

论中国经济转型模式

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摘 要

中国经济转型 (Economic Transformation) 主要是指中国从计划经济体制向社会主义市场经济体制转变的全过程。以市场经济体制改革作为阶段划分的标志, 可以把中国的经济转型分为改革、转轨和转型三个阶段。历史地看, 1978 年到 1992 年是计划经济体制的改革阶段, 也是改革经济学兴起的时期; 1992 年到 2003 年是明确提出从计划经济向市场经济体制转变的转轨阶段, 也是转轨经济学兴起的时期; 2003 年到现在是社会主义市场经济体制基本确立的体制完善阶段, 也是转型经济学兴起的时期, 狭义的经济转型期也主要是指这个阶段。逻辑地看, 中国经济所经历的上述阶段构成了中国经济改革的完整过程, 是全面认识和探讨中国经济转型模式不可或缺的整体内容, 可以说中国的经济转型发轫于改革阶段的体制摸索而终将成就于社会主义市场经济体制的完全确立。从历史和逻辑相统一的角度来看, 虽然转型和转型经济学是继转轨和转轨经济学以后才逐渐广泛使用的术语, 并成为中国市场经济体制改革深化和完善时期的阶段主题; 但中国经济改革的整个过程其实也就是一个中国经济不断转型的过程, 广义的经济转型逻辑地包含了改革、转轨和转型这样三个阶段。中国经济转型模式的研究, 就是不但要着重探讨经济体制完善阶段的转型难题和转型方式, 而且要对改革和转轨阶段的实践经验和模式加以总结和概括。

从国外的文献来看, 转轨 (Transition) 和转型 (Transformation) 有不同的英文单词, 但在国内外早期的研究中并没有严格的内涵区分, 二者基本上可以相互取代, 指社会主义国家从计划经济向市场经济的转变过程。这种情况在国内学术界反映的更充分, 转轨和转型往往是同一个英文单词 Transition 的不同译法, 有时 Transition 也被译为“过渡”, 但有时 Transformation 也被译为“转轨”。随着经济实践不断发展, 转轨和转型、转轨经济学 (Transition Economics) 和转型经济学 (Transformation Economics) 在国内外开始被明确区分。转轨和转型 (转轨经济学和转型经济学) 的不同, 主要表现在三个方面: 研究主题的差异; 理论基础的差异; 对待社会主义市场经济体制的认识不同。本文界定的经济转型包括体制转轨、社会转型和制度创新等三层涵义。中国经济转型模式的提出是与明确目标下社会经济体制有序转变、经济绩效良好、社会生活稳定变迁的改革过程相联系; 是对这一经济转型过程的经验总结和理论概括。中国经济转型模式研究, 既是对中国从计划经济转向市场经济实践模式

的概括和总结过程，也是对中国经济转型目标模式具体内涵和体制特征认识明确化的过程。全文共分六部分探讨了上述主题。

第1章：导论。通过对转轨和转型（转轨经济学和转型经济学）概念发展、流变过程的梳理，界定了经济转型的内涵，阐述了中国经济转型模式研究的理论价值。对影响中国经济转型模式形成的国外理论，概括为“两条主线，三派观点”进行了评述，“两条主线”是“市场社会主义”和“华盛顿共识”，这是贯穿国外经济转型问题研究的两条主要理论线索；“三派观点”包括以新凯恩斯主义为主体的“后华盛顿共识”、与华盛顿共识殊途同归的渐进—制度观点（渐进主义）、“北京共识”为代表的其他各种观点。对中国经济转型的国内文献，按照实践发展的次序，分为改革探索期、转轨明确期和转型深化期三个阶段进行了综述；在此基础上比较了国内外文献研究的优势与不足，阐明了中国经济转型模式研究的理论现状和深化思路。

