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中国农民专业合作社 发展问题研究

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经济科学出版社
Economic Science Press

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图书在版编目 (CIP) 数据

中国农民专业合作社发展问题研究/陈丽丽, 李桢著.
—北京: 经济科学出版社, 2012. 8
ISBN 978 - 7 - 5141 - 2156 - 8

I. ①中… II. ①陈…②李… III. ①农业合作社 -
专业合作社 - 研究 - 中国 IV. ①F325. 1

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字 (2012) 第 159380 号

责任编辑: 于海汛
责任校对: 徐领柱
版式设计: 代小卫
责任印制: 邱 天

中国农民专业合作社发展问题研究

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经济科学出版社出版、发行 新华书店经销

社址: 北京市海淀区阜成路甲 28 号 邮编: 100142

总编部电话: 88191217 发行部电话: 88191537

网址: [www. esp. com. cn](http://www.esp.com.cn)

电子邮件: [esp@ esp. com. cn](mailto:esp@esp.com.cn)

北京京鲁创业科贸有限公司印装

710 × 1000 16 开 32. 75 印张 610000 字

2012 年 7 月第 1 版 2012 年 7 月第 1 次印刷

ISBN 978 - 7 - 5141 - 2156 - 8 定价: 52. 00 元

(图书出现印装问题, 本社负责调换。电话: 88191502)

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中文摘要

农民专业合作社是在农村家庭承包经营基础上，同类农产品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、民主管理的法人实体，是以成员自愿联合为基础、以为成员服务为目的的互助性经济组织。这一新型的农村生产经营组织形式是农村统分结合的双层经营体制不断发展和完善的必然趋势，是引导农民进入市场和提高农业组织化程度的需要，是推进农业产业化经营、增加农民收入的有效组织形式，对于完善农村经营体制、发展现代农业意义重大。2007年7月1日，《中华人民共和国农民专业合作社法》颁布实施，我国农民专业合作社组织步入依法规范发展的轨道。国家工商总局统计显示：截至2012年3月底，全国经工商注册登记的农民专业合作社有55.23万户，出资总额7995.56亿元，实有成员总数1321.19万个。合作社在完善农村经营体制，推动现代农业发展中发挥了重要作用。但是，我国农民专业合作社在快速发展过程中，也存在着一系列问题，这些问题制约着农民专业合作社的进一步健康发展。

本书以马克思主义经典作家农民合作经济理论为指导，借鉴西方经济学者农业合作理论，系统阐释农民专业合作社发展基本原理，农民专业合作社培育规律和运行机制。马林诺夫斯基曾指出：“一切组织和一切协调行为都是传统的延续性的结果，并且在每个文化中，都有其不同的形式。”合作本身就具有很强的历史传承性。合作是指社会互动的一种方式，即指挥个人或群体之间为达到某一确定目标，彼此通过协调作用而形成的联合行动。参与者必须有共同的目标、相近的认识、协调的互动、彼此认可

的规范，才能达到预期的效果。马克思曾得出农民是一袋马铃薯的著名结论，梁漱溟先生也说中国农民很散漫，他们必须“从分散往合作里走，以合作团体利用外部技术”。中国农民确实存在“善分不善合”的普遍现象，人们明明认识到合作可以带来更大的收益，却偏偏选择不合作而选择竞争，结果导致两败俱伤。这是一些合作社实际工作者最感到困惑的问题。在这样的现状下，我国的农民专业合作社应该是多功能联合体，我国的农民专业合作社不仅应该是同类农产品生产者之间生产的联合，更主要的是生产与销售的联合，生产者与技术服务提供者的联合，只有这样才能体现资源的异质性互补，以实现潜在的合作收益，推动中国农民专业合作社的发展。

农民专业合作社作为一种新的制度安排，必然是在既定的制度环境中实现的，制度环境因素对于农民专业合作社的创建和发展是至关重要的。制度是为调节人们的相互关系而人为设定的制约，是社会的游戏规则。制度体系是一个社会各种各样制度的总和，分为制度环境和制度安排两个层次。制度环境提供一系列用来建立生产、交换与分配基础的基本规则。制度安排是一系列被制定出来的规则、服从程序和道德、伦理的行为规范，在特定领域内约束人们行为，旨在提供一种使其成员的合作获得一些在结构外不可能获得的追加收入。农民专业合作社规范可持续发展，必须注重制度环境培育和构建，制度安排的合理有效以及良好的机制设置是农民专业合作社健康发展的重要保障。我国农民专业合作社起步较晚，农民专业合作社赖以生存和发展的制度环境不健全，严重影响我国农民专业合作社健康发展。本书指出，我国必须深化农地使用权制度改革，完善农业基本经营制度；加快农民工市民化进程，解决农业人口转移问题；促进农业产业化经营，实现农业产业扩张；加快农业人力资源开发，提升农民合作与竞争能力；构建农村金融支持体系，解决农民专业合作社资金瓶颈问题；培育家庭农场，构建社会主义农业企业集团，实现社会主义现代农业组织制度创新，为我国农民专业合作社发展提供

