时期和全面发展时期的发展状况、特点及其发展规律。

2. 从动力因素入手,探讨了经济发展的一般动力,认为经济发展是由资本、技术、人力资源、技术进步等多种动力因素共同推动的结果,其中,制度发挥着重要作用。而对民营经济发展来说,土地制度、金融制度、人力资源制度、技术创新制度和产权制度等制度动力更为重要。因此,本书构建了民营经济发展的制度动力结构,并指出民营经济的发展是这些制度变迁的结果,制度变迁是民营经济发展的巨大推动力。政府政策的每一次重大变化,都极大地

推动了民营经济的发展。

3. 从制度变迁角度对民营经济发展的三种模式：苏南模式、温州模式和珠江模式进行比较，指出三种模式各具特色；不同的制度变迁方式形成不同发展模式，由于制度背景和制度约束条件的不同导致模式的差异；模式也是在不断变化着。苏南模式、温州模式，和珠江模式的成功经验值得西部开发、中部崛起和振兴东北老工业基地借鉴，但这三个模式的借鉴不能完全模仿和机械移植，而要和本地的特点结合起来，创造性地借鉴和学习，走出区域民营经济发展的特色道路。借鉴三大模式的成功经验，应抓住四点：一是要加大地方政府对民营经济的支持力度；二是要大力发展民间商会组织；三是要大力发展民营经济产业集群，把民营经济产业集群作为发展县域经济的重要途径；四是要积极培育创业文化，积极倡导开拓精神、创新精神、拼搏精神和实干精神，为民营经济的发展创造良好的文化氛围。

4. 针对民营经济发展中存在的现实问题，本书提出，在间接融资方面，要从现有国有商业银行派生出面向民营企业的贷款部门，并通过立法形式强制规定对民营企业的融资比例，同时还要设立民营中小银行；在直接融资方面，必须大力发展多层次的资本市场，构建多层次资本市场体系。本书指出，制度难以实施或效果不佳的主要原因是缺乏制度实施的监督机制与效果评价机制，为此，本书构建了制度实施的监督机制与效果评估机制，并提出了建立民营经济发展的制度体系的设想。

Abstract

Non-state owned economy is the most beautiful landscape in the process of China economic reform and development. Over 20 years in the Reform and Opening Up, non-state owned economy has made tremendous contributions to sustained, stable and health development of the Chinese economy, which has become a vital new force for the national economic development. With New Institutional Economics, this thesis focuses on the history, motivity, pattern of development of non-state owned economy as well as the existing institutional restraint since the Reform and Opening Up, and tries to make new institutional arrangement and design.

The first chapter Analyses the background of interim economy and the development of non-state owned economy. (1) It reviews the theory of interim economy. Firstly, it analyses the two models of interim economy in west countries, which are "big bang theory" and "incrementalism theory". Secondly, it analyses maxism theory of interim economy. (2) Using the method of comparision, It compares characteristics and effects of two different models of interim economy in Russia and China. (3) It deeply analyses three important functions of non-state owned economy, which push forward the interim economy in China. Furthermore, it points out that the development of non-state owned economy is the reason why the reform in China succeeded.

The second chapter makes theoretic study on development of non-state owned economy. (1) At present, the theoretic circle has differ-

ent viewpoints on the concept of non-state owned economy, therefore, it is necessary to define and classify it. Non-state owned economy is a kind of economy with operational mode of non-state-run. It is defined by using operational mode without concerning property rights. Non-state owned economy has a meaning both in a wide sense and in a narrow sense. In a narrow sense, non-state owned economy includes individual business and private business, while in a wide sense it includes all the non-state-run business. The non-state owned economy has some advantages that the other economic forms do not have in the competitive fields, typically flexibility of operation mechanism and efficiency of resources positioning. So non-state owned economy has its objective certainty of being, and it adapts to market economy in nature as an active force to drive the social productivity. (2) Institutions are a series of rules acknowledged by the society to restrain the behaviors and regulate the interest relations among people. The function of institutions is essentially to provide motivation and restraint to affect economic efficiency. The institutional changes can be classified into mandatory institutional change and causative institutional change, which provide motivation, remove obstacles, and create loose & comfortable environment for non-state owned economy. So the whole history of non-state owned economy is a history of institutional changes.