第2章：市场经济范式与转型研究的理论框架。“马克思—列宁范式”、“凯恩斯—萨缪尔森范式”和“哈耶克—萨克斯范式”是现代市场经济理论的三大经典范式，深刻地影响着各国市场经济的道路和实践模式。三大范式尽管存在基本制度假设、分析工具和理论主张等方面的差异和对立，但市场运行机制是其共同主题和可以借鉴的内容。在上述范式影响下，市场经济的实践模式经历了改良和构建不同的发展道路，社会制度创新成为市场经济和不同社会制度结合的主要通道。无论从市场经济的理论范式、还是市场经济的真实进程来看，市场机制、国家干预、混合经济和福利社会基本上形成了现代市场经济的共识；市场经济的体制安排必须和社会实践相结合，理性建构和自发演进是市场经济体制形成的基本道路。在此基础上，提出了中国经济转型研究的一个基本分析框架，即转型目标明确、制度约束刚性、改革形式灵活、阶段性推进。框架分析显示，转型成功的核心就是在经济转型的过程中能够实现与社会制度相联系的政治合法性资源的稳定转型。没有政治合法性资源的稳定转型，就谈不上经济转型的成功，而政治合法性资源的稳定转型主要源自经济转型过程中的社会制度刚性不断增强。

第3章：制度层次性、双重转型难题与中国道路。经济转型模式的形成是理论实践的结果，不同的理论范式有不同的转型主张，国内外不同转型理论主张最为重要的差别取决于对待市场经济的理论态度，即是把市场经济等同于价格机制、看作一个不可分割的整体；还是看作可以层次性构建的制度安排。马克思主义经济学的一个基本态度就是把社会制度和市场经济加以区分，但市场经济制度层次性在转型经济学研究中还基本上是个空白，这是中国经济转型模式研究最为重要的理论视角。本文提出了市场经济制度存在微观层次上以价格机制为中心、中观层次上以企业组织形式为中心和宏观层次上以宪政性法律制

度为中心的层次性制度安排；并在微观上表现为价格机制、市场体系和市场规范三个层次，中观上表现为市场运行机制、企业组织形式和社会行业管理形式三个层次，宏观上表现为经济体制、宪政性法律制度安排和社会秩序三个层次。这基本上形成了中国经济转型模式的逻辑结构和演进路径。因此，在经济转型模式问题上受不同理论指导形成了截然不同的转型难题，其中改革速度和“局部性改革的陷阱”成为影响转型模式的双重难题，不同的政策选择导致了不同的转型模式，并从不同的层次可以看到在具体转型实践中的影响和问题，由此而产生的问题成为市场经济框架建立后的转型难题，并实际影响着转型国家的经济绩效和改革进程。对中国经济转型实践道路案例分析的结果显示，转型速度并不是主要的问题；全面改革和局部改革也不是刻意采取的转型战略，全面改革和局部改革都取决于国民经济的改革需要和对市场经济的层次性认识。中国经济转型阶段性推进的实践，充分证明了市场经济制度层次性的存在。从而使向市场经济的转变，可以逻辑地表现为微观价格机制的构建、中观市场企业制度的形成和宏观经济体制的完善这样三个主要的层次，这构成了正确的转型次序和阶段性改革推进的可能路径。宏观经济体制的完善成为转型深化期的改革主题，也成为中国经济转型继续推进的主要目标。

第4章：经济转型的不同模式、绩效比较及实证分析。通过俄、中经济转型模式形成和真实转型绩效的比较，从效率、稳定、公平和制度四个角度得出的结论是，俄罗斯经济转型是在错误的理论指导下、全面照搬西方市场经济模式，追求改革速度和全面改革但缺乏市场经济制度层次性的正确认识，结果付出了国民经济崩溃代价的错误转型道路。²¹ 世纪俄罗斯经济所出现的恢复性增长，也主要是受益于能源输出和国家在经济领域的强力干预，这和转型初期拷贝资本主义制度的做法形成了鲜明的对比，充分证明新自由主义经济学所鼓吹的转型模式并不存在切实可行性。俄、中两国转型深化期的转型模式形成，都存在着如何摆脱新自由主义市场经济范式的影响，构建反映本国制度特征和国情的市场经济体制问题，这将深刻影响各自经济转型模式的进一步发展和实践。比较研究所形成的主要结论包括：对市场经济的认识要破除新自由主义教条和模式崇拜，转型目标要反映制度要求和民族特点，转型过程要强化政府的主导地位；要加强市场经济改革的次序性认识，注重改革的阶段性推进和调整；俄罗斯转轨速度与全面改革的危险，证明转型是一个复杂的社会制度变迁过程，各种利益和矛盾相互交织，全面改革和局部推进并不存在固定不变的最优模式，速度并不能解决所有制的问题，毕其功于一役的转型是不可能成功的；经济体制的转轨、国民经济的发展和社会生活的进步是并行不悖的转型主题，俄罗斯转轨的失败还在于俄是主题单一的转轨；政治体制的改革必须与经济转型合拍。