制度保障。

1978年以来我国农民专业合作经济组织的实践历程表明,制度变迁对中国农业发展取得良好的经济绩效具有重要作用。与改革开放前的强制性制度供给不同,1978年后的制度变迁是以初级行为主体对潜在的获利机会的积极追求为主因的一场诱致性变迁。从大包干到乡镇企业的崛起,到股份合作制的实行,到农业产业化,制度变迁是一个不断认识获利机会、不断实现潜在收益的过程。但是,这场制度变迁却又明显表露出制度供给不足的弊端,这是合作社成效有限的原因所在。

世界合作社经济诞生 160 多年来,合作社的价值和功能日趋扩大,目前,合作社的直接受益人口接近 30 亿,占世界总人口的一半。从国际情况来看,农业合作社越发达、越完善,该国的农业现代化程度就越高、产业化实力就越强。国际农业合作社经验表明:合作社是自愿联合起来的人们通过联合所有与民主控制的企业来满足他们共同的经济、社会、文化的需求与抱负的自治联合体。纵观国外农业合作社的发展模式,依据其产生和发展的途径或促进力量,可归纳为两种类型,即市场推动型或自下而上发展模式和政府推动型或自上而下发展模式。20 世纪 60 年代以来,随着农业的市场化、国际化加速,农产品市场竞争加剧,农民合作社经历了来自多方面的挑战,但迄今为止,仍然呈现出蓬勃发展之势,在许多国家的农产品市场上占据主导地位,在保护农民利益,增加农民收入方面发挥了不可替代的作用,具有重大参考和借鉴价值。

2006 年 10 月《农民专业合作社法》的颁布,2010 年 6 月农业部《农民专业合作社示范社创建标准(试行)》的实施,清晰可见中国农民专业合作社的发展试图走规范化的道路。但是,我国农民专业合作社在发展中也暴露出种种不规范的问题。研究中国农民专业合作社的发展问题,必须在研究其发展的影响因素、成长机制、治理结构和政府在合作社发展中的功能定位的同时,高度重视对农民专业合作社发展出现的异质性的解读,必须高度

重视对合作社发展背后的利益分配机制及其蕴涵的多样化的农业经营主体的形成过程。合作社作为一种组织形态，其运行根植于所在的区域环境之中，与区域环境之间存在密集的资源交换。“十二五”期间沿海经济发达地区农民专业合作社应以农村家庭承包经营为基础，以市场为导向，以改革为动力，以两岸农业合作为契机，引导和推动农民专业合作社、农产品行业协会、合作社联合社、合作组织联合会、农业专业服务组织的发展，完善农村发展体制机制，提高农业经营组织化程度；构建现代农业支撑体系，提升农业产业化经营水平，增强农民参与国内外市场竞争能力，促进城乡统筹发展，实现农业增效、农民增收。经济欠发达地区发展农民专业合作社，一是要根据本地实际来发展具有比较优势的产业；二是要根据合作社的实际做出不同的制度安排来保证运行效率；三是将提升农民素质、培育新型农民作为合作社发展的重要保障与内生动力。

“十二五”期间，在谋求发展的过程中，农民专业合作社应该进行准确的社会角色定位，作为一种“服务型的中介组织”以及“独立组织”，发挥其在农村社会经济发展中的职责与功能。对农民专业合作社的社会角色定位的过程实际上是一个加强政府对组织的认可、组织对自身的认知以及农民对该组织认同程度的过程，这也是在今后的发展过程中我国农民专业合作社应该采取的总体思路和基本原则。“十二五”期间，政府必须在信用、保险、流通等领域给予农民更优惠的政策支持，使农民合作组织能够实现良性健康发展。本书立足于加快现代农业发展的时代背景，选择中国农民专业合作社这一研究视角，对中国农民专业合作社发展问题进行系统地梳理和积极探索，研究成果可为中国农民专业合作社发展提供具体模式和政策建议，为政府和相关部门制定农民专业合作社发展规划、政策和管理制度提供参考和借鉴。

