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陈昕 主编

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体制变革与经济增长

中国经验与范式分析

周振华 著



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主 编 的 话

上世纪 80 年代，为了全面地、系统地反映当代经济学的全貌及其进程，总结与挖掘当代经济学已有的和潜在的成果，展示当代经济学新的发展方向，我们决定出版“当代经济学系列丛书”。

“当代经济学系列丛书”是大型的、高层次的、综合性的经济学术理论丛书。它包括三个子系列：（1）当代经济学文库；（2）当代经济学译库；（3）当代经济学教学参考书系。本丛书在学科领域方面，不仅着眼于各传统经济学科的新成果，更注重经济学前沿学科、边缘学科和综合学科的新成就；在选题的采择上，广泛联系海内外学者，努力开掘学术功力深厚、思想新颖独到、作品水平拔尖的著作。“文库”力求达到中国经济学界当前的最高水平；“译库”翻译当代经济学的名人名著；“教学参考书系”主要出版国内外著名高等院校最新的经济学通用教材。

20 多年过去了，本丛书先后出版了 200 多种著作，在很大程度上推动了中国经济学的现代化和国际标准化。这主要体现在两个方面：一是从研究范围、研究内容、研究方法、分析技术等方面完成了中国经济学从传统向现代的转轨；二是培养了整整一代青年经济学人，如今他们大都成长为中国第一线的经济学家，活跃在国内外的学术舞台上。

为了进一步推动中国经济学的发展，我们将继续引进翻译出版国际上经济学的最新研究成果，加强中国经济学家与世界各国经济学家之间的交流；同时，我们更鼓励中国经济学家创建自己的理论体系，在自主的理论框架内消化和吸收世界上最优秀的理论成果，并把它放到中国经济改革发展的实践中进行筛选和检验，进而寻找属于中国的又面向未来世界的经济制度和经济理论，使中国经济学真正立足于世界经济学之林。

我们渴望经济学家支持我们的追求；我们和经济学家一起瞻望中国经济学的未来。

邬所

2014年1月1日

再 版 前 言

这本书在我个人学术研究中也算是一个“大部头”成果了,当时很荣幸列入陈昕主编的“当代经济学系列丛书”出版。但我没料想到,这本在20年前出版的专著会拿出来重版。

前不久,出版社忻雁翔女士与我联系,说在中国改革开放40年后,重读我这本总结和提炼前20年中国改革开放的理论著作仍感有新意,特别是书中对2020年中国前景展望的分析与现实中真实发生的情况高度相似,希望能够再版。毕竟20年过去了,我自己对这一本书所写的内容都有点淡忘,只把它放在书橱里作为个人“古董”珍藏。况且在这20年中,中国改革开放和经济发展又发生了重大变化,是前20年所不可比拟的。得知出版社准备再版消息后,我是忐忑不安的,怀疑这一再版是否有价值。为此,我认真翻阅了20年前写下的这本书。阅后,感到一丝欣慰和安心,便欣然同意此书再版。

这本书并不是简单记载了前20年中国改革开放与经济发展的过程及重大事例,而是在总结前20年经验的基础上构建起一个“制度—增长”的理论分析框架,即以利益关系调整为主线,以行为主体间的博弈方式为联结的体制变革与经济增长互动模型,并通过“行为—过程—结构”的分析框架阐述了体制变革与经济

增长的交互关系。这一理论分析框架或模型的构建,是以通过国际比较归纳出中国范式一系列基本特征为基础,并以与西方传统理论不完全相同的各种理论假设为支撑的。如果说书中记载的过程及重大事例随着时间推移而变得“过时”,成为一种史料,那么这一理论分析框架可能更富有生命力,随着时间推移会得到不断检验。现在回过头来看,这一理论分析框架并没有失效,仍可继续用来解释后 20 年乃至今天及未来的中国改革开放与经济发展。

本书理论分析框架中提出,“改革程序”是体制变革过程中行为主体之间展开博弈的环境或结构,它决定了博弈的结果(改革结果)。这一改革程序设定表现为:市场化取向的改革目标动态化;诱致性激励的改革选择集弹性化;制度交易的合同非完全化。而在这当中贯穿的核心,是改革与发展的一体化。这在后 20 年中国改革开放与经济发展过程中没有根本性改变。当然,有进一步的完善和丰富。例如,增加了改革顶层设计等新内容,以及某些程度上或形式上的变化。但其核心内容仍可用来解释后 20 年的中国改革开放与经济发展,并在进一步全面深化改革开放和促进经济发展中需要继续坚持的。

