

BUILDING A MODERATELY PROSPEROUS SOCIETY IN ALL RESPECTS

– Revitalizing the Countryside*

Zhang Xiaoshan

Rural Development Institute, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, China

Abstract: *The problem of China's uneven and insufficient development is the most striking in the countryside. Countryside rejuvenation is of historical significance to building a moderately prosperous society in all respects and turning China into a modernized socialist country. The reform of rural land system is vital to integrating urban and rural development. We must allow farmers to gain their due share of value-added revenues from land, and share in the dividends of urbanization. Based on household operations, we should enhance the basic rural operation system, foster new agricultural operators, and develop modern agriculture as the foundation for revitalizing countryside industries. We must deepen agricultural supply-side structural reforms to ensure sufficient supply and security of main agricultural products. We must reform the rural collective ownership system to implement property rights to farmers and protect their interests in the context of urban and rural integration. We must promote green development and revitalize countryside ecological environment. We must enhance rural governance to revitalize rural organizations.*

Keywords: *countryside revitalization, a moderately prosperous society in all respects, revitalizing rural industries, talents, organizations, ecological environment*

JEL classification code: P25; H75; P23

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1. Introduction

At the dawn of the 21st century, insufficient domestic demand and uneven urban-rural development weighed on China's economy. In 2002, the Report to the 16th CPC National Congress stated that the “urban-rural economic divide remains.” Since then, the CPC Central Committee has identified the issues concerning farmers, the countryside, and agriculture as the top priorities on the Party's agenda. Despite changing relations between agriculture and industry and between cities and the countryside, the rural divide is yet to be bridged. The Report to the 19th CPC National Congress identifies the issues concerning farmers, agriculture, and the countryside as the top priority of work for the whole Party, calling for revitalizing the countryside. These policy initiatives have significant theoretical and practical relevance. Problems of China's uneven and inadequate development are the most striking in the countryside. Countryside revitalization is of historical importance in achieving the goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects.

* Correspondence: Zhang Xiaoshan, email: zhangxiaoshan47@sina.com

全面建成小康社会： 乡村振兴^{*}

张晓山

中国社会科学院农村发展研究所

摘要：我国发展不平衡不充分问题在乡村最为突出。实施乡村振兴战略对于决胜全面建成小康社会而言具有至关重要的现实意义。实现农业农村优先发展，加快推进农业农村现代化，促进城乡融合发展，一个关键点是深化农村土地制度改革，使农民能真正享有其土地增值收益中应有的份额，合法、合理地分享城市化的“红利”。要在家庭经营基础上巩固和完善农村基本经营制度，培育多种农业新型经营主体，发展现代农业、促进农村产业振兴才有深厚的底蕴。要进一步深化农业供给侧结构性改革，确保中国主要农产品的有效供给和粮食安全。要深化农村集体产权制度改革，真正落实农民的财产权利，为城乡融合背景下保护农民的权益奠定坚实的产权基础。要促进绿色发展，推动乡村生态振兴。要改革与完善乡村治理机制，推动乡村组织振兴。

关键词：乡村振兴；全面小康；产业振兴；人才振兴；组织振兴；生态振兴

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一、引言

21世纪初叶，我国经济的增长面临着国内需求不足和城乡发展失衡的突出矛盾。2002年，党的十六大报告指出“城乡二元经济结构还没有改变”，明确要统筹城乡经济社会发展。此后，中央明确把解决“三农”问题作为全党工作的重点，此后中央出台了一系列的相关工作文件。尽管工农关系和城乡关系逐渐发生变化，但城乡二元结构格局还没有从根本上破除，客观上要求必须推进城乡发展一体化。党的十九大报告中提出了要始终把解决好“三农”问题作为全党工作重中之重，实施乡村振兴战略。这些政策举措具有重要的理论和实践意义。当前，我国发展不平衡不充分问题在乡村尤为突出。因此，实施乡村振兴战略对于决胜全面建成小康社会而言具有重大现实意义。

二、深化农村土地制度改革

从安徽凤阳县小岗村农村改革的历史经验来看，实施乡村振兴战略，促进城乡融合发展，一个关键点是

^{*} 作者邮箱：张晓山，zhangxiaoshan47@sina.com

2. Deepening Rural Land Reforms

According to the historical experience of rural reform in Xiaogang Village, Anhui Province, we must reform the rural land system to revitalize the countryside, modernize agriculture, and integrate urban and rural development.

2.1 Rural Land Plots Are Farmers' Biggest Assets

Farmers' biggest assets are rural land plots whose ownership is shared among members of a collective. According to the Second National Land Survey and other relevant data, out of China's land area of 960 million hectares, there are 446 million hectares of rural collective land, including 368.6 million hectares of agricultural land and 20.67 million hectares of construction land. Rural collective land makes up some 46% of China's total land area (Table 1 and 2). The realization of land property rights for farmers marks a substantial adjustment to China's national income distribution. It is also a process towards market-based allocation of land as an essential step in removing the urban-rural divide and integrating urban-rural social and economic development.

Table 1: Composition of National Land Resources

Category	Total area (10,000 km ²)	Share in national total land area (%)
Construction land	32.00	3.00
Arable land	122.00	13.00
Garden land	11.50	1.00
Forest land	236.00	25.00
Other agricultural land	25.50	3.00
Pasture land	262.00	27.00
Unutilized land	271.00	28.00
Total area	960.00	100.00

Source: China Finance 40 Forum Study Group (2013).

Table 2: Composition of Farmers' Collective Land

Category: Rural collective land	Total area (10,000 hectares)	Share in rural collective land area (%)
Collective construction land	2,066.67	4.60
Including: Housing plot:	1,133.33	2.50
Agricultural land	36,866.67	82.70
Total area of rural collective land	44,600.00	100.00

Source: The same as above.

深化农村土地制度改革。

(一) 农村土地是农民拥有的最大财产

对于农民而言,他们的主要财产是什么?是以集体成员身份共同拥有的农村土地。第二次全国土地调查主要成果及其他相关数据显示,在全国144亿亩国土面积中,全国农村集体土地的总面积为66.9亿亩,包括55.3亿亩农用地和3.1亿亩建设用地,农村集体所有土地总面积约占国土面积的46%(见表1和表2)。农民对土地财产权利的实现过程,是城乡二元结构逐步消除、城乡经济社会融合发展的过程。

(二) 农村土地政策的重大调整

建立城乡统一的建设用地市场是农村土地政策的重要调整方向,近年来受到政府的高度重视。温家宝(2012)曾强调:“我们不能再靠牺牲农民土地财产权利降低工业化城镇化成本,有必要、也有条件大幅度提高

