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博 士 学 位 论 文

中国 农业 福利 国家 的 兴起

The Rise of China' s Agricultural welfare
State

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摘要

本文关注的是农业政策领域的一个世界性的普遍现象和发展趋势，即农业福利国家的兴起。以农业补贴（以对农业生产者的直接补贴和价格补贴）为主要形式的农业福利政策自20世纪30年代以后就在欧美等主要发达国家兴起，并在80年代进入高峰。在日本、韩国为代表的东亚新兴工业国家，农业福利国家的发展程度更高，这些国家成为世界国家农业保护主义的典范。欧美、日韩等发达国家农业福利国家的兴起主要经历了三个发展阶段：以政府有限投资为主的农业推动政策阶段、价格支持政策阶段和农业补贴政策阶段。在其他发展中国家中，二十世纪八九十年代以后，政府也逐渐改变对农业传统的汲取和扭曲政策，在实施农业市场自由化战略的同时，不断加强对农业的保护力度，明显的标志是发展中农产品的名义保护率的提高。

2000年以来，农业福利国家的趋势也在发展中国家逐渐体现。

以最低收购价和农业补贴政策为标志，中国农业福利国家的兴起趋势也十分明显，本文研究的焦点也正在于揭示中国农业福利国家的兴起过程以及解释其兴起背后的政治经济因素。本文的重点也在运用现代化-趋同理论和新的理论框架来呈现中国农业福利国家兴起的政治经济学。继第一章导论后，第二章指出中国农业福利国家的兴起的特征和趋势符合现代化-趋同理论的一般原理，但是这一理论无法准确地描述中国农业福利国家兴起的特殊过程以及很好地解释其复杂的政治经济动因，因此本文在第三章全面总结农业保护主义政治经济学理论的基础上提出了新的解释性理论框架。第四到第八章是本文的主体内容，主要是运用第三章的理论框架分析中国改革前后中国农业福利国家兴起过程与动因。第九章是结论和政策建议。

本文的研究的基本结论之一是，中国农业福利国家兴起方兴未艾，以农业补贴政策为标志的农业福利国家的兴起过程主要经过了从改革前到改革后的四个阶段，其中第一阶段是改革前三十年“反农业福利国家”阶段，以扭曲性的农业集体化制度和掠夺性的市场和流通制度为主要内容；第二阶段是改革后农业集体化制度的消除和农业推动政策的变化；第三阶段是农业价格体制逐渐走向市场化和价格支持体制的建立，最后一个阶段是农业补贴政策的建立和发展，这也标志着中国农业福利国家的兴起。中国农业福利国家兴起必然要经历上述过程和几个阶段，这既是中国的特

殊国情和独特发展经历，也是农业福利国家的普遍规律。

本文的研究并不仅仅停留在对中国农业福利国家新起过程的描述上，我们对过程的描述融入在农业福利国家政治经济动因的分析之中的。不同于既有的关于农业保护主义决定因素的各种研究和若干理论模型，本文提出了分析中国情形的理论框架，包含了解释中国农业福利国家兴起全过程的决定因素与动因。本文解释性的理论框架包含了三个主要的因素与变量，即意识形态/观念、利益冲突-危机和公共财政，本文的分析表明，包含三个主要变量的理论框架能够较好地解释中国自1949年以来中国农业政策的转型和农业福利国家的兴起。按照这样的理论框架，本文对农业政策的各个阶段和各项农业政策领域的发展演变进行分析和解释，这一内容构成了本文研究的主体。

关于中国农业福利国家兴起的政治经济学，本文研究的基本结论是，意识形态与政策观念是决定中国农业政策转型的最重要因素，国家领导层主导性的意识形态理念和政策观念决定了国家对农业的基本态度和政策取向。改革前社会主义公有制意识形态与集体化优越论，以及重工业导向的国家发展战略直接决定了农业基本生产制度和汲取型农业政策取向。改革后市场化理念的演进和90年代以后偏向城市化的发展战略也影响了农产品价格市场化改革和农业推动政策的发展。2000年以后，特别是胡温政府执政后提出和谐社会与科学发展观这一新的意识形态与发展理念比上一届政府更加重视社会公平与对弱势群体的救助。农民补贴制度被领导层视为提高农民收入、解决农业薄弱地位的重要途径，农业福利国家因而得以兴起。尽管执政党意识形态与观念的转移与发展对农业福利国家的兴起过程至关重要，但是农业和经济领域的危机和利益因素则对加速和减缓这一过程同样起着不可忽视的作用。最后，财政能力与财政体制对中国农业政策的转型也发挥了十分重要的作用，在部分情形下推动了农业价格政策的改革，在部分情形下，决定了农业推动政策的强弱以及农业福利政策的扩张规模。

本文认为意识形态/观念、危机和公共财政将持续影响着中国农业政策的发展与农业福利国家的演进。上一届政府的基本执政理念将被继承，国家财政能力和体制的稳固决定了中国农业福利国家不断增强的趋势不会被逆转，但是执政意识形态的发展和战略的转移也将对中国农业福利国家的发展带来部分可变因素，而包括经