理论的力量,不仅在于解释已发生的过往和现实,更在于洞察与预测未来发展。本书 20 年前在此理论分析框架下对 2020 年中国前景的展望,应该讲,还算是成功的,没有偏差得太离谱。当然,也有点碰运气的成分。这说明此理论分析框架得到了实践检验,至少在这一时期还是有适用性的。

无疑,时间带来变迁的力量十分强大。我们目前所处的历史背景和时代方位已完全不同,面临的主要挑战变得更加新颖和严峻,因此本书提出的理论分析框架应该进一步完善,其中一些内容需要调整和充实。如果以后有机会的话,我会进行重新修订。但我始终认为,在复杂多变的当今世界,体制变革与经济增长仍然是一个主旋律。通过这一个棱镜,我们观察到了一个仍然难以把握、不断发展变化的更大世界,也可预见到中国延续奇迹和艰难崛起的大体方向和路径。

周振华

2019 年 11 月

序

中国改革开放整整走过了 20 年的历程。在这不平凡的历程中,我们“摸着石头过河”,进行了卓有成效的制度创新,取得了举世瞩目的成就。特别是体制变革带来的经济高速增长,与俄罗斯及东欧等体制转轨国家的情况形成了鲜明对照。虽然这一体制转轨过程仍在继续之中,现在下定论还为时过早,但我国的经验与范式已向世人提供了非常值得研究和挖掘的宝贵素材。因此,目前有越来越多的西方学者开始转向研究中国问题,试图通过中国独特而丰富的实践来检验或修正其理论观点。显然,认真总结中国改革开放及经济增长的经验,并将其提升为一种体制转轨的范式进行分析,更是中国学者义不容辞的职责。

当然,这是一项高难度,具有较强前沿性、尖端性的研究工作,其涉及内容之多、范围之广、层次之复杂、关系之交错绝非一般研究所能比拟。它不仅要求我们具有对事物敏锐的感觉和领悟,富有想象力和创造性的思维,以及驾驭全局的综合能力,而且要求有科学严谨的态度,扎实深厚的理论功底,深入细致的资料整理与积累。只有这样,对此问题的研究才能达到较高学术水平和深度分析的境界。

我院中青年学者周振华博士勇于面对这种高难度的理论挑战,积多年学术研究的辛勤耕耘,在纪念我国

改革开放 20 周年之际,出版了个人专著《体制变革与经济增长——中国经验与范式分析》,这是值得庆贺的。

本书对我国 1978—1998 年体制变革与经济增长的交互关系进行了全面、深入的实证分析,从不同角度总结了我国改革开放与经济发展一系列富有成效和具有特色的经验,并将其提升到理论高度,进行了中国范式分析,通过国际比较归纳出中国范式的一系列基本特征。在此过程中,作者创造性地提出制度—增长的分析框架及各种理论假设,并予以初步检验。

本书最大的理论贡献是提出了一个以利益关系调整为主线,以行为主体间的博弈方式为联结的体制变革与经济增长互动模型,并通过“行为—过程—结构”的分析框架全面阐述了体制变革与经济增长的交互关系。

在这样一个模型和分析框架下,作者把政府决策者的“改革程序”设定,中央与地方分权化及地方政府角色转换,基层组织打政策擦边球的策略行为及国有部门与非国有部门在双轨制条件下的互动,国民收入分配格局调整中的新型居民部门崛起等问题有机融为一体加以论述。

特别值得提出的是,作者对政府决策者“改革程序”设定的论述是全书的灵魂。这种改革程序是体制变革过程中行为主体之间展开博弈的环境或结构,它决定了博弈的结果(改革结果)。作者很有创意地把我国政府决策者的“改革程序”设定归纳为:市场化取向的改革目标动态化;诱致性激励的改革选择集弹性化;制度交易的合同非完全化。而在这当中所贯穿的核心,是改革与发展的一体化。这种改革程序的设定,决定了我国体制改革的基本方式是一种不完全信息多次动态博弈,并以其路径依赖性决定了各项具体改革及其过程的逻辑展开。这对于我们深入认识和理解我国体制改革渐进式发展及其过程中出现的各种矛盾与冲突,是很有帮助的。

在对中央政府、地方政府、基层组织(企业)和居民的行为分析基础上,作者进一步考察了市场化、新工业化、城市化和经济开放化各自的发展轨迹及其互动关系,阐述了体制变革中增长体系与增长机制的根本性改造,揭示了体制变革引发的新的增长源及推动力,从而使体制变革与经济增长的互动关系更加具体化。这种体系结构下的实证分析与理性阐述的结合,在现有文献中是很少见的,表明作者具有崭新开阔的视野和把握复杂经济关系及其变化的分析能力。