表 1:全国土地资源构成

类别	数量(万平方公里)	数量(亿亩)	占全国国土面积比例(%)
建设用地	32.00	4.80	3.00
耕地	122.00	18.30	13.00
园地	11.50	1.73	1.00
林地	236.00	35.40	25.00
其他农用地	25.50	3.83	3.00
牧草地	262.00	39.30	27.00
未利用地	271.00	40.65	28.00
总面积	960.00	144.00	100.00

资料来源:中国金融四十人论坛课题组(2013)。

表 2:农民集体所有土地的构成

类别:农村集体所有土地	数量(万公顷)	数量(亿亩)	占农村集体所有土地总面积比例(%)
集体建设用地	2066.67	3.10	4.60
其中:宅基地	1133.33	1.70	2.50
农用地	36866.67	55.30	82.70
农村集体所有土地总面积	44600.00	66.90	100.00

资料来源:同表1。

2.2 Substantial Shift of Rural Land Policy

Creating an integrated urban and rural construction land market is receiving more and more attention. Wen (2012) also stressed that “We should cease to make farmers bear the costs of industrialization and urbanization by depriving them of their land property rights. It is both necessary and feasible to substantially raise farmers’ share in the distribution of value-added gains from land”. The No.1 Central Document of 2018 not only identifies an important source of financing for revitalizing the countryside, but unequivocally permits the inter-provincial assignment of arable land quotas, which had been prohibited under the Decisions of the Third Plenum of the 17th CPC Central Committee in 2008. Therefore, the No.8 Central Document of 2018 marks a substantial adjustment to China’s land policy.

Under the current division of fiscal powers between the central and local governments, local governments are heavily dependent on transfer payments from the central government and revenues from land sales. In 2018, China’s local general public budget revenues amounted to 16,757.85 billion yuan. Local government non-fiscal revenues reached 8,580.41 billion yuan. Revenues from the transfer of state-owned land-use rights, i.e. land sales revenues as more commonly known, totaled 6,509.59 billion yuan, up 25%, accounting for 66% of local general budget revenues. Local general public budget spending stood at 18,819.83 billion yuan, up 8.7%. Expenditures related to the transfer of state-owned land-use rights reached 6,994.10 billion yuan, up 34.2%¹, accounting for 37% of local general public budget expenditures.

Previous policies imposed strict restrictions on the inter-provincial transfer of surplus construction land quotas arising from land consolidation to subdue local government impulse to raise funds from excessive land sales. Another reason is that local governments had used land transfer revenues to build cities and industrial parks but returned a paltry amount of funds to support agriculture and the countryside (Zhang, 2018). In December 2017, General Secretary Xi Jinping said that “We should refrain from using land revenues from the countryside to support cities and avoid the dilemma that the

Table 3: Expenditures Related to the Transfer of State-Owned Land-Use Rights

(In 100 million yuan)

	Total expenditures related to the transfer of state-owned land-use rights	Including: (1) Expenditures related to land acquisition and resettlement compensation	(2) Land development expenditures	(3) Urban construction expenditures	(4) Rural infrastructure construction expenditures	(5) Expenditures of subsidizing farmers for land acquisition	Sum of (1) and (2) as a share of total expenditures
2007	6,044	1,609	660	2,237	184	79	27.9
2008	9,525	3,508	860	3,024	338	158	38.5
2009	12,255	4,774	1,249	3,341	433	195	40.5
2010	26,622	10,207	2,480	7,621	1,077	457	40.1
2011	31,052	14,359	5,325	5,565	760	690	48.5
2012	26,664	13,829	5,116	3,049	486	521	53.8

Note: This table does not include expenditures related to land transfer, affordable housing, educational funds, compensation to employees from bankrupt or reformed enterprises, and renovation of shantytowns.

Source: Official website of the Ministry of Finance.

¹ Quoted from the Ministry of Finance: *Report on the Implementation of Central and Local Budgets in 2018* and the *Draft of Central and Local Budgets for 2019* released at the second session of the 13th National People’s Congress on March 5, 2019.

农民在土地增值收益中的分配比例”。2018年中央一号文件中明确要将高标准农田建设等新增耕地指标与城乡建设用地增减挂钩结余指标实现跨省调剂,所有收益将成为乡村振兴战略实施的重要资金来源,而且与十七届三中全会《决定》提出的“不得跨省市进行占补平衡”相对照,应该说,2018年中央一号文件的提法是土地政策的重大调整。

在现有的中央与地方政府财政分权制度下,农村集体建设用地使用权的出让收益已成为地方政府财政收入的主要来源之一。2018年,全年地方一般公共预算收入167578.49亿元。地方政府性基金相关收入为85804.11亿元。其中,国有土地使用权出让收入(也就是俗称的卖地收入)达65095.85亿元,增长25%,占地方一般公共预算本级收入的66%。地方一般公共预算支出达188198.26亿元,增长8.7%。国有土地使用权出让收入相关支出69941.04亿元,增长34.2%¹,占地方一般公共预算支出的37%。

以往的相关政策严格限制土地整治后节余的建设用地指标跨省(市、区)流转,是为了遏制地方政府通过卖地,推行土地财政、土地金融的冲动。同时也是因为地方政府得到的国有土地使用权出让收入,主要用于城市和园区建设,返还给农业和农村的份额很少(张晓山,2018)。2017年12月,习近平总书记指出:“要解决土地增值收益长期‘取之于农,用之于城’的问题,破解‘农村的地自己用不上、用不好的困局’”(第40页)。²我们对以往统计数据的整理分析也验证了这一论断(见表3)。值得说明的是,正是由于建立城乡统一的建设用地市场必然会损害地方政府和开发商的土地增值收益,近年来农村土地政策的推进较为缓慢。因此,只有全面深化改革,调整中央与地方政府的分配关系,土地政策的重大调整才能真正落实(张晓山,2019a)。

未来资本化的土地资源如分配和使用得当,可以使农民能真正享有其土地增值收益中应有的份额,合

表 3:国有土地使用权出让金的支出结构

	国有土地使用权 出让金支出总额 (亿元)	其中: (1)征地和拆 迁补偿支出 (亿元)	(2)土地开 发支出(亿 元)	(3)城市建 设支出(亿 元)	(4)农村基础 设施建设支 出(亿元)	(5)补助被征 地农民支出 (亿元)	(1)与(5)之和占国 有土地使用权出 让金支出总额的比 例 (%)
2007	6044	1609	660	2237	184	79	27.9
2008	9525	3508	860	3024	338	158	38.5
2009	12255	4774	1249	3341	433	195	40.5
2010	26622	10207	2480	7621	1077	457	40.1
2011	31052	14359	5325	5565	760	690	48.5
2012	26664	13829	5116	3049	486	521	53.8

注:其他的一些支出项,如土地出让业务支出、廉租住房支出、教育资金安排的支出、支付破产或改制企业职工安置费、棚户区改造支出等项未列入。

资料来源:财政部官网数据。

¹ 引自财政部:《关于2018年中央和地方预算执行情况与2019年中央和地方预算草案的报告》,2019年3月5日在第十三届全国人民代表大会第二次会议上通过。

² 文章中凡是标明页数的皆引自中央党史和文献研究院编《中华人民共和国大事记(1949年10月—2019年9月)》

countryside cannot use or properly use its own land” (page 40).² This argument is echoed by the findings from our analysis of previous data (see Table 3). It is worth noting that the progress of an integrated urban and rural construction land market has been slow over the years mainly because local governments and real estate developers will gain less under this market. Therefore, for the land policy to be revamped in earnest, we must deepen reforms on all fronts and redistribute resources between central and local governments (Zhang, 2019a).