Abstract

Farmers' Specialized Cooperatives bases on rural household contract operations. The operators of congener produce production operators or the providers and users of similar agricultural production and operation service, the legal entity of voluntary union and democratic management are the mutual service economic organization which base on the members united voluntarily and aim at serving the members. This new type of rural production and operation organization form is the inevitable trend of the constantly development and improvement of the rural household output-related dual operation system. It is the need to guide peasants to access markets and improve the degree of organization of agriculture. It is the effective organization form that promotes the industrialized operation of agriculture and increases the income of farmers. And it is very important for the improvement of the rural management system and the development of modern agriculture. On 1st, July, 2007, with the People's Republic of farmers' professional co-operatives law enacted in China, farmers' specialized cooperative organizations step into the track of standardized development. Statistics from the state Administration for Industry and Commerce shows that by the end for march 2012 there were 552, 300 Farmer's Professional cooperatives registered by industry and commerce in nationwide. The total fund in 799, 556 billion yuan. The actual number of members is 13, 211, 900. Cooperation plays an important role in perfecting agricultural management system and promoting the development of modern agriculture. However, in the rapid development process of China's farmers' professional cooperatives, it has a series of problems, which restricts the farmers' professional cooperatives further healthy development.

This book is led by classic Marxist writers' farmer cooperative economy theory and draw lesson from western scholars' agricultural cooperation economic theo-

ry, which interprets systematically the basic principle of farmers' professional cooperatives development and the cultivation regularity and operation mechanism of farmers' professional cooperatives. Malinowski once pointed out: "all organizations and all coordinated actions are results of traditional continuity and have different forms in every culture." Cooperation itself has strong historical reproductivity. Cooperation refers to a way of social interaction, which commands individual or group to achieve a certain goal and is a joint action formed by each other's coordination function. Participants must have a common goal, relevant knowledge, coordinative interaction, and each other's accredited standard, which can achieve the expected effect. Marx has made a famous conclusion that farmers are a bag of potato. Liang Shuming also says that China's farmers are much undisciplined and they must "walk in cooperation from scatter with cooperation group and using external technology". It really exist the universal phenomenon that China's farmers "are good at separating not cooperating". People undoubtedly know that cooperation can bring great benefits, but they choose competition rather than cooperation and result in loss at both sides. This is the most confused problem that some cooperative practitioners feel. In such a situation, China's farmers' professional cooperatives should be multifunction association. It should not only be the joint of production between similar agricultural producers but also more importantly be the joint of production and sales and the joint of producers and technology service provider. Only in this way, it can reflect the heterogeneity complementary of resources in order to realize the potential cooperation benefits and promote the development of Chinese farmers' professional cooperatives.

Farmers' professional cooperatives, as a new system arrangement, must be realized under the given system environment. For the establishment and development of farmers' professional cooperatives, system environment factors are vital important. System is the restriction set by man to adjust the relationship between people and is social rules of the game. System is the total of social various systems. It divided into two levels which are the system environment and the system arrangement. The system environment offers a series of basic rules that used to set up the production, exchange and basis of distribution. The system arrangement is a series of rules enacted, which is codes of conduct obeying procedures, moral and ethical. In particular field, it constraints people's behavior and aims at pro-

viding its members' cooperation some unobtained additional income out of structure. Farmers' professional cooperatives standard sustainable development and must pay attention to the system environment's cultivation and construction. The rational and effective institutional arrangements and the good mechanism setting are the important guarantee of the healthy development of farmers' professional cooperatives. Our country's farmers' professional cooperatives starts later, the system environment of survival and development of farmers' professional cooperatives is not perfect, which influences seriously our country farmers' professional cooperatives' health development. This book points out, China should deepen the reform of the system of land use right, improve agricultural basic management systems; speed up the process of urbanization of farmer workers, solve the problem of the transfer of the agricultural population; promote the industrialized operation of agriculture, to realize the agricultural industrial expansion; speed up the agriculture human resources development, improve the farmer cooperative and competitive ability; build the rural financial support system to solve the farmers' professional co-operatives capital bottleneck problems; foster family farm, construct socialist agriculture enterprise group, realize socialism modern agriculture organization system innovation, in order to provide the system guarantee for our country farmers' professional cooperatives development.

Since 1978, the practicing process of China farmers' specialized cooperative economic organization shows that the institutional changes plays an important role in achieving good economic performance in China agricultural development. Different from the compulsory system supply before the reform and open policy, the institutional change after 1978 is an induced change mainly caused by active pursuit of the potential profit opportunity of the primary behavior of the main body. From all-round contract to the rise of township enterprises, to the implementation of the joint-stock system, to the agricultural industrialization, institutional change is a constantly process of knowing profit opportunities and realizing the potential benefits. However, the system change shows again obviously the disadvantages of the supply system, and this is the reason that cooperative effect is limited.