第5章：转型深化期的实践难题及改革抉择。宏观层次的市场经济体制完善，是转型深化期中国经济转型模式研究的主要内容，将深刻影响中国社会的发展方向。转型深化期，中国经济面临一系列的实践难题，在改革方式的选择中，坚持阶段性推进的转型战略是符合市场经济制度建构内在逻辑的战略选择；在所有制调整中要规范产权改革，使所有制的改革符合产权社会化的发展趋势，避免狭隘的私有化改革预期；在推动转型经济持续增长的方面，要在经济结构调整的基础上，通过自主创新提升国家生产力体系；在市场经济运行机制方面，提出确立“国家调节市场、市场引导企业”的三维市场运行体系；在市场经济体制完善方面，主张构建具有社会主义制度特征的混合经济体制；在社会秩序为核心的社会转型方面，推进向以人为本的现代市民社会转变；在政府体制改革的要求中，要避免市场化的政府体制改革方向，建设责任效能的公共政府；整体而言，转型深化期的社会主义市场经济实践模式的内在逻辑架构，就是通过社会主义市场经济宏观层次的制度完善，建设市场经济基础上的现代社会主义，实现市场经济和社会主义制度的根本融合。

第6章：中国经济转型的模式特征与前景展望。全面总结和概括中国经济转型的实践经验，有许多显著的转型模式特征，诸如中国经济转型具有明确的指导思想和转型目标、社会制度约束的刚性化、转型过程的阶段性转换、转型措施的实验性、经济转型的经济增长主题和体制改革主题的联动性、以及地方政府在经济转型中的积极作用等。基于这些成功经验，本文从现实过程描述和实质特征揭示的两个角度概括中国经济转型的实践模式，提出了“双主题阶段转换式”的中国经济转型模式。中国经济的转型模式既区别于“毕其功于一役”的激进模式，又区别于“以市场经济作为唯一目标”的渐进模式；中国经济转型的实践模式最恰当的概括是“双主题阶段转换式”转型模式；“双主题”揭示了中国转型模式的实质性内容和改革主题，“阶段式转换”则描述了转型的不同阶段有不同目标、战略和改革重点阶段式推进的实践特征。这一模式最具有普遍意义的结论，就是中国经济转型中并没有把市场经济体制迷信为一个不可分割的整体，转型必须实行一步跨越；而是通过阶段性的改革巧妙地切中了市场经济体制层次性的制度安排特点，从而使作为制度建构和创新的转型过程得以顺利地展开，又在阶段性改革和发展中实现了具体经济难题的化解。目前，中国转型深化期的改革战略需要从“双主题阶段式转换”模式中汲取智慧，通过阶段性的发展和调整来解决转型深化期的改革矛盾和难题。

关键词：转型，转轨，转型经济学，转轨经济学，转型深化期，制度层次性，中国经济转型模式，社会主义市场经济，双主题阶段转换式模式

Abstract

China's economic transformation is mainly all the transform process that form planned economy to Socialist market economy. With reform of market economy as signs of transitional stage, China's economic transformation can divide three stages that are reform, transition and transformation. Look at the transform process form a historical point of view, form 1978 to 1992 that is reform stage of planned economy, these is rise time of reform economics, form 1992 to 2003 that is transition stage that form planned economy to Socialist market economy, these is rise time of transition economics, from 2003 to now that is improve and perfect stage that Socialist market economy system has established basically, the deepen transformation phase is mainly to direct at the stage in a narrow sense of the word . Look at the transform process form a logical analysis of view, all these stages of China economy has made up a complete process of China's economy reform, which is indispensable reform content as a whole to know and inquire into China's economic transformation model, China's economic transformation that start form the reform stage of planned economy and will accomplishment at complete established of Socialist market economy. Look at the transform process form integrate historical point with logical analysis of view, although transformation and transformation economics is be widely received technical terms after transition and transition economics and be stage theme of deepen transformation phase of Socialist market economy system, the process of China's economy reform is a process of continual transformation of China economy, the economic transformation in a wide sense that include logical three stages such as reform, transition and transformation. Research of China's economic model, not only is emphatically to explore difficult problem and way of transformation of deepen transformation phase, but also need to sum up the practice experience and model of reform stage and transition stage.