In the coming decade, the distribution of rural land capital will largely determine the process of urban-rural integration. Rural land resources, if properly capitalized, distributed, and used, will allow farmers to gain their due share of land revenues and urban development. Benefits to farmers will cover the costs of removing the urban-rural divide, revitalizing the countryside, and building a moderately prosperous society in all respects. In this sense, the strategy of countryside revitalization must give prominence to reforming the rural land system.

3. Improving Agricultural Operations to Revitalize Rural Industries

In April 2016, General Secretary Xi Jinping said that “Raising farmers’ income is central to our work on agriculture, farmers, and the countryside. Farmers must earn sufficient incomes to lead a moderately prosperous life” (page 146). Farmers’ income primarily consists of operating income and wage income, whose growth depends on modern agriculture and rural industries. Therefore, we must improve agricultural operations and foster new farm operators.

3.1 Diverse Agricultural Operation Modes and Entities Coexist with Smallholders

According to the Third National Agricultural Survey, the large farming households account of 1.9% of the total of farming households in China. According to the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs, there were 26 million hog farming households in China in 2018, most of which were small and scattered; among them, 187,000 households slaughtered over 500 head, and about 4,000 households slaughtered over 10,000 head each year. There has been an emergence of new farm operators, including large professional farmers, family farm owners, professional farmers’ cooperatives, and agribusinesses. New farm operators, which are more productive than traditional farmers, are the leading suppliers of agricultural goods, and coexist with smallholders. Given China’s large population, scarce land, and rapid urbanization, diverse agricultural operation modes and entities will coexist for a long time.

By the end of 2016, over 70 million rural households had partially or fully transferred their land contract rights to new farm operators, involving a total transferred land area of 31.33 million hectares, or 35.1% of farmers’ total contract land area. About 160 million farming households, or 70% of total farming households, did not transfer their land operation rights. Most of such households who operate their contract land plots are elderly and uneducated first-generation migrant workers, and some are second-generation migrant workers. After they moved to cities for jobs, they found it hard to settle in cities and had to move back to the countryside when they were too old for unskilled urban jobs. It is hard for such smallholders to escape agriculture and the countryside once and for all. While smallholders will reduce in number over time, they will continue to stay active in agricultural production for a long time. We must protect their interests and bring their farming practice in line with modern agriculture (Zhang, 2019b).

3.2 Developing Family Farms and Farmers’ Cooperatives

Family farms are not confined to the contract land plots of individual households, and able to be

² Pages cited in this paper are from *Major Events of People’s Republic of China (1949-2019)* edited by The Party History and Literature Research Institute of CPC Central Committee.

法、合理地分享城市化的“红利”，并且完全可以支付消除城乡二元结构、促进乡村振兴、建成全面小康社会所需的运作成本。从这个意义上讲，当前和今后相当长的时期内，农村土地制度的改革将在乡村振兴的大战略中处于关键性的位置。

三、巩固和完善农村基本经营制度，促进农村产业振兴

2016年4月，习近平总书记提出：“增加农民收入是‘三农’工作的中心任务。农民小康不小康，关键看收入”（第146页）。农民收入的主体部分是经营性收入和工资性收入。而这两部分收入的增长就要靠发展产业来实现。发展现代农业是产业兴旺的重要组成部分，在乡村振兴战略中扮演着重要的角色。

（一）多元并存的农业经营模式和农业经营主体将长期存在，小农户家庭经营仍将是我国农业的主要经营方式

第三次全国农业普查显示，2016年全国规模经营农户仅占农业经营户的1.9%。农业农村部的数据显示，2018年我国生猪养殖场户约有2600万户，但主要以小散户为主。其中，年出栏500头以上的规模场户约18.7万户，年出栏1万头以上的大型养殖场户约4000户。可以说，当今中国的农业经营主体的构成是大量小规模兼业农户、传统小农户等传统经营主体与专业大户、家庭农场、农民合作社及农业企业等新型主体并存；农业经营体制和经营方式是传统农业、口粮农业（生存农业）与市场化、专业化和商品化程度高的现代大农业并存。长期来看，在我国人多地少和城镇化进程的现实背景下，农业经营模式和农业经营主体的多元化仍会持续。

截止到2016年底，把承包经营权部分或全部流转给新型农业经营主体的有7000多万户，流转的土地约4.7亿亩，占农民承包地总面积的35.1%。没有流转土地经营权的农户约1.6亿户，约占全部农户的70%。这些自己经营自家承包地的农户大部分劳动力老龄化，文化程度偏低。他们多是返乡的第一代以及部分第二代农民工，进城打工后不能为城市所接纳，在外出打工的最佳劳动年龄过后只能返乡。他们是从事农业生产的传统经营主体，也就是传统小农户，他们很难再离开农业和农村。随着时间的推移，他们的数量会逐步减少，但他们继续从事农业生产经营的活跃期可能还会有相当长时期；他们的利益诉求必须得到重视，他们的生产经营活动应纳入现代农业发展的轨道，使他们能分享到农业现代化进程带来的利益（张晓山，2019b）。

（二）在家庭经营基础上突出抓好家庭农场和农民合作社两类农业经营主体

家庭经营并非传统意义上的小农产物，理论上是可以发展成现代化农业，产生规模化效益。为此，要完善农村承包地所有权、承包权、经营权“三权分置”的办法，坚持集体所有权，保护农户承包权，放活经营权，积极推进将部分农田从那些离土离农的农村人口承包土地的经营权流转过来，采用现代化管理理念培育发展家庭农场，鼓励各地区探索家庭农场发展模式，归纳整理可复制的推广的先进经验。

自2007年农民专业合作社法实施以来，在农村家庭承包经营基础上，同类农产品的生产经营者或者同类农业生产经营服务的提供者、利用者自愿联合起来，遵循民主管理的原则，成立了多种类型的农民专业合作

vehicles of modern agriculture and large-scale farming. We should further separate the ownership, contract, and operation rights of rural contract land plots. We should adhere to collective ownership, protect farmers' contract rights, and increase the flexibility of land operation rights. By lawfully leasing land operation rights from farmers who have left the countryside, skilled farmers should be able to scale up farm work and develop family farms. As an upgraded version of the household contract responsibility system, family farms have become a vital force for modern agriculture. We should encourage all sorts of family farms to spearhead modern agriculture for better performance and efficiency.