济与社会冲突与危机因素也仍然对中国福利国家的走势产生调节作用。

关键词：农业福利国家, 意识形态, 危机, 公共财政

厦门大学博硕士论文摘要库

Abstract

This paper focuses on a worldwide phenomenon and trend of agricultural policy, which is the rise of agricultural welfare state. The agricultural welfare policy taken the form of agricultural subsidies (direct subsidies and price subsidies for agricultural producers) emerged since 1930s in main developed countries such as the Europe and U.S and reached its climax in 1980's. In East Asian countries such as Japan, South Korea and other emerging industrial countries, the degree to which agricultural welfare grows even higher than the European countries and the U.S. These countries become a model for agricultural protectionism. The rise of agricultural welfare state in Europe, the United States, Japan and other developed countries, has experienced three stages of development: the promotion policy, price support policy and agricultural subsidy policy. In other developing countries, since the 1980s and 1990s, the government has gradually changed the agricultural exploitation policy and price distortion policy. The state implemented the marketization strategy and at the same time continued to strengthen the support to agriculture. One of the most prominent symbols is the nominal protection rate had increased. Agricultural welfare state has gradually risen in China.

Taking the lowest purchase price and the agricultural subsidy policy as a symbol, the rise of China's agricultural welfare state is also very obvious. This paper aims to present the process of China's agricultural welfare state and analyze the political and economic determinants. The first chapter is introduction. The second chapter puts forward the theoretical framework of this paper based on the review of agricultural protectionism theory. The third chapter introduces the China's agricultural welfare state theory and practice. The fourth chapter to the eighth chapter is the main content of this paper, mainly based on the theoretical framework of the second chapter, to analyze the process of the rise of agricultural

welfare state and its motivation. The ninth chapter is the conclusion and policy recommendations.

One of the basic conclusions of this study is that China's agricultural welfare state is just emerging now. There are four stages for the rise of agricultural subsidy policy as a symbol of the agricultural welfare state before and after the reform.

The first stage is the anti- agricultural welfare stage before the reform. The main contents of the first stage are the agricultural collectivization and agricultural market system. The second stage is the abolition of distorting agricultural policy and the change in agricultural promotion policy after the reform. The third stage is the gradual establishment of marketed agricultural price system and the price support system. The last stage is the establishment and development of agricultural subsidy policy, marking the rise of China's agricultural welfare state.

China's agricultural welfare state must go through the process of these four stages above.

This paper will concentrate on the analysis of the political and economic determinants of the rise of China's agricultural welfare state rather than just depict the process. Different from the existing research on agricultural protectionism to determine various factors and several theoretical models. This paper presents a new analytic framework adaptive to China's situation. The theoretical framework consists of three main factors and variables, namely ideology/idea, crisis and public finance. This paper indicates the theoretical framework can explain the rise of China's agricultural welfare state since 1949. According to the theoretical framework, this paper focuses on the development of agricultural policy in various stages and various agricultural fields, which is main part of the paper.

Another basic conclusion of this paper is that the idea and ideology is the most important determinants of the rise of China's agricultural welfare state. The national political elites' dominant ideology and policy idea determines the country's basic attitude and policy orientation for agriculture. The ideology of

socialist public ownership, superiority of agrarian collectivization and heavy industry oriented national development strategy directly determined the basic agricultural production system and extractive oriented agriculture policy before the reform. After 1978, the marketed reform idea and the transfer of development strategy to urban in 1990s also affected the market-oriented agricultural reform and promotion policy. After 2000, new ideology “the harmonious society and scientific outlook on development” Hu and Wen administration put forward pay more attention to social equity and aid for disadvantaged groups than the previous government. Agricultural subsidy was perceived as an important method by the leadership to raise farmers' income and solve agricultural weak status. Agricultural welfare state therefore began to rise. Although the transfer and development of the ruling ideology and idea is vital for the rise of agricultural welfare state, the agricultural and economic crisis also played an important role of acceleration or inhibition of the rise process. Finally, fiscal capacity and the fiscal system also had a very important influence on the transformation of China's agricultural policy. In some cases it drove the reform of agricultural price policy. In some cases, it determined the degree to which agriculture was promoted and the agricultural welfare policy was expanded.

This paper argues that ideology/ideas, crisis and public finance will continue to affect the development of China's agricultural policy and the evolution of agricultural welfare state. We think that the inheritance of previous government's basic governance idea and the stability of public finance ability and system determine that the trend of China's agricultural welfare state will be continuous and hardly be reversed. But the development of the ruling ideology and transfer of development strategy will also bring some uncertainty to the development of Chinese agricultural welfare state, while some crisis including economic and social crisis, is still shaping of the agricultural welfare state in China.

Keywords: agricultural welfare state, Ideology, Crisis, Public finance

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