Look at form external literature, transition and transformation has different English word, but its intension didn't strict to discriminate in early phase

internal literature and external literature, it can replace each other basically, its intension is to point the process that socialism country form planned economy transform to market economy. These situation are full of reflect in internal literature, transition and transformation is often as different translation that the same an English word “transition”, some times, transition is be translated “guodu”, some times, but transformation is be translated “transition” . With continual developing of economy practice, transition and transformation, transition economics and transformation economics, which is be clearly discriminated in external and internal. Its different mainly has three sides: different of study themes, different of theoretical basis and different knowledge to socialist market economy. In the paper, Economic transformation includes three level meaning that namely are system transition, society transformation and institution innovation. Advance of China’s economic transformation model are contact with society economy system transition in a clear aim, a remarkable achievement and efficiency of economy and society life stable changes of reform process, which is a sum up to experience and theoretical. Research of China’s economic transformation model, since it is a summarized process of China’s practiced model form planned economy to market economy, and it is a clear and definite process of concrete intension and institution feature of China’s target model. The paper is study above-mentioned themes through six parts.

Chapter 1: introduction. Through to carding the concepts that transition and transformation (transition economics and transformation economics) had been process of developing and flowing, it explained the theory value of research of China’s economic transformation model. the external literature affects China’s economic transformation model formed that will be commentary through sum up “two chief clues, three schools viewpoint”, “two chief clues” are “market Socialism” and “Washington Consensus”, this is two chief clues through research of economy transformation in external literature. “three schools viewpoint” includes “Post Washington Consensus” of the new Keynesian economics as main body, “ Evolutionary-Institutionalist Perspective ” (Gradualism) with “Washington consensus” that reach the same goal by different means routes, and other viewpoints that with “Beijing Consensus” as representative. The internal literature of China’s economy transformation is divided into three stages that reform stage, transition stage and deepen

transformation stage to summarize by developed order of practice. In this entire basis, through a comparison of superiority and deficiency of external and internal literature, the paper expounds the current situation of theory and deepens train of thought of China's economic transformation model.

Chapter 2: market economy paradigm and theory frame of transformation research. "Marx-Lenin paradigm", "Keynes-Samuelson paradigm" and "Hayek-Sachs paradigm" are three paradigms of classics of modern market economy, which affects profoundly market economy way and practice model of all the countries in the world. Though three paradigms have different and oppose at basic institution hypothesis, analysis tools and theory opinions etc, but market mechanism is its common themes and use for reference. In above-mentioned paradigm influence, the practice model of market economy had been different ways through improved and structured, society institution innovation are become the main thoroughfare of market economy and different society institution to combine. Looking at no matter from theory paradigm and authentic proceedings of market economy, the consensus of modern market economy is market mechanism, state intervention, mixed economy and social welfare, institution posit of market economy need to combine with society practice, the basic way to form market economy system are rational structure and spontaneous evolution. With all these as theory base, the paper advances a basic analysis frame of research of China's economy transformation, namely is clear target of transformation, rigidity of system restraint, flexible forms of reform and advance by stage. The frame analysis show, the core of successfully transformation is realizing the stable transformation of political Legitimacy resources that contact with society system in the economy transformation process. Otherwise, economy transformation can't get success; the stable transformation of political Legitimacy resources can get form the continual enhance society system rigidity in the transformation process.

Chapter 3: institution hierarchical, double transformation teaser and China way. The formation of economy transformation model is a result that put theory into practice, the different paradigm has different transformation opinion, the most important opinion differ of external and internal transformation theory is adopt different theory attitude towards market economy, namely, market economy is be equated with price mechanism as a indivisible whole, or market