对于体制变革与经济增长交互关系中出现的结构性问题,作者进行了深入细致的分析。在宏观体制构建与微观制度基础、全国统一市场发展与地

区发展的差距、产业空洞化与新增长点培育以及体制改革与经济增长方式转变等问题分析中,作者提出了不少真知灼见和颇有新意的理论见解。其中有些观点事先在《经济研究》等刊物发表后,即被其他刊物转载并有较高的引用率。

尽管周振华博士在本书中提出的体制变革与经济增长交互关系这一模型还有不够完善的地方(如进一步形式化问题),但作为一种理论创新是有重大意义的,不仅有助于推动我国经济学理论的发展,而且对我国继续深入推进的改革开放与经济发展有积极的指导作用。

我一直主张并要求科研人员出精品,拿出传世之作,为繁荣社会科学,为我国社会主义现代化建设作贡献。周振华博士对此作出了积极反应,在繁忙的事务工作和社会活动之余,潜心著书立说,每年都有丰厚的科研成果,并具有较高的学术质量,在学术界和社会各方面引起重视和反响。特别是今天他又拿出这本“十年磨一剑”、有相当分量的学术专著,是十分值得称道的,同时也使我感到欣喜,特为此作序。至于此书的学术价值,我想自有广大读者的公论,还是让历史来鉴定吧。

张仲礼

1998年7月于上海社科院

ABSTRACT

Among the countries in reform of the system of ownership, at present, China is the only one whose system reform and economic growth has assumed obviously mutual promoting relation, and Russia and East-European countries have assumed vicious economic situation in some degree. Traditional Growth Theory (Factor Growth Way and Pattern Growth Way) was not able to answer such a question about growth in system reform. This book takes institution as a major “illustrating” variable of economic growth in Institution-Growth research to illustrate the relationship between system reform and economic growth.

The prerequisites assumed in the Institution-Growth research are as follows: (1) Growth mechanism and pattern change along with transition of institutional arrangement; (2) Defects of growth mechanism and growth pattern could not be overcome by usual adjustment of economic policy; (3) There are a lot of interest frictions in transition of growth mechanism and growth pattern. Obviously, we investigate the problems of economic growth on the hypothesis that institution could not keep balance itself.

Since the characteristics and intensity of reaction with which the institutional structure responds to the dynamic transition of economic conditions actually depends on the characteristics of interest relationship and the degree of interest requirement, the adjustment of interest should be the main line of the interaction relations between system reform and economic growth. Adjustment of interest, however, will be executed through the dual activities of goods transaction and institution transaction, its transaction cost and contract pattern are really important. In our model, the special inspiring mechanism of the game type in dual transition activity will affect the transaction cost, thus determine the speed and quality of economic growth. So, the game type should be the joint of system reform and economic growth, also be the key variable to illustrate the circle of economic growth and economic conditions(see Figure 1)

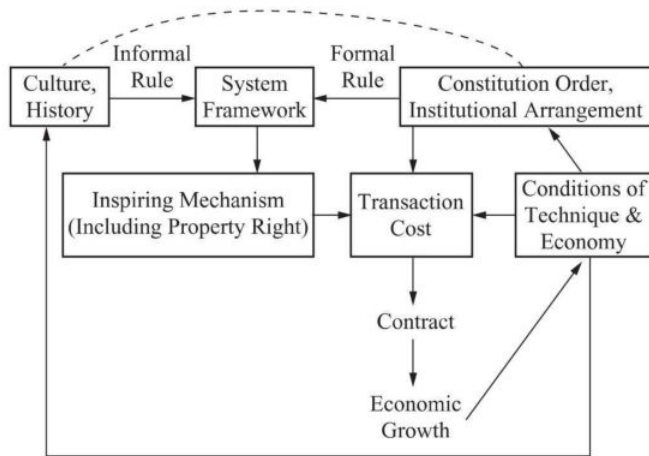


Figure 1 System Framework and Economic Growth

In the above-mentioned interaction model of system reform and economic growth, the written draws “Possibility Combination” of interaction of system reform and economic growth further with the game and its structural pattern among behavior subjects, and not only gets the index of the intensity of feedback of theirs, but also the index of direction of feedback of theirs. All of these are to analyze the relationship between system reform and economic growth with a new viewpoint.