Since the implementation of the *Law on Farmers' Professional Cooperatives* in 2007, farmers took the initiative to form various types of farmers' professional cooperatives based on the principles of democratic management. According to the Third National Agricultural Survey, at the end of July 2019, over 2.2 million farmers' cooperatives were lawfully registered nationwide. Modern agriculture cannot thrive without farmers' professional cooperatives, including those specialized in the supply of agricultural means of production, the processing and sales of agricultural products, and agricultural producer services. The goal is to turn farmers' cooperatives into equal partners with agribusinesses. Farmers' cooperatives are expected to play a critical role in stabilizing agricultural supply and demand, protecting smallholders, and developing modern agriculture. They compete in domestic and international markets, bring farmers to the market, and contribute to poverty reduction and rural prosperity.

Along with rural collective economic organizations, agricultural service organizations, and agribusinesses, farmers' professional cooperatives represent a vital part of the diverse and multi-tier service system for agricultural production. By offering all-round services to smallholders and family farms, farmers' cooperatives strengthen the agricultural operation system and contribute to China's food security. We should encourage farmers to form cooperatives to extend the industrial chain, broaden service areas, and involve more farmers in the integrated development of primary, secondary, and tertiary industries in rural areas.

3.3 Fostering Highly Qualified Farmers

In 2018, there were a total of 288.36 million farmer-turned migrant workers in China, including 172.66 million seeking jobs outside their hometowns. While some migrant workers have returned to the countryside in search of opportunities, they may not naturally become qualified farmers with the right skills. Apart from labor compensation, a professional farmer should also be rewarded for his business decisions, investment, and risk assumption. Therefore, his income should be higher than what he could expect from a migrant job. Professional farmers should have farming skills and business know-how, be prepared for a few years of investment payback period, and stay resilient against the market and natural risks. Very few of them may succeed as agricultural entrepreneurs.

Alongside the older-generation farmers, a new generation of farmers has thrived on or returned to agriculture. Family inheritance, improving infrastructure, and access to finance, information, and sales channels have made it possible for the younger generation of farmers to succeed. Some of them have even created their agribusiness brands. The younger generation of farmers are well-positioned to apply agricultural technology and innovate. They play an indispensable role in the countryside revitalization and agricultural supply-side structural reforms.

4. Deepening Agricultural Supply-Side Structural Reforms for the Effective Supply of Agricultural Goods

In attending the deliberations of Shandong delegation during China's annual legislative sessions on March 8, 2018, General Secretary Xi Jinping said that "We should develop modern agriculture, ensure national grain security, boost agricultural quality, efficiency, and overall performance."

社。第三次全国农业普查显示,到2019年7月底,全国依法登记的农民专业合作社达220.7万家。发展现代农业,就要不断发展和壮大包括农用生产资料供给,农产品销售、加工和农业生产服务在内的农民专业合作社,使其成为农业龙头企业的平等的合作伙伴,这将是稳定农产品供求关系,保障小规模农户利益的一支重要力量,发展现代农业的重要组织载体。农民专业合作社已成为组织服务农民群众、激活乡村资源要素、引领乡村产业发展和维护农民权益的重要组织载体,引领农民参与国内外市场竞争、带动农户进入市场的基本主体,在助力脱贫攻坚、推动乡村振兴、引领小农户步入现代农业发展轨道等方面发挥了重要作用。

农民专业合作社与农村社区集体经济组织、各种农业社会化服务组织以及农业龙头企业一起,构成了农业生产多元化、多层次、多形式的经营服务体系,为小规模家庭经营以及其升级版(家庭农场)提供了全方位的服务,夯实了农业基本经营制度的基础,确保了我国的粮食安全。今后要引导合作社增强合作属性,鼓励农民按照产业发展需要成立合作社,促进农业高质量发展。

(三)大力培育高素质新型农民

2018年,我国外出农民工占全国农民工的60%。新形势下,一些农民工返乡创业。但农民工返乡并不等于返农,在外打工的农村劳动力返乡从事农业,做一个高素质的农业生产经营(合格的农民)并不容易。除了生产者之外,他还必须是经营决策者、投资者、市场风险和自然风险的承担者,这比成为一个合格的产业工人要求高得多。除了劳动报酬外,他还应获得经营决策的回报、投资回报以及风险收入,获得比在外打工更高的收入,真正能够成为成功农业企业家的还是少数。

在老一代农业新型经营主体的身旁,一批新生代农民通过专业化的教育培训,拥有较高的现代化农业生产技能与经营理念,并在积极的财政扶持政策作用下,才能坚守农业或回归农业,被称为“农二代”、“棚二代”或“果二代”。由于前辈创业的积累,农业基础设施已相对完善,信息渠道畅通,销售渠道已建立,甚至创立了品牌,资金也有保障。“农二代”能有条件传承技术、发展创新,成为乡村振兴、农业供给侧结构性改革的主力军。

四、深化农业供给侧结构性改革,确保中国主要农产品的有效供给和粮食安全

习近平总书记在2018年“两会”期间参加山东代表团审议时提出,要发展现代农业,确保国家粮食安全,注重提高农业质量、效益、整体素质。

(一)我国粮食安全的现状

1. 中国的粮食供给不能全部自给

中国水资源总量占世界水资源的比重约为7%,干旱半干旱面积占国土面积1/2以上,单位耕地面积的水资源量只有世界平均水平的1/5。水资源的分布不均匀。81%的水资源集中在仅占全部耕地36%的长江及其以

4.1 Current Status of China's Food Security

4.1.1 *China's food supply is not self-sufficient*

China's water resources account for about 7% of the world total. Over half of China's land area is arid or semiarid. China's water resources per unit of arable land are 1/5 the world average. The distribution of water resources is highly uneven; 81% of China's water resources are located in the Yangtze River Basin and the south, which are home to 36% of China's total arable land. The Huaihe River Basin and the north, which account for 64% of total arable land area, only have 19% of China's total water resources. In December 2013, Comrade Xi Jinping said that "In the past, we called for self-sufficiency for all crops, which was the only option under the historical circumstances back then, and this goal has been generally achieved. China still relies on overseas arable land and water resources in supplying agricultural produce to urban and rural consumers.

4.1.2 *Ensuring basic self-sufficiency of grain and absolute security of staple food*

The National Planning on Agriculture Modernization (2016-2020) identifies two binding targets: First, the production capacity of grains, including wheat, paddy rice, corn, and cereals, must reach 550 million tons by 2020 following international standards. Second, the self-sufficiency of wheat and paddy rice should reach 100% by 2020. The document also explains that the self-sufficiency of wheat and paddy rice refers to the extent to which domestic production capacity meets demand. In 2017, General Secretary Xi Jinping indicated that "The key is to ensure grain production capacity and be able to supply sufficient grain when demand rises. We must have land and technology to produce sufficient grain when necessary" (page 87).