economy is be take hierarchical institution can to structure. A basic attitude of Marxist economics is make a distinction between society system and market economy, but research of institution hierarchical of transformation economics is yet a gap in the main, which will be the most important angle of theory view in the research of China's economic transformation model. The paper advance market economy system that is hierarchical institution posit, include price mechanism as institution posit of core in micro-structure, form of business organization as institution posit of core in mid-structure and constitutional legal framework as institution posit of core in macro-structure. The micro-structure of market economy system has three levels include price mechanism, market structure and market management, the mid-structure of market economy system has three levels include market mechanism, form of business organization and form of social trade administrative, the macro-structure of market economy system has three levels include economy system, constitutional legal framework and public order. All these are form logical structure and evolution path of China's economy transformation model. Therefore, the different transformation teaser under different guiding ideology that was became in research of economic transformation model, reform speed and "Pitfalls of partial reform" are become double transformation teaser that affects transformation model, different choose was lead to different transformation model, and in fact affects economy achievement and reform proceeding of transformation country. The result of China way's case study show transformation speed isn't mainly question, the overall reform and the pitfall reform isn't painstakingly to take transformation strategy, the overall reform and the pitfall reform were be decided by reform require of national economy and hierarchical knowledge of market economy system. In China economy transformation, the practice of advance by stage that fully prove existence of institution hierarchical posit of market economy system. In logical, So that made the transformation of market economy can show three mainly levels that includes structure of price mechanism in micro-structure, form of business organization in mid-structure and perfect of economy system in macro-structure, which the constitution of possible path that right transformation order and advance reform by stage. Improving and perfect of Economy system in macro-structure is reform themes of deepen transformation stage, which will become main target of continue to promote China's economy

transformation.

Chapter 4: the different way of economy transformation, a comparison of achievement and efficiency and expound and prove. Through a comparison to authentic achievement and efficiency of transformation and formed of economic transformation model of China and Russia, which can get conclusions that Russia economic transformation is suffer a crushing defeat from efficiency, steady, justice and system etc four different angles. Russia economic transformation, under wrong guiding ideology, all-round to copy the model of west market economy system, seek reform speed and overall reform but lack of correct knowledge to institution hierarchical of market economy system, which is a wrong transformation way as result that pay a price of collapse of national economy. The twenty-one century, Russia's economy is appear recover growth, which are benefit from export of energy source and state tighten price and market control in economy field, all these are different to way of coping capitalism system on transformation early phase, which is full proof the transformation model of new liberalism that didn't existed feasibility. In the deepen transformation stage, formed of transformation model of Russia and China, which had existed how to get rid of affects of new liberalism market economy paradigm, to construct reflect characteristic of national system and market institution of national conditions, this will affects profoundly further develop and practice of each economic transformation model. Through a comparison study that we can draw some mainly conclusion: transformation aim need to reflect the system require and nationality characteristic, and transformation process need to strengthen the leading position of government, which asked us to break away from doctrine of new-liberalism and model worship of west market economy; we need enhance reform order of market economy, and attention to promote and adjust of reform by stage; overall reforms or partial reforms didn't the best fixed model, the speed didn't solve the question of ownership, it is impossible success that accomplish the whole task at one stroke; transition of economy system, development of national economy and progress of society life are transformation themes that carry on two things at the same time without confliction. One lesson of Russia transition is yet the unitary transition theme; the reform of political system need to establish creative of society institution and development of market economy, which should common confirm of all society member, the result of

copy model that will lead the economy frame to break and the society to turbulent.

Chapter 5: practice teaser and reform choose of deepen transformation stage. Improving and perfect of market economy system in macro-structure is mainly content of research of China's economy transformation model at the deepen transformation stage, which will produce a deep effect on develop orientation of China society. At deepen transformation stage, China's economy faces a lots of practice teaser. In opt of reform pattern; keeping advance transformation reform by stage that is a strategic chooses to accord with construct logic of market economy system. In the adjustment of ownership that need through legal program to reform property right, reform of ownership should be in keeping with the develop trade of socialized property right, which need to avoid narrow and limited reform logic of privatization. In promotes transformation economy to sustained growth, which is need to promote national setup of productive forces through autonomous innovation by adjust of economic structure. In move mechanism of market economy, this is suggesting to establish the three-dimensional market move mechanism of "state regulates market, market lead enterprise" . In improve and perfect of market economy system, we maintains to construct the mixed economy system of possess the system characteristic of socialism. In the society transformation with social order as the heart, we advances the traditional society need towards the modern townspeople society to transformation. In reform require of government system, we advances to build the public government of responsibility and efficacy, which need to avoid the marketize of government system reform. In its entirety, the inherent logic structure of practice model of socialism market economy system, through Improving and perfect of socialism economy system in macro-structure, namely is build modern socialism by market economy to achieve completely harmonize of market economy and socialism.