The cooperative economy was born for 160 years. The value and function of cooperation increases gradually. At present, the benefit directly population of co-

operation closes to 3 billion, accounting for half of the world's population. From the international situation, the more developed and perfect the agricultural cooperative is, the higher the country's agricultural modernization degree is and the stronger the industrialization strength is. International agricultural cooperative experience shows that: the cooperation is the association of autonomy joined up voluntarily by people through the combination of all democratic controlled enterprises to meet their common economic, social and cultural needs and aspirations. Throughout the development patterns of the foreign agricultural cooperative, with its occurrence and the way to develop or promote power, it can be classified into two types, namely the market pushing or bottom-up development model and the government pushing or top-down development model. Since the 1960s, along with the acceleration of agriculture marketization and internationalization, the market competition of agricultural product intensifies. Farmers' cooperatives go through various challenges. However, so far, it still presents the vigorous development trend. It dominates in many countries' agricultural market and plays an irreplaceable role in protecting the interests of farmers and increasing the farmers' income. It has great reference and reference value.

In 2006, "farmer professional cooperatives law" issued, and in June, 2010, department of agriculture "farmers' professional cooperatives demonstration club create standard (try out)" implemented, from these Chinese farmers' professional cooperative clearly visible tries to go the way of the development of standardization. However, China's farmers' professional cooperatives in developing also exposed a variety of non-standard problem. To study China farmers' professional cooperatives problem of development, which must study the influencing factors of development, the growth mechanism, the governance structure and the functional orientation of the government in the cooperative development, at the same time, pay high attention to the interpretation of the heterogeneity occurred in the development of farmers' professional cooperatives and must attach great importance to the interest distribution mechanism behind the development of the cooperative and the contained diversification of the forming process of the agricultural management subject. Cooperation as an organization form, its operation is embedded in the area of environment and exchanges the intensive resources with the regional environment.

During the period of the 12th Five Year Plan, which is The People's Republic of the national economy and social development, in the coastal economic developed area, the farmers' specialized cooperative organizations should with rural household contract management as the foundation, market as orientation, reform as motive power, the agricultural cooperation on both sides as an opportunity, to guide and promote the development of farmers' professional cooperatives, the agricultural product associations, the cooperative enterprise, cooperation organization federation and agricultural professional service organization, and to improve the mechanism of system of rural development, promote agricultural management organizational level, construct the modern agricultural support system, improve agricultural industrialization level, and enhance the peasants' market competition ability participating in domestic and international market, promote urban and rural development, realize the agricultural efficiency and the farmers' income. Economic less-developed areas develop farmers' professional cooperatives. First it is to develop comparative advantage industries according to the local reality. Second it is to make a different system arrangement to ensure efficiency on the basis of the actual cooperatives. Third is to improve farmers' quality, and cultivate new farmers as important security and endogenous power of cooperative development.

During the period of the 12th Five Year Plan, which is The People's Republic of the national economy and social development, in the process of seeking development, farmers' specialized cooperative organizations should be accurate social role, as a kind of "service of intermediary organizations" and "independent organization", brings its duty and function into play in the rural social and economic development. The process of the social role positioning of farmers' specialized cooperative organizations is actually a course that strengthens the government's approval of the organization, the organizations' cognition of themselves and farmers' identity degree of the group. This is also the overall thinking and the basic principle that China farmers' specialized cooperative organizations should take in the process of the development in the future. During the period of the 12th Five Year Plan, which is The People's Republic of the national economy and social development, the government must give farmers more preferential policies support in the credit, insurance, circulation, etc, so as to make

farmers' cooperative organizations realize positive healthy development. This book is established in speeding up the development of modern agriculture times background, choosing this research perspective which is China farmers' professional cooperatives, in order to clean up systematically and actively explore the problems of China's farmers' professional cooperatives' development. Research results can provide specific model and policy recommendations for China's farmers' professional cooperatives development, make farmers' professional cooperatives development planning, policy and management system for the government and related department, provide reference for them.