The third chapter makes a systematic study on the history of development of non-state owned economy since the Reform & Opening Up. It classifies the history of development of non-state owned economy into four stages. They are recovery stage, fast growth stage, readjustment stage and full development stage. (1) From 1978 to 1984, it is recovery stage. The recovery of non-state owned economy begins from the rise of individual business. The development of individual business in the cities and the towns brings a recovery of private business. (2) From 1985 to 1988, it is the fast growth stage. Since the

3rd Session of the 12th Conference of the Party, with initiating of urban economic systematic reform, the Party and the government have conducted 'neither encourage nor prohibition' on the development of the private business, thus non-state owned economy grows very fast. In this stage, the township enterprises appear all of a sudden. (3) From 1989 to 1991, it is the readjustment stage. Due to orderless development and too hot in the economy, the State started improvement and rectification. Also because of the political disturbance in 1989, there came a fall after rise in the development of individual and private business. (4) From 1992 to now, it is a stage of full development. Since a speech made by Deng Xiaoping after the tour to the South, non-state owned economy has come to the second development climax. The 15th Conference of the Party has regarded non-state owned business as an important part of the socialist market economy, which has given great impetus to development of non-state owned economy. As a result, non-state owned economy has the third development climax. The 16th Conference of the Party has come out two "unswervingly" and decided to perfect legal system to protect the private property, which removed the worries behind and thus the enthusiasm of start-up a business rose high. Non-state owned economy is entering a new period of development.

The fourth chapter makes deep analysis upon the motivity of development of non-state owned economy. (1) Analysis on the general motivity of economic development. Pursuit of material interests is the basic motivity of social development. According to Maxism Viewpoints, relationships of interest are origin of all social relationships. Pursuit of material interests is original motivity of material production and spiritual production for human beings. And on the basis of the assumption of "economic person", human nature is selfish, and pursuit of self-interest is the fundamental motive driving a person's economic

behaviors. Economic development results from the common push by capital, human resources, technical progress and institutions, etc. in which the institution plays an important role. Those motivations originate from pursuit of material interests of human beings. (2) Analysis on the motivations of development of non-state owned economy. The institution is a main motivation of development for non-state owned economy which struggles for survival, while the factors that help development of non-state owned economy such as the land, the capital, the human resources, technical progress make sense in the regime of the institution. The institution of land releases the restrained potential productivity. The financial institution affords financial support for development of civilian-run economy. As to the human resources institution, the publishing of a series of personnel system, system of labor power employment, reform of salary system as well as the establishment of a series of employment regulations within non-state owned economy have bettered the situation that non-state owned economy lacks human resources, which lay a good foundation for development of non-state owned economy. A series of guiding principles, policies and laws of motivating scientific and technical innovation published by the Party and the State facilitate development of non-state owned economy. The property rights institution is a base for development of modern economy. A clear property institution brings high efficiency to non-state owned economy, therefore, clear property relations can facilitate development of non-state owned economy. (3) Study on the two ways of institution change of non-state owned economy. The mandatory institutional change initiated by government. Each change of the important policy has made great impetus on development of non-state owned economy. The causative institutional change initiated by the civilians. A typical example is that the local people in Wenzhou created all kinds of necessary systems, which made non-state owned economy in Wenzhou

develop very fast. These two types of institutional change jointly push development of non-state owned economy.

The fifth chapter makes institutional comparisons on patterns of non-state owned economy. (1) Patterns are the results of the institutional changes. The pattern of southern Jiangsu supported by the township business is resulted from the mandatory institutional change initiated by the local town governments. The pattern of southern Jiangsu was the most typical in the whole 1980's, while in 1990's, the township business made property rights reform with the change of internal and external conditions. As a result, some business changed into private business, while most changed into corporation. The change into shareholding corporation in some sense marks a new pattern of southern Jiangsu. Wenzhou pattern is an efficient combination of developed non-state owned economy and market, resulting from the causative system change initiated by the civilians. From the family industry at the beginning of Reform and Opening Up to the stock cooperative system in the mid of 1980's, then to the change of modern enterprise system in 1990's, it marks a change from the traditional Wenzhou pattern to a new Wenzhou pattern. The Pearl River pattern with collective business as its main part has much of extropism, resulting from common function by the mandatory system change and the causative institutional change. In 1990's, the Pearl River pattern achieved a clear property and upgrade of industry structure, however, it still remained a feature of its extropism. (2) From a point of view of institution base, property rights institution, financial support institution, chamber of commerce institution, role of the local government played in the institutional change, the patterns southern of Jiangsu, the Wenzhou pattern and Pearl River have its own feature respectively. Due to difference in the institutional base, mostly the difference in the ways of institutional change, different development patterns occurred,

but they are subject to the principle of economic efficiency, which appear to be unique development pattern in line with local conditions. A pattern is resulted from some special conditions. It can not be imitated mechanically. A pattern is also developing, and the change of institutions is its drive of development. The future pattern of non-state owned economy should be orientated a combination of development ways of intro-source and extro-source, embodying the local features with assistance of industrial clusters. In this way, the sustainability of pattern development can be assured.