Chapter 6: model characteristic and prospect forecast. We should to comprehensive summing up the practice experience of China economy transformation that has lots of transformation model outstanding characteristic. Such as, China transformation economy has definite guiding ideology and a clear aim, rigidity of society system restraint, stage change of transformation process, experimentally of transformation measure, gang adjustment of economy growth

theme of economy transformation and system reform theme, along with the local government play a positive role in economy transformation etc. for the above-mentioned reasons, the paper advances the dual-themes and pattern of stage change of China's economy transformation model, the advances of the practice model is form two angle that the description of reality process and the reveal of essence characteristic. The China's economy transformation model is both differentiate from accomplish the whole task at one stroke of radical model, and differentiate form as market economy to only a target of gradually model. The description of the practice model of China's economy transformation is the dual-themes and pattern of stage change, the dual-themes are reveal the essence content and reform theme of the transformation model of China's economy, the pattern of stage change that describes practice feature that transformation have different target, strategy and focal point at different stage and it is move forward by stage. The most universal significance conclusion of the model, which is market economy system didn't to be blind faith as an indivisible whole in the transformation process of China economy and transformation must to be leap over by one step. The pattern of reform by stage is an ingenious tactics that hit the characteristic of institution hierarchical posit of market economy, which is made the transformation process of institution construct and system innovation that can smooth development, and solve the specific economy teaser through reform and development of stage change. At present, China's reform strategy need to draw on the wisdom of the dual-themes and pattern of stage change model in deepen transformation phase, through development and adjust of stage change to solve the reform contradiction and teaser of deepen transformation phase.

Key word: transformation, transition, transition economics, transformation economics, deepen transformation phase, institution hierarchy, China's economy transformation model, socialist market economy, dual-themes and pattern of stage change model.

第 1 章 导 论

1.1 选题的意义及概念界定

中国经济转型 (Economic Transformation) 就是指中国从计划经济体制转向市场经济体制改革的全过程, 社会主义市场经济体制是中国经济转型的明确目标, 社会主义制度是社会主义市场经济机制运行的最基本制度约束和运行环境。

中国经济转型是在转型目标明确、基本制度约束、改革形式开放的框架中寻求中国经济体制转变的过程。追求经济发展始终是这一经济体制转变的前导, 探索社会主义制度和市场经济体制相结合的一般途径是这一转变过程的理论主题。中国经济转型模式的提出是与明确目标下社会经济体制有序转变、经济绩效良好、社会生活稳定变迁的改革过程相联系的; 是对这一经济转型过程的经验总结和理论概括。转型过程为更好地理解市场经济制度特征及向其转变的一般规律、体制转变与经济发展的关系、以及经济、政治、文化等方面制度建构和创新提供了活生生的经验观察过程; 具有社会经济体制创造性转变的实践价值^①和经济学理论开拓性创新的理论意义。如果离开了中国经济转型的明确目标或者基本制度约束, 中国经济转型将失去可资借鉴的模式意义, 而只有经验和教训。从转型目标的角度来界定, 中国经济转型模式就是社会主义市场经济体制; 但从实现这个目标的漫长改革过程来看, 考察从计划经济转向市场经济的改革过程并总结其中所表现出的经济现象及其实践特征, 能够更好地描述中国社会经济生活转变的全过程, 这些表现为理论和经验的改革结晶, 能够更好地概括中国经济转型的实践模式, 并在此基础上进一步探讨因为经济体制转变所带来的政治、文化以及社会整体的变化和相互影响; 这是本文所谓的中国经济转型模式更加确切的内涵, 是实践模式探讨基础上的目标模式实现过程。

选择经济转型而不是经济改革或经济转轨的研究主题, 并不是出于笔者的概念偏好, 而是梳理国内外对中国经济改革发展研究主题变化的结果。从国内外的研究来看, 改革、转轨和转型三大概念是研究社会主义国家自 20 世纪 80 年代以来经济体制改革最主要的关键词, 与此相联系的改革经济学、转轨经济学

^① 既要体制改革又要经济增长, 热诺尔·罗兰 (Gerard Roland) 的评价是: “这一困难可以与飞机飞行中拆换发动机相比。”参阅《转型与经济学》, 北京大学出版社 2002 年版, 第 34 页。