4.1.3 *Impacts of China-US trade frictions of China's agriculture and food security*

China is the world's largest importer of soybeans and edible vegetable oil with soybean import accounting for more than half of the world's total soybean trade. China's total import of soybean oil, palm oil, and rapeseed oil represent about 18% of the world's total trade of edible vegetable oil. In 2017, 50.93 million tons of China's soybean imports were from Brazil, accounting for 53.3% of China's total soybean imports. China imported 32.85 million tons of soybean worth 12 billion US dollars from the United States, or 34.4% of total soybean imports - the lowest percentage since 2006 (Wei & Huang, 2018). In 2018, China imported 88.03 million tons of soybean, down about 7.50 million tons compared with the previous year. China's soybean imports were about five times higher than domestic production in the same year (16 million tons), and mainly came from Brazil (75.1%), the United States (18.9%), Argentina (1.7%), and Russia (0.9%).

Most of China's soybean imports were used for oil extraction. As a byproduct of soybean extraction, bean pulp contains a variety of amino acids and proteins, making it a good source of fodder. In 2016 and 2017, China's bean pulp consumption reached 67.26 million tons, ranking the first in the world, of which fodder consumption accounted for over 90% (Wu & Qin, 2018). China's close to 100 million tons of soybean imports has satisfied its demand for vegetable oil and livestock fodder.

In the context of China-US trade spat, we must bear in mind the new situations and challenges of globalization in formulating our food security strategy. China must ensure the supply of domestically produced GM-free high-protein edible soybeans. Based on the absolute security of staple food and basic self-sufficiency of grain, we should scientifically estimate domestic demand for high-protein edible soybeans. Domestic soybean industry must maintain an appropriate scale of production, taking into account such factors as returning farmland to forest, ecological remediation, and avoidance of continuous and alternate cropping of soybean. In preparing for future trade frictions, we should seek diverse and stable sources of imported GM soybean supply or alternative edible oil supply and fodder protein supply (Zhang, 2019c).

南地区, 占总耕地面积64%的淮河及其以北地区只占有19%的水资源。中国当前满足城乡消费者的农产品供给在一定程度上还需借助于国外的耕地和水资源。

2. 明确粮食安全的工作重点, 确保谷物基本自给, 口粮绝对安全

《全国农业现代化规划(2016—2020年)》在粮食供给保障方面提出两个约束性指标: 一个是粮食(特指谷物, 包括小麦、稻谷、玉米、杂粮四类)综合生产能力2020年达到5.5亿吨, 这一指标口径与国际相接轨。另一个是小麦稻谷自给率2020年保持在100%, 还在备注中特别说明: 小麦稻谷自给率是指小麦稻谷国内生产能力满足需求的程度。2017年, 习近平总书记指出: “关键是要保粮食生产能力, 确保需要时能产得出、供得上。……真正把藏粮于地、藏粮于技战略落到实处”(第87页)。

3. 中美贸易摩擦对中国农业及粮食安全的影响

中国是世界上大豆和食用植物油进口量最大的国家, 其中大豆进口量约占世界大豆贸易量的一半以上。豆油、棕榈油、菜籽油进口量合计约占世界食用植物油贸易量的18%。2017年, 中国进口的大豆中有5093万吨大豆来自巴西, 占了中国大豆总进口量的53.3%。进口美国大豆3285万吨, 占总进口量的34.4%, 为2006年以来最低占比, 进口金额为120亿美元(魏后凯和黄秉信, 2018)。2018年, 中国进口大豆8803.1万吨, 比上年减少749.5万吨, 进口大豆大约是国内当年产量(1600万吨)的5倍。其中, 巴西占比75.1%, 美国占比18.9%, 阿根廷占比1.7%, 俄罗斯占比0.9%。

中国进口大豆主要用于榨油。豆粕是大豆榨油后的副产品, 富含多种氨基酸和蛋白质, 是各种饲料的来源。2016—2017年, 中国的豆粕消费量为6726万吨, 位居世界第一, 其中饲料消费占中国豆粕总消费需求的90%以上(武玉环和秦富, 2018)。中国将近1亿吨大豆的进口保障了我国植物油和养殖业饲料的需求。

中美贸易摩擦是全球化进程中出现的新问题, 必须站在全球化新形势新挑战的高度来统筹考虑粮食安全战略。我国需要保证国产非转基因高蛋白食用大豆的供给。在确保口粮绝对安全、谷物基本自给的前提下, 要科学测定国内市场对国产高蛋白食用大豆的需求量, 综合考虑退耕还林、生态修复以及避免大豆重茬和迎茬等因素, 国内大豆产业的发展规模要适度。对于进口的转基因大豆, 则要寻求多元化的稳定的大豆供应来源, 或是替代豆油的其他食用油供给以及替代豆粕的其他饲料蛋白的供给, 在贸易摩擦中争取主动权(张晓山, 2019c)。

(二) 调整农业结构, 深化农业供给侧结构性改革

农业供给侧结构性改革的核心要义是降低无效供给、增加有效供给。玉米临时收储制度的取消以及小麦、稻谷最低收购价的调整标志着在确保中国的粮食安全以及使务农生产经营者物质利益不受损或尽量少受损的前提下, 主要农产品价格形成机制改革不断深化, 农产品价格正在恢复其作为市场信号、调节市场供求的基本属性。政府相关部门通过价格信号来引导农民调整农业种植结构, 并取得了一定的进展。部分农产品的无效供给减少了, 有效供给增加了, 部分主要农产品局部、阶段性的过剩问题正在得到解决(张晓山,

4.2 Adjusting Agricultural Structure and Deepen Supply-Side Structural Reforms

We should reduce ineffective supply and increase effective supply as the priority of agricultural supply-side structural reforms. By abolishing corn temporary purchase and storage system (TPSS) and adjusting the paddy rice minimum purchase price (MPP), China has continuously reformed the price mechanism for main agricultural products to protect its food security while minimizing losses to farm operators. This reform aims to restore the basic attribute of agricultural prices as a market signal in regulating supply and demand. The government has made some progress in guiding farmers to adjust the structure of crop production according to price signal, resulting in less ineffective supply and more effective supply of some agricultural products. Regional and temporary oversupply of certain main agricultural products has abated. To successfully adjust and deepen our grain security policies, we must enact and implement detailed policy rules to protect grain farmers' interests.

4.3 Agricultural Development Requires Policy Support

Under market-based resource allocation, production factors always flow to sectors and regions with higher productivity and return. As a vulnerable industry, agriculture offers a relatively low return on investment and requires the government to issue supporting policies and offer credit evaluation for new farm operators, as well as fiscal, tax, land, credit, and insurance policies. The government should also issue targeted supporting policies and carry out education and training to foster new types of farm operators as the key players of modern agriculture. New agricultural operators should develop side-by-side with smallholders.