The sixth chapter makes analysis on institutional restraint of development of non-state owned economy and raises some countermeasures to facilitate non-state owned economy. (1) In the period of economic transition, the first factor of preventing development of non-state owned economy is institutional restraints, including restraints of property rights institution, financial supporting institution, chamber of commerce institution, cutural notions, market permit institution and property protection institution, etc. Firstly, the property rights are unclear within the family enterprises and "be labeled red" enterprises. Secondly, financial restraint becomes bottle neck of development of non-state owned economy. Currently, the expansion of production of non-state owned economy is restrained by depending on the intro-source financing. While in terms of extro-source financing, the loans from the financial organizations are mainly short-term fluid capital, at the same time, the mid-term and long-term loans are few. In the condition of undeveloped capital market, it is very difficult for non-state owned economy to get financial support from stock, security markets. And venture capital is specially designed for non-state owned technical business, but not for ordinary non-state owned business. Thirdly, the chamber of commerce is "the third hand" to regulate market economy, with no substitute for its unique function. However, currently, the

strength of the chamber of commerce is weak, its functions can not be made full use. As to the reasons, on the one hand, it is resulted from unclear separation from government and the chamber of commerce, on the other hand, it is caused by lagging of construction of the chamber of commerce itself. Fourthly, it is lack of culture of start-up a business, lack of sense of credit, much sense of family ideas and lagging of construction of enterprise culture. Fifthly, the restraint on the realization mechanism is mainly due to a lot of policies encouraging, supporting, guiding development of non-state owned economy by the State remain on the macro level, lack of the matched system arrangement in details. The worst is that the problems of market permit and property protection for non-state owned economy are still not fully resolved. (2) It is necessary to hasten institutional innovations to increase institutional supply for non-state owned economy. Firstly, property relationships within the family enterprises and "be labeled red" enterprises should be clearly defined. Secondly, in terms of indirect financing, the current state-owned commercial banks should establish loan department for non-state owned economy, and the financing ratio to non-state owned economy should be stipulated by the law. Meanwhile, the middle and small banks for non-state owned economy should be established. As to direct financing, it is necessary to establish multi-level capital market system. Thirdly, the chamber of commerce should build up its own strength, strengthening its construction and improving abilities to replace the functions shifted by the government, and establishing good interaction mechanism with the government. (3) The idea of establishing a system of insitutions for the non-state owned business is raised, which consists of fundamental institution, key institution and general institution. All the institutions should go together, and the most important is that the supervision and assessment mechanism to carry out the institutions should be established.

In addition, as to the study methods, this thesis integrates new institutional economics, development economics, Marxism economics and regional economics, adopting combination of theoretic analysis and experimental analysis, qualitative analysis and quantitative analysis, comparative analysis and synthetical induction. From theory to practice, from history to reality, from individual to general, from concrete to abstract, the theory of institutional change is used to study the important issues in the development of non-state owned economy since Reform & Opening Up.

The points created by this thesis are as follows:

1. Leaving development of non-state owned economy into the background of macro economy, a systematic study is made on developing situations, characteristics and laws of the four development stages, i.e. recovery, fast growth, readjustment and full development.

2. Starting from the dynamic factors, this thesis considers that development of economy results from the common push by capital, human resources, technical progress and institutions, etc., in which the institution plays an important role. A study on the general motivity of economic development shows that the most important is all kinds of institutional arrangement behind the dynamic factors of economic development. On such basis, the thesis presents structure of institutional motivity for development of non-state owned economy and points out that the development of non-state owned economy is resulted from institutional change that is tremendous impetus for development of non-state owned economy. Each change of the important policy has made great impetus on development of non-state owned economy.

3. A comparison made on the pattern of southern Jiangsu, the Wenzhou pattern and the Pearl River pattern existed in development of non-state owned economy from a point of view of institutional change shows differences of patterns resulted from the ways of institutional change and the restraints. So each pattern shows its own characteris-