和转型经济学研究也此起彼伏；但在转轨和转型、转轨经济学和转型经济学等概念的使用上，存在着一些混乱使用的现象，很不利于学术交流和学科发展。国内学者剧锦文、吕炜等较早注意到了这个问题，都比较正式的区分过这几个概念，提出了一些有价值的结论；但也存在一定的局限。剧锦文虽然较早正确地界定了 Reform 译为“改革”、Transition 译为“转轨”、Transformation 译为“转型”，但他把“转型”看作一个相对短期转变的概念，侧重于指经济体制或制度的迅速转变^①；这样的看法显然和现在的转型研究主题格格不入。吕炜也深入探讨了上述三个概念的含义，但他认为改革和转型可以被纳入转轨经济学研究的范畴，未能准确评价转型的经济学主题和理论价值；转轨模式是他研究中国经济体制转变的主要范畴，这和国内外文献在此问题研究上主题的发展变化并不合拍^②。要对这三大概念进行明确的区分并说明其研究主题的发展变化，必须采取历史和逻辑相统一的方法来加以梳理。这个变化，基本上呈现出三个阶段。

第一阶段，即改革和改革经济学的阶段，这是中国经济体制改革的探索期。

自 1978 年中国明确提出经济体制改革的大政方针以来，改革以及经济体制改革模式的对策研究是国内外经济学研究中国问题的关键词，研究改革问题的改革经济学迅速兴起。这个时候，转轨和转型只是偶然涉及的经济学术语；国外的研究也大体如此。改革经济学研究原有经济体制的改进和完善问题，提出了许多富有创见的计划经济体制改革模式，所运用的分析工具和基本原理主要来自马克思主义经济学体系（包括东欧前社会主义国家的经济学家）。伴随苏联、东欧等前社会主义国家明确提出向市场经济体制的转变，特别是邓小平同志南方谈话中关于市场经济的科学定位，1992 年中国政府明确决定从计划经济体制转向社会主义市场经济体制，改革经济学的经济体制改革模式研究主题也就画上了句号，逐渐淡出。改革经济学被主题更加明确的转轨经济学和转型经济学所取代。当然，必须说明的是，无论是经济转轨、还是经济转型，改革这个词都在被广泛的使用。这个时期是中国经济体制改革的探索期，改革并不存在确定不变的目标模式，一切都在探索之中。

第二阶段，转轨和转型混用的转轨经济学（过渡经济学）阶段。

20 世纪 90 年代前后，转轨和转型是伴随东欧、苏联、包括中国等社会主义国家以不同的方式明确地开始了从计划经济向市场经济体制的转变道路，而被国内外学者和新闻媒体所广泛使用的术语，成为经济学新的研究领域。这个转

^① 剧锦文：《世界经济大转轨中的转轨经济学》，《经济学消息报》1997 年 1 月 31 日。

^② 吕炜：《转轨的实践模式与理论范式》，经济科学出版社 2006 年版。

变的直接后果就是在上述领域的理论研究层面，转轨或转型成为比改革（Reform）更流行的研究用语。

这个时期，如何实现经济体制的转变，成为经济学研究的主题。激进改革和渐进改革成为过渡到市场经济体制的不同途径，国外转轨经济学的研究开始兴起，国内研究中过渡经济学、转轨经济学也开始取代了改革经济学，成为新的理论热点。虽然这个时期国外文献中转轨（Transition）和转型（Transformation）的概念都有运用，但由于从计划经济体制转向市场经济体制目标的确切性，使转轨（Transition）和转轨经济学比转型（Transformation）的提法使用更加广泛。对苏联、东欧等前社会主义国家经济体制转变产生深刻影响的“华盛顿共识”所反映的就是“转轨”这个主题，直到上述国家经济体制的转轨并没有产生良好的经济绩效和社会整体的稳定发展，国内外理论界才更加关注起超越经济体制转轨以外的社会经济转型的主题。从国外的文献来看，转轨（Transition）和转型（Transformation）有不同的英文单词，但在早期的研究中并没有严格的内涵区分，二者基本上可以相互取代。这种情况在国内学术界反映的更充分，转轨和转型往往是同一个英文单词 Transition 的不同译法，有时 Transition 也被译为“过渡”，但有时 Transformation 也被译为“转轨”。盛洪的看法有一定的代表性，他认为：“尽管现在许多西方学者也在研究过渡经济学，但在他们那里，Transition 一词更多地是指‘转变’。在他们看来，转变就是从一种制度安排变换到另一种制度安排时的某种操作。”^① 这里，盛洪用“过渡经济学”来指国外的“转轨经济学”研究，并明确提出了中国的过渡经济学提法，成为转轨经济学最初在中国最为流行的称谓。江春泽指出：“转轨经济学（Transition Economics），一般译作过渡经济学，笔者认为，译转轨经济学更明确”^②。可以看出，过渡经济学是转轨经济学的中国译法；但过渡经济学名称的影响直到现在仍然存在。