Thus, in the research of system reform, we should not only investigate its form or pattern, but also pay great attention to identify and define the reform pattern with its substantial connotation, in order to master correctly the function relationship between reform pattern and reform effect. If we define reform pattern simply with the characteristics of reform form and then take the achievement of economic reform in China as the result of what is called “Gradually Progressive Reform Way”, which will not only cause people’s misunderstanding that just adopting “Gradually Progressive Way” will result in success, but also block to further investigation to summarize the experience with worldwide universal significance.

In order to find out the connotation of the reform pattern of economic system in China, the selective environment of reform and game structure should be fully investigated. This game structure of reform is called “Reform Process” in this book by the writer. This reform process is similar to the vote process in public selection, which will determine the reform process. “Reform Process” will determine not only reform pattern, but also reform consequence. China, Russia and East-European countries have taken different ways of system reform, the core is different means of dealing with the “Legality” of reform, which results in different reform process.

The writer would like to summarize the “Reform Process” of system reform in China in three aspects: (1) Dynamic target of market-oriented reform; (2) Elastic reform selection set of inducing inspiration; (3) Incompleteness of the contrast of system transaction. The red line that will go through the above-mentioned three aspects is identification of reform and development (see Chapter 1). The connotation and characteristics of reform pattern of economic system in China are to result from the identification.

Reform pattern assumed by “Reform Process” of system reform in China implies such a philosophic theory: the final target may be resolved in chronological order, and logically, there are a variety of intermediate states between the reform of marginal adjustment and above-mentioned final target. Market-oriented final target may be reflected by different intermediate states in different stages. In the evolution process, there are much more inducing opportunity and

elastic reform selection sets, of course, with them a lot of artificial subjective factors are mixed, which causes more institution transactions of incomplete contract. In the chapters of this book, the writer tries his best to find out the rich connotation in this aspect and to reveal the interaction relationship between system reform and economic growth.

This book makes complete and deep positive analysis of interaction relationship between system reform and economic growth in China from 1978 to 1998, thus to summarize a series of effective and characteristic experiences from different respects and also makes analysis of Chinese model at theoretical level. Through international comparison, we have drawn a series of basic characteristics of Chinese model. For this purpose, this book completely describes the interaction between system reform and economic growth through the analysis framework of “Behavior-Process-Structure”.

The joint of interaction relationship between system reform and economic growth is the game structure and pattern of behavior subjects. Thus we firstly make analysis of characteristics and changes of behavior patterns of behavior subjects in system reform, then make analysis of game pattern of behavior subjects. From Chapter 1 to Chapter 4 of this book, we discuss the behavior pattern of (central) government decision makers’ dealing with “Legality” of reform in different respect, also we discuss role transition and characteristics of behavior pattern of local government in decentralization process, the game behavior of primary organizations’ “touching” policy, interaction of state-owned economic departments and non-state-owned economic departments under dual track system, and the transition of behavior of resident department in transition of allocation pattern of national income.

On the basis of analysis of behavior pattern of participating subject, we make analysis of interaction process of system reform and economic growth of market-orientation, industrialization, urbanization and opening (From Chapter 5 to Chapter 8 of this book). Promotion of market-orientation causes new industrialization and brings interaction relationship between industrialization and urbanization. Development of opening speeds the process of market-orientation and pours great energy into new industrialization and new urbanization. This

evolution process finally results in transition of growth mechanism and formation of new growth pattern and makes economy in China develop rapidly.

System reform and economic growth in China always exist in certain interaction relation and this interaction process expand gradually, so dynamic unbalance exists as a normal state, there are a lot of structural contradiction and conflict in the process. We discussed structural analysis from Chapter 9 to Chapter 12 of this book. In discussion, we emphasized reconstruction of macro new system and micro basis, development of national unified market, deindustrialization, growing new economic growth point and the two principle transitions of economic system and growth pattern etc., and made investigation deeply into all above-mentioned aspects in order to reveal the interaction relation between system reform and economic growth.

Though we have made great achievement in system reform and economic growth, the process is still going on, the new system and operation mechanism of market-oriented economy have not been completed and the economic growth has not run on effective, sustained track yet. During the process, we will face harsh challenge that is more complicated and difficult. Whether we could break the last obstacle of traditional system is still a test for us. In the consequence of this book, the writer made an extensive forecast about the prospect of interaction of system reform and economic growth in China, proposed the reform problems that must be resolved in order to guarantee the system reform will be successful and also the potential crisis that must be eliminated in economic growth.

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