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中国和俄罗斯转轨期政府改革比较研究

Comparative Research on Government Reform of China
and Russia in Transition Period

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摘要

中国和俄罗斯自转轨以来都进行了大规模政府改革，以期推进国家治理。本文尝试建立比较历史制度分析框架，通过比较的历史制度分析对中俄政府改革的动因和历程、理论基础及战略演变、改革过程、改革成效等进行经验性比较研究，并在此基础上总结两国政府改革的一般规律。

两国政府改革的动因包括结构性因素，如体制转轨模式、基本国情、政治体制、经济体制、社会变迁、国际竞争等，也包括领导人选择这样的行为主义因素。上述改革动因构成政府改革的初始条件，是政府制度变迁的历史根源，决定了改革的价值导向、目标、具体内容、激进程度等。中俄政府改革大致经历了三个阶段：市场化导向的政府改革、政府改革的深化和调整，以及建设服务型政府。中俄政府改革有独特的理论基础，均以本国官方指导思想为元理论。与此同时，西方政府改革思潮也对中俄政府改革施加了不可忽视的影响。两国政府在改革理论的指导下从中观层面制订改革战略。两国的改革战略是以调整政府职能为导向的，但由于转轨进程的巨大差异，俄罗斯的改革战略出现了断崖式突变，中国的改革战略则具有较强的历史连贯性。

政府机构改革、政府间关系改革以及政府职能转变构成中俄政府改革的脉络与主线，三者相互交织与融合。以职能为导向的政府改革在改革理论和战略的指导下实现制度变迁的自我演进，但也深受初始条件和制度选择的历史制约，形成了制度路径依赖。同时，两国政府制度变迁受不同意识形态、利益博弈和重大历史事件等外生变量的影响，形成了制度演化的多样性。政府机构改革的主要目标是提高政府组织效率、消除政市不分、政社不分的组织基础，为政府职能转变提供组织载体。两国的政府机构一定程度上实现了机构精简和机构职能的重新整合配置，但仍有巨大的提升空间。政府间关系改革的总基调是中央政府向地方政府分权。两国改革都呈现出两个不同阶段：第一阶段，两国都进行了较大力度的放权改革，但俄罗斯的全面放权策略形成了所谓的“不平衡的联邦制”，导致联邦政府权威式微；中国放权改革的总体特征是政治集权化和财政联邦化。尽管第一阶段的分权改革对两国经济发展的影响差异较大，但都导致地方势力膨胀，威胁到中央政府的权力和权威，因此两国在转轨后期都进行了有选择的再集权改革，加强了中央政府对地方政府的政治和经济控制。政府职能转变的目标是放松政府

管制，回应民生诉求。中俄政府在国企改革、加强政府宏观调控和市场监管、建立向社会职能倾斜的公共财政体制、简政放权和流程再造等几个领域进行了职能转变尝试，初步实现了由管制型政府向管理型、服务型政府的转型，激发了市场、社会、企业以及公民的活力。

中国和俄罗斯政府改革都取得了巨大的治理成效，而政府改革成功与否归根结底也取决于政府的治理成效。政府改革虽然不是影响治理的唯一变量，但显然是最重要的变量之一。因为政府是国家治理最重要的主体，政府改革对提升国家治理质量意义重大。俄罗斯经历了从叶利钦时代弱国家治理模式向普京时代强国家治理模式的转换。中国则一方面适度地进行分权，另一方面则始终保持一个强大的中央政府，能够集中力量办大事。综合一些学者和学术机构提出的国家治理指标，本文对中俄两国政府的治理成效进行了全面比较，包括政府整体的治理成效、政府效能与自我规制、经济与社会发展、生态环境保护等。中俄政府改革积累了丰富的经验。政府转轨是体制转轨的重要一环是从中俄政府改革获得的基本经验。中俄政府改革是有规律可循的，这些规律是从不断的“试错”过程中总结出来的。与此同时，中俄政府改革也面临着诸多阻碍因素，并且政府改革势单力薄、孤军深入，缺乏配套改革措施，导致改革成效有限，易于陷入反复。与西方发达国家的政府改革相比，中俄政府改革有其鲜明的特色，同时也存在诸多显著的缺陷与不足。展望未来，中俄政府改革应逐渐由职能导向过渡到治理导向，进而过渡到民主、法治导向，使政府更加具有开放性和包容性，最终建立一个权力适度、治理能力极强的现代化政府。

本文结论认为中俄政府改革形成了典型的成功模式，即“有限政府+有效政府”模式。但是中俄政府改革仍存在一些缺陷：首先两国的政府的国家组织管理能力仍然不足；其次两国政府在意识形态和制度上仍不具备历史连续性，也不具备独一无二的特质；最后，中俄政府改革尚未很好地遵循民主化、法治化等人类政治发展的普遍规律和趋势。

关键词：政府改革；国家治理；制度变迁

Abstract

To promote national governance, China and Russia carried out large-scale government reform in transition period. This thesis attempt to build a historical and comparative institution analysis frame, and carry on a empirical research that illustrate the strategic evolution, reform process, reform effect of China and Russia's government reform through historical and comparative institution analysis. And finally this thesis will conclude government reform experiences of China and Russia on the above basis.