这在专业的经济学研究文献中也不例外，例如由 Blackwell Publishers 公司在美国出版发行的杂志 Economics of Transition，在中国就被译为“过渡经济学”或者“转轨经济学”。它的编辑队伍包括 Gerard Roland（热诺尔·罗兰），Yingyi Qian（钱颖一）等在转轨问题研究上颇有建树的著名学者。其中为热诺尔·罗兰带来广泛学术影响的 Transition and Economics（2000）一书，在中国 2002 年出版时就被译为《转型与经济学》^③。虽然这本书的出版使“转型”一词

① 盛洪：《中国的过渡经济学》，上海三联书店、上海人民出版社 1994 年版，第 7 页。

② 江春泽：《转轨经济学与中国经济体制转轨的特色》，《世界经济文汇》1996 年第 2 期。

③ 按照笔者的界定，该书应该译为《转轨与经济学》。

在中国学术界的使用频率大幅度提高；但在此之前，转轨和转轨经济学是国外学术界广泛流行和使用的概念。国外的研究深刻地影响着国内经济研究的范式选择，转轨和转轨经济学的理论深刻影响着中国改革实践和中国经济学的理论进程。一个突出标志就是经济学家黄范章在 1998 年明确提出“创建中国式转轨经济学”^①。总体而言，这个阶段尽管国内有些学者也使用“转型”而不是“转轨”一词，甚至也强调经济体制改革所引起的社会政治、经济、文化等的整体变化；但这些研究并没有严格区分“转轨”和“转型”在研究对象和主题上的差异。使用“转轨”还是使用“转型”，大多反映的是作者的概念偏好；二者并不存在实质上的差别，约略表达同样的含义。

值得指出的是，鉴于苏联、东欧等原社会主义国家经济体制转轨的经验和教训，中国有些经济学家明确否定中国经济转轨的提法，而偏好使用中国经济转型的提法。其中所蕴含的差别，对中国的经济转型来讲，最为根本的就是转型不能转向，经济转型是要转变经济体制，是社会主义制度的自我完善，而不是由社会主义转向资本主义^②。总体来看，这个时期是转轨和转轨经济学盛行的十年。

第三阶段，转型和转型经济学的阶段。

苏联、东欧经济经过十年的转轨实践，证明了转轨经济学的理论基础“华盛顿共识”连同这些国家的经济一起走入了死胡同。形成鲜明对比的是，备受国外转轨经济学研究者指责的中国，却经过阶段性的转型发展，出现高速增长奇迹，2003 年明确宣布初步建立起了社会主义市场经济体制。俄罗斯等转轨国家长期的转轨绩效和社会秩序混乱与中国的稳定高速增长形成了鲜明的对比，证明从计划经济体制转向市场经济体制，包含着比转轨和转轨经济学研究主题更加复杂的转型难题。

2002 年美国普林斯顿大学著名华裔经济学家邹至庄（Gregory C. Chow）由美国 Blackwell Publishers 公司出版的《中国经济转型》（China's Economic Transformation）一书中，探讨了转轨（Transition）和转型（Transformation）在研究对象和主题上的差别。该书明确地提出了 Economics of Transition（转轨经济学）和 Economics of Transformation（转型经济学）的区别与联系。认为二者共同的地方就是都研究经济体制的变化；区别则在于转轨经济学传递的概念是经济处于一种向某种理想状态如特定的市场经济过渡的暂时状态；而转型

^① 黄范章：《创建中国式转轨经济学》，《改革》1998 年第 1 期。黄范章同一主题的论文还可以参阅《经济研究参考》1998 年第 45 期；《经济学家》1999 年第 2 期。

^② 参阅王振中主编：《中国转型经济学的政治经济学分析》，中国物价出版社 2002 年版，第 5 页。