5. Protecting Farmers' Interests and Fostering Rural Industries and Talents in the Context of Integrated Urban-Rural Development

Countryside revitalization requires elites and farmer entrepreneurs to thrive in the countryside. Cities and the countryside must stay interconnected and increase two-way factor flow. Most rural residents are unable to utilize land, labor, and other resources fully. Urban production factors like capital, technology, and human resources must be integrated with rural land and other resources to optimize rural resource allocation. In the reallocation of urban and rural factors, changes will also occur in the ownership of rural resource assets. In the context of urban-rural integration, we must grant farmers property rights in reforming the rural collective ownership system.

5.1 Exploring Effective Forms of Realizing Rural Collective Ownership to Secure Farmers' Property Rights

The greatest assets of farmers are the rural resources or assets jointly owned by them as members of a collective economy, the most important of which is rural land. At legal and realistic levels, rural collective economy is a tremendous presence in China. Once granted more property rights, farmers will see their property income rise significantly. However, the growth of farmers' property income has been constrained by the lack of ownership over land and other assets.

From 2013 to 2018, the ratio between per capita property incomes of urban and rural residents dropped from 13.09 to 11.78, but was still 4.38 times the ratio between urban and rural household incomes and far above the ratios of the other three incomes (see Table 4). Farmers' per capita property income as a share of their per capita disposable income was 2.07% in 2013 and grew slightly to 3.30% in 2018. As the table reveals, the property income gap is the most significant urban-rural income gap. However, the gap also means potentials to be released in further reforms. As General Secretary Xi Jinping said, "We should turn resources into assets, capital into equity, and farmers into shareholders, and establish new market-based mechanisms for the collective economy." The question is how to turn this vision into reality. Farmers' resources must be linked with capital in order to be turned into assets.

2019c)。值得注意的是,在此改革过程,尽量降低农民利益的受损,缩短改革的阵痛期,注重维护社会稳定,这是今后政策实施的难点和关键。

(三) 政府应为农业产业的振兴提供必要的政策支持

在市场机制作用下,生产要素总是向生产率高、投资回报率高的行业流向。而农业是一个弱势产业,要素回报率相对较低。农业的弱势性需要政府加快建立新型经营主体的支持政策体系,培育和发展各类农业新型经营主体,并促进新型农业经营主体与小农户协同发展。

五、在城乡融合发展的背景下保护农民群众的权益,促进农村产业振兴和人才振兴

城乡融合发展就意味着城乡互通,要素双向流动。农村居民往往没有能力充分利用土地、劳动力等资源,不能保持固化的模式,城市的资金、技术、人才等生产要素要与农村的土地等资源有效结合,改变农村原有的要素配置,实现资源配置的优化。而在城乡要素重新配置过程中,农村资源资产的产权格局必然会发生相应变化。为此首先要将农村自己的事情做好,深化农村集体产权制度改革,真正落实农民的财产权利,为城乡融合背景下保护农民的权益奠定坚实的产权基础。

(一) 探索农村集体所有制的有效实现形式,落实农民的财产权利

对于农民而言,他们拥有的主要财产是什么?答案是农村土地。在法理和现实层面,农村集体经济都是一个巨大的存在。赋予农民更多财产权利这一重大政策举措如能落实,则农民财产性收入应有大幅度增加。但长期以来,农民不掌握土地等资源资产的支配权、使用权,也无法从中获益,财产性收入无法出现较大幅度的增长。

如表4所示,全国城市居民与农村居民人均财产性收入之比从2013年的13.09下降到2018年的11.78,而2018年城乡居民收入比率才是2.39;而且,农民人均财产性收入占农民人均可支配收入的比重从2013年的2.07%略微上浮,2018年比重仅达到2.30%。由此可见,城乡居民财产性收入是造成城乡收入差距的主要原因,而农民增收最大的薄弱环节是财产性收入,增长潜力最大的也是这项收入(张晓山,2019a)。增加农民财产性收入,必须靠改革。如习近平总书记所说的,推动资源变资产、资金变股金、农民变股东(三变),建立符合市场经济要求的集体经济运行新机制。但“三变”,谁来接盘?农民的资产变现的平台在哪里?如何使农民真正成为股东?农民拥有的资源,要与资本联营,才能实现资源的资本化。

(二) 农户(土地与劳动)与工商资本(龙头企业)之间要建立相对均衡的利益联结机制

发展现代农业、促进乡村振兴必须在农户与龙头企业之间建立公平合理的利益联结机制。小农户能否与现代农业实现有机衔接,普通农民是否能从农业龙头企业的发展中真正得到实惠,是乡村振兴战略能否真

Table 4: Transfer and Property Incomes of Urban and Rural Residents and Ratio (yuan)

Year	Per capita transfer income for urban residents	Per capita transfer income for rural residents	Ratio	Per capita property income for urban residents	Per capita property income for rural residents	Ratio
2013	4,323	1,648	2.62	2,552	195	13.09
2014	4,816	1,877	2.57	2,812	222	12.67
2015	5,340	2,066	2.58	3,042	252	12.07
2016	5,910	2,328	2.54	3,271	272	12.03
2017	6,524	2,603	2.51	3,607	303	11.90
2018	6,988	2,920	2.39	4,028	342	11.78

Source: Calculated based on NBS data.

5.2 Creating Shared Interests between Farmers and Agribusinesses

In developing modern agriculture and revitalizing the countryside, we must create shared interests between farmers and agribusinesses. In formulating the strategy of revitalizing the countryside, we must ensure that smallholders participate in modern agriculture and benefit from the development of agribusinesses. In December 2017, President Xi remarked that “We should enhance shared interests between primary, secondary, and tertiary industries, instead of simply binding them together. We cannot enrich business people at the expense of farmers” (page 100).

Capital is a double-edged sword. We cannot let rural development turn into another round of land enclosures or a feast of capital owners. The benefits of rural revitalization must be shared by farmers. Changing allocation of resource factor must be accompanied by the relative equilibrium of interests. Against the backdrop of integrated urban-rural development, we must reform the rural collective ownership system, protect the lawful rights and interests of farmers in the free flow of factors, explore effective forms for the realization of the collective economy, secure the democratic political rights of farmers, and protect their property rights.

6. Promoting Green Countryside Development

Guided by the conviction that lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets, we should properly handle the relationship between environment and economic growth, harmonious coexistence between humans and nature, and sticks to the path of green and sustainable development.