The motivations of government reform of the two countries include structural factors and behavior factors, the former includes transition model, basic national conditions, political system, economic system, social change and international competition etc; the latter includes political leader's strategic choice. Above mentioned motivations constitute the initial conditions of government reform, initial conditions are the historical sources of government institutional change, determining the value orientation, targets, specific contents, radical extent of government reform. Both of China and Russia's government reforms basically experienced three phases: market-oriented government reform, deepen and adjustment of government reform, and build service-oriented government. China and Russia's government reforms have special theoretical basis, official guidelines are the core of government reform. However, western government reform theories also exert important influences to China and Russia. Guided by reform theories, governments of China and Russia draw up reform strategies. Their reform strategies are guided by government functions, however, because of giant differences in transition process, Russia's reform strategies experienced huge mutation, on the contrary, reform strategies of China have strong historical continuity.

Government organization reform, intergovernmental relations reform and transformation of government functions constitute the main themes and contexts of government reform of China and Russia, the three intertwine together. Function oriented government reforms realized institutional change's self evolution guided by formal institution design. However, it is also deeply restricted by initial conditions and initial institution design, forming institutional path dependence. Meanwhile, two countries' government institution change is influenced deeply by different exogenous variables such as ideologies, benefit gambling and major historical events, then

forming diversity institutional evolution on the transverse and longitudinal. The goal of organization reform is improving government's organization efficiency, eliminating the organizational foundation of "Zheng shi bu fen" and "Zheng she bu fen", and providing material carrier for transformation of government functions. Organization reform realized organization downsizing and optimal allocation of government functions in some extent, but it still has great room for improvement. The overall tone of intergovernmental relations reform is decentralization from top to bottom, both of two countries' reform displayed two different phases. In the first phase, both of them made large efforts to carry out decentralization reform, Russia's overall decentralization strategy created a so called unbalanced federalism, leading to the decline of central government's authority. The overall feature of decentralization reform of China is political centralism and financial federalism. Although the decentralization reform of the two countries in the first phase made very different influences to economic and social development, both of them led to the expansion of local forces, then threaten central government's power and authority. So, in the second phase, both China and Russia carried out selective re-centralization reform, enhancing central government's political control to local government. The goal of transformation of government functions is relaxing government regulations, responding people's livelihood demands. China and Russia governments carried out reforms in some key fields, such as state own enterprise reform, strengthening the government's macro regulation and control and market supervision, building public financial system that incline to social functions, decentralizing to market and society and process reengineering. These reforms initially realized the transformation from regulated government to management government and service-oriented government, and increasingly stimulated the vigor of market, society, enterprises and citizens.

Both China and Russia's government reform have achieved great governance success, conversely, government reform's success or not is determined by governance performance. Although government reform is not the only variable that affects national governance, it obviously the most important one. Because government is the most important body of state governance, government reform naturally determines the governance quality. Russia experienced a transformation from weak state governance model of Yeltsin period to strong state governance model of Putin. Differently from Russia, China government moderately carried out decentralization reform in one hand, and kept a strong central government in the other hand, then the central government

could concentrate resources to accomplish large undertakings. Integrate some governance indicators that suggested by scholars and academic institutions, the thesis compares two states' governance performance comprehensively, including overall performance, political performance, economic performance, social performance and environmental protection performance. Two states' government reforms accumulate abundant experiences and lessons. The basic one is that government reform is a key link of Institutional transition. Government reform of transition countries is to follow some rules, these rules are summed up in a continuing process of trial and error. Meanwhile, China and Russia's government reform are lack of matching reform measures, resulting in limited effectiveness of the reform. Compared with the western developed countries, China and Russia's government own outstanding features, and also have many noteworthy drawbacks. Look forward to the future, China and Russia's government reforms have to gradually transit to governance-oriented from function-oriented, and then transit to democracy-oriented and rule of law-oriented, making the government more open and inclusive, and finally build a modern government with moderate power and strong governance capability.

We conclude that China and Russia's government reform shaped a typical model, this paper calls it limited "government and effective government". However, both of the two states' governments still have some drawbacks: firstly, two states' governments' ability of organizing and managing the state is still not very high; Secondly, they didn't have historical continuity on ideology and institutions, and also didn't have unique qualities; Thirdly, they didn't follow some common law of government reform, such as rule of law and democratization.

Key words: Government reform; State governance; Institutional change

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