目 录

绪论	1
第一章 国内外农业合作问题研究综述	12
第一节 国外研究综述	12
第二节 国内研究综述	21

上部 农民专业合作社基本原理

第二章 农民专业合作社理论基础	31
第一节 农民专业合作社相关概念释义	31
第二节 马克思主义经典作家农民专业合作社相关理论	48
第三节 西方经济学者农业合作经济组织相关理论	57
第三章 农民专业合作社运作原理	62
第一节 农民专业合作社产生与发展的基础和条件	62
第二节 农民专业合作社治理理论	75
第三节 农民专业合作社运行机制	86

中部 农民专业合作社制度环境

第四章 农地使用权制度改革与创新	105
第一节 农地使用权制度改革的理论基础	105

第二节	农地使用权制度改革国际比较	111
第三节	我国农地使用权制度的历史变迁	116
第四节	我国农地使用权制度改革模式探索	125
第五章	农民工市民化制度创新	145
第一节	农民工市民化理论基础	145
第二节	农民工市民化的内在机理	153
第三节	农民工市民化制度构想	160
第六章	农业产业化经营与制度创新	175
第一节	农业产业化经营的理论与实践	175
第二节	农业产业化经营的国际经验	184
第三节	我国农业产业化经营的发展模式和运行机制	191
第四节	中国农业产业化经营制度创新	211
第七章	农业人力资源开发制度	225
第一节	农业人力资源开发的理论基础	225
第二节	我国农业人力资源开发状况分析	233
第三节	农业人力资源开发的制度创新	239
第八章	农民专业合作社金融支持体系	250
第一节	农民专业合作社融资理论基础	250
第二节	农民专业合作社融资国际比较与借鉴	260
第三节	农民专业合作社金融服务体系支持路径与 政策框架	267
第九章	社会主义现代农业组织培育与创新	284
第一节	发达国家现代农业组织制度形成规律	284
第二节	我国现代农业组织雏形——家庭农场	290
第三节	我国现代农业组织支柱——社会主义现代农业 企业集团	295

下部 中国农民专业合作社实践探索

第十章 中国农民专业合作社产生与发展	319
第一节 1949~2012 年中国农业合作制度的变迁	319
第二节 中国农民专业合作社绩效评价	324
第三节 中国农民专业合作社发展的难题	331
第十一章 农业合作社国际（地区）纵览与启示	343
第一节 世界农民专业合作社典型发展模式	343
第二节 农业合作社发展规律国际（地区）比较与借鉴	351
第十二章 中国农民专业合作社区域运作策略	356
第一节 农民专业合作与区域环境互动的理论阐释	357
第二节 中国农民专业合作社的异质性与多元发展格局	364
第三节 沿海经济发达地区农民合作社发展思路	385
第四节 经济欠发达地区农民合作社发展模式与运作策略	430
附件 1 中华人民共和国农民专业合作社法	460
附件 2 农民专业合作社登记管理条例	468
附件 3 农民专业合作社示范章程	473
附件 4 国际合作社联盟章程	483
参考文献	491
后记	504

绪 论

世界合作社经济诞生 160 多年来，其价值和功能越来越受到广泛关注。目前，合作社的直接受益人口接近 30 亿，占世界总人口的一半。在许多国家，合作社经济已经成为仅次于私有制经济、公有制经济的第三种经济力量。纵观欧、美、加、日等国的情况，农业合作组织越发达、越完善，该国的农业现代化程度就越高、产业化实力就越强。“十二五”时期是加快发展现代农业的重要机遇期，按照科学发展观的要求，必须大力发展现代农业，加快推进农业现代化，使工业化、城镇化和农业现代化同步推进，协调发展。改革的核心目标是建立一种促进效率、确保公平、维护稳定的社会经济运行机制。按这个要求，“十二五”规划时期农村改革的目标应集中于三个方面：一是加快城镇化建设进程，大量转移农民，实现农民市民化，以解决公平问题；二是规范发展农民专业合作社，提高农业市场竞争力，促进中国农业转变为市场分工体系中可获得平均利润和平均工资的一个竞争性行业，以解决农业生产效率问题，加快农业现代化进程；三是依靠专业农户支撑中国农业，把中国农村变为专业农户生产区和生活区，构建新型的农村社会结构，根本上解决农村社会稳定问题。为实现这些目标，“十二五”规划时期应坚持走中国特色农业现代化道路，把转变农业发展方式作为主线，深化农村土地制度改革、城乡一体化配套改革和国家支农体制改革，突出发展综合型农民专业合作社，促进农村微观经济组织改革与创新。本书分三大部分，从农民专业合作社发展基本原理、制度环境和实践探索等视角全面阐释中国农民专业合作社发展问题，旨在为亟待健康发展的农民专业化合作社谏言献策，为政府决策提高策略支持。

目前，我国农业依然未能真正跳出传统农业的框架，完成小农经济改造问题。马克思主义经典作家合作经济发展理论，为正确解决中国农民专业合作社发展问题奠定厚实的理论基础；西方经济学者众多思想理论流派，对我国农民专业合作社发展具有重大的借鉴意义。世界农业合作经济