6.1 Promoting Sustainable Agricultural Development

The steady rise in grain output and sufficient supplies of agricultural products such as meat, poultry, eggs, and milk have satisfied consumers’ demand. Yet the resilience of agriculture remains weak due to the lack of agricultural infrastructure and overburden of debts left from history. Medium- and low-yield land still accounts for two-thirds of China’s total arable land. Agriculture suffers from environmental challenges and ecosystem degradation. Over the past three decades, Heilongjiang Province saw its grassland area diminish by two-thirds, and 90% of natural grassland in China experienced degradation by varying degrees. China’s use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides is 15 to 20 percentage points less efficient compared with developed countries in Europe and North

表 4:城市居民与农村居民人均转移性收入、财产性收入以及二者比率

年份	城市居民人均转移性收入(元)	农村居民人均转移性收入(元)	二者比率	城市居民人均财产性收入(元)	农村居民人均财产性收入(元)	二者比率
2013	4323	1648	2.62	2552	195	13.09
2014	4816	1877	2.57	2812	222	12.67
2015	5340	2066	2.58	3042	252	12.07
2016	5910	2328	2.54	3271	272	12.03
2017	6524	2603	2.51	3607	303	11.90
2018	6988	2920	2.39	4028	342	11.78

资料来源:根据国家统计局数据计算整理而成。

正实施的必须正视的重要问题。2017年12月,习近平同志指出:“农村一二三产融合不是简单的一产‘接二连三’,关键是完善利益联结机制,不能富了老板、丢了老乡”(第100页)。

“资本下乡”是把双刃剑,乡村发展不能成为新的圈地热。让农民群众合法合理地分享乡村振兴的成果,应该成为基本前提。要在城乡融合发展的背景下,推进农村集体产权制度改革,在要素开放流动的农村产权格局下保障农民的合法权益,探索集体经济的有效实现形式,真正落实农民政治上的民主权利,保障他们的财产权利。

六、促进绿色发展,推动乡村生态振兴

“绿水青山就是金山银山”要求乡村振兴战略中正确处理好环境与经济的关系,处理好人与自然的关

(一) 转变农业发展方式,促进农业的可持续发展

目前我国粮食产量稳定,能够提供满足消费者需求的农产品。但农业基础设施薄弱、历史欠账多,靠天吃饭的局面没有根本改变,中低产田还占耕地总面积的2/3。农业环境问题突出,生态系统退化明显。近30年间,黑龙江省草原面积减少了2/3。全国90%的天然草原出现不同程度退化。化肥、农药利用率比欧美发达国家低15—20个百分点³。

因此,长期以来我国农业生产已对生态环境造成了无法挽回的破坏,亟待采用可持续发展理念实现农业转型升级,建立现代化农业生产体系。但转变农业发展方式,减少化肥农药、节约资源使用等是否能确保中国

³ 国务院关于推进新农村建设工作情况的报告[EB/OL], 中国人大网,2014—12—23。

America.³

Over the years, our agricultural production has not been carried out in a resource-efficient, environmentally friendly, and sustainable manner. We should upgrade agriculture and blaze a new trail of efficient and environmentally friendly modern agriculture that offers safe food products. In this process, we must supply more agricultural products with fewer chemical fertilizers and pesticides, and steadily raise farmers' income.

6.2 Environmental Protection Must Benefit the People

We must promote green and sustainable development for the benefit of farmers and the masses. In order for the concept that “lucid water and lush mountains are invaluable assets” to take hold in people's mind, we must ensure that environmental protection will lead to desirable economic results. Dirty industries should make way for clean industries such as tourism, which generate revenues and create jobs for laid-off workers. The government needs to build infrastructure to foster clean industries with public participation. Only when people benefit from environmental improvement will they take the initiative to protect the environment.

Less developed regions may take the opportunity to foster clean industries by introducing new technologies, platforms, and business modes. They may leapfrog other regions without developing polluting industries. However, the government should provide necessary infrastructure and public goods with externalities, and embrace institutional and organizational innovations; none of these tasks can be accomplished overnight.

6.3 Striking a Balance between Agricultural Supply, Livelihood and the Environment

The environment has strong externalities. When the upstream environment worsens, the downstream will suffer. When a region undertakes projects to improve the environment, it must consider the impact on the livelihoods of local residents, and compensate for their losses. When other regions benefit from an improving environment, they should also compensate for the loss of the region that undertook to improve the environment.

Apart from the African swine fever and cyclical factors, local restrictions on hog farming have also contributed to the recent shortage of hog supply in China. The central government's environmental policies, however well-crafted, are not properly implemented at the local level. For such policies to work in the short run, local authorities find it simple to follow a one-size-fits-all approach and launch campaigns to clean up whatever stands in their way. The problem lies in the flaws of our administrative system and the appointment of officials. Environmental management should bring market mechanisms into play. The government should define its functions, abide by the law when enforcing administrative rules, and receive public supervision for checks and balances.

6.4 Promoting Balanced Urban-Rural Allocation of Public Resources, and Improving the Rural Living Environment

The Central No.1 Document of 2019 calls for fair distribution of public services. The government must strive to iron out the urban-rural divide and provide more infrastructures and public services in the countryside. Urban-rural gaps in China are manifested in the huge differences of public facilities and services. Infrastructure construction should focus on the countryside, and improve rural waste treatment, drinking water safety, road construction, logistics, power grid, and broadband access to villages. We should also improve rural social security and pension and integrate urban and rural social protection systems to raise rural social security standards and invest more in urban and rural basic public services.

³ Report of the State Council on New Countryside Development, December 23, 2014, the China National People's Congress website.

的粮食安全,保持并增加主要农产品的有效供给?保持并增加务农生产者、经营者的收入?这是一个必须应对的挑战。

(二)要使人民群众从生态保护中得到实惠

产业振兴必须以生态振兴为前提,但要处理好资源开发与绿色可持续发展之间的关系。在环境治理中要考虑到中国的基本国情、农业生产者经营者的利益以及广大人民群众的基本需求。要想牢固树立“绿水青山就是金山银山”的理念,必须使绿水青山通过发展在一段时期后能有金山银山的效益,做到没有污染也能有钱。比如要做到工业下山,游客上山,就要解决产业转移、下岗工人的安置就业以及休闲旅游业的基础设施建设等现实问题。绿水青山要想变成金山银山,必须有政府的投入和群众的参与,最终使老百姓从生态保护中得到实惠。只有使广大农民群众成为生态振兴的最大受益者,他们才能成为生态环境最有力的保护者。

后发的欠发达地区,可以抓住机遇,充分利用本地人才,引入新的技术、新的平台,发展新的业态,不必走过度消耗资源、先污染后治理的老路,从而转变发展方式,实现跨越式发展。但技术的跨越、发展方式的转换,需要政府财政对相应的基础设施以及具有外部性的公共产品的投入,需要制度和组织的创新与之配套,而这些都不可能一蹴而就。换言之,技术可以跨越,观念可以超前,但制度不能跨越,投入必须跟上。

(三)保供给、保民生与保环境之间的关系要协调

环境问题具有很强的外部性效应。上游的环境变差,直接影响到下游。一个地区环境变差,直接影响到周边。环境出了问题需要治理,但涉及到相应地区群众的生计与出路,要给予相应的补偿。环境变好了之后,其他地区享受到了环境改善的成果,也应付出代价的地区给予回馈。

最近出现的生猪供应短缺的问题,其原因除了非洲猪瘟疫情与周期性因素叠加之外,各地区推行的禁养、限养措施也给生猪生产造成了一定影响。尽管中央的环保政策很全面,很实事求是,但地方在执行政策时,力度往往是往下逐渐放大,矫枉过正的倾向越来越显著。因为要想短期内见效,对于基层来说,最省事、最快捷的办法就是“一刀切”、运动式的大清理、大整顿。这也是李干杰部长严厉批评的以环保的名义“一刀切”等简单粗暴行为屡禁不止的原因。问题出在下面,根源在于我们治理体系中的行政管理体制和选人用人机制的弊端。在环境问题的处理上要充分发挥市场机制起到的决定性作用,同时政府部门要明确界定自身的功能,在实施行政措施时要有法可依,并受到监督和制衡。

(四)促进公共资源在城乡之间的均衡配置,改善农村居住环境

2019年中央一号文件提出,要推动公共服务从形式上的普惠向实质上的公平转变。这对我国政府在国民收入再分配中注重公平和正义提出了新的要求,注重缩短城乡公共服务的差距。当前城乡差距大,最直观的是公共设施、公共服务的落差大,要将农村基础设施建设作为缩小城乡差距的关键,尤其是县乡村物流基础设施和网络建设。要努力改善农村的社保、医疗、养老等社会保障服务质量,实现制度接轨,加大相关财政投入。

7. Reforming Countryside Governance and Revitalizing Rural Organizations

According to the Third National Agriculture Survey, there are 596,450 villages in China, and out of 556,264 village committees, 40,186 are agriculture-related. There are 3.17 million natural villages and 150,000 rural settlements constructed after 2006, where 230 million farming households live. How are these villages governed? This question is of considerable significance to the prosperity and stability of rural society and the Party's governance in the countryside. We should transform rural grassroots governance from top-down administrative management to self-governance with public participation and limit the functions of governance institutions.

7.1 Reforming administrative and fiscal systems

Fiscal powers should match spending responsibilities, so that townships and village committees will have the resources and capabilities to offer services to the people. In June 2019, the General Office of the CPC Central Committee and the General Office of the State Council released the *Guiding Opinions on Improving Rural Governance*, which calls for "improving the finance system for village organizations with fiscal input as the main source of income."

7.2 Defining the functions of rural collective economic organizations and recognize memberships

The definition of collective economic organizations and memberships are closely related to the reform of rural grassroots governance. We should clarify the roles and powers of collective economic organizations (community cooperatives or community equity cooperatives), and define the legal person status and type of rural collective economic organizations, as well as the rights, responsibilities, and obligations of members and rules on the entry and exit of members. Then, we should clarify the relationship between village committees and village collective economic organizations.

7.3 Creating social organizations to take over certain functions from the township and village organizations

The self-governance of villagers requires farmers to organize themselves. We should encourage farmers to form community groups, cooperatives, and associations to increase the social and organizational capital of farmers as a rural vulnerable group.

7.4 Devolving self-governing functions to the level of villagers' groups or natural villages

In natural villages or villagers' groups under an administrative village, a few dozen households live within close proximity and may share kinship ties. In a natural village as a community, it is easy for villagers to participate in the decision-making of public affairs. As government functions are increasingly devolved to administrative villages, we should also devolve self-governing functions to villagers' groups or natural villages, so that villagers' self-governance may become a vibrant form of self-organization for social administration and social services.

7.5 Adopting innovative self-governing systems by the law

Villagers must conduct self-governance by rules and regulations. Traditionally, rural communities followed the rules, whether implicit or explicit, in governing their ways of life and work. Making rules is the most efficient way of social governance. Village committees and villagers' self-governing organizations must formulate rules and act by relevant laws and regulations. In addition, we must strengthen the ethics of rural governance to prevent anyone from exploiting loopholes in the institutional transition to seek self-interest. ■

七、改革与完善乡村治理机制,推动乡村组织振兴

根据第三次全国农业普查,全国共有596450个村,其中有556264个村委会、40186个涉农居委会,317万个自然村,15万个2006年以后新建的农村居民定居点,有2.3亿农户在这些村落居住。因此,这些农户生活应在什么样的治理体系中?这关系到农村的繁荣和社会的稳定,这是中国共产党的执政根基所在。当前我国乡村基层的治理模式要通过改革,由自上而下的行政管理型转为群众参与的自治型,由全能型转向有限功能型。

(一) 深化行政管理体制和财税体制改革

要调整国民收入分配格局,构建财权和支出责任相对应的财政体制,使乡镇和村委会能拥有为群众提供服务的资源和能力。2019年6月,中共中央办公厅、国务院办公厅印发了指导意见,明确提出:“健全以财政投入为主的稳定的村级组织运转经费保障制度。”

(二) 界定农村集体经济组织的功能和认定成员资格

集体经济组织及其成员身份的界定与农村基层治理机制的改革密切相关。应明确集体经济组织(社区合作社或社区股份合作社)的内涵、外延及其权能,明确农村集体经济组织的法人地位、经济类型,界定成员的资格,明确成员的权利、责任和义务以及成员的进入和退出的相关制度安排。在此基础上厘清村委会和村集体经济组织之间的关系。


(三) 培育出各种类型的社会组织来接手乡镇与行政村组织的一些功能

没有农民组织化程度的提高,村民自治则无从谈起。农村发育多元化组织的一个重要的方面是大力发展农村的各类社团组织、社区组织、农民的合作社及协会等,提升农村弱势群体的社会资本和组织资本。

(四) 积极探索将自治功能下沉到村民小组或自然村一级

行政村下面的自然村或村民小组,几十户人家往往具有相近的血缘地缘关系,他们作为一个利益共同体,利益关系比较密切,管理半径较小,群众对公共事务的决策和监督较易操作。因此,应积极探索将自治功能下沉到村民小组或自然村一级,以村民小组或自然村为基本单元的村民自治有可能成为未来农村基层富有生命力的一种自我进行社会管理和社会服务的自治组织形式。

(五) 在法治的框架内创新自治制度

村民自治的前提是形成规章制度,这种制度安排的成本是最低的,效率也是最高的。但乡村治理的规章制度是必须要遵循相关法律法规,这也是依法治国的应有之义。此外,乡村道德建设同样不容忽视,以德治扬正气,才能真正增强居民的幸福感和获得感,同时还为防止部分乡村个人利用制度漏洞谋私利提供道德约束。

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