中国农村 微观经济组织 形式研究 系列

中国农村 微观经济组织 变迁研究

1949-1985

以湖北省为中心的

个案分析

梅德平●著



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总 序

中国是一个农业大国、农民大国、农村大国。迄今为止,农村人口仍然占全国人口的多数。但是,在中国,要想透彻地理解农业、农民、农村这"三农"问题实属不易。二十多年前,有一批热血青年曾激愤地写道:"农村问题最重要,却最不受人重视;农民人数最多,研究农村的人却最少;农村问题牵扯面最广、最复杂,对它的研究却最狭隘、最贫乏。"①二十多年过去了,我国的农村经济发生了极大的变化,农村经济的研究也比过去深入了很多,但是,农业、农民、农村这"三农"问题依然是中国经济工作中的"重中之重"。当然,今天的"三农"问题已不同于二十多年前的"三农"问题。旧的矛盾解决了,新的矛盾又产生了。在一定的程度上,新的矛盾比旧的矛盾更复杂,牵涉面更广,解决的难度也更大。

研究课题越是重大和复杂,研究的难度越大,就越具有理论上的挑战性,也越能激发人们的研究潜能与创新动力。二十多年前的农村改革,从家庭联产承包责任制起步,实质上是农村微观

① 中国农村发展问题研究组: 《认清国情,加强农村发展的综合研究》,载《农业经济丛刊》1981年第3期。

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经济组织的重新构造。家庭替代公社体制下的生产队,成为农村 经济最普遍、最基本的微观主体,是农村改革与发展的基础。然 而、农户(家庭)并不是我国目前农村唯一的微观经济组织形 式。在一个较为自由的广阔空间,中国的农民创造了许多各具特 色的微观经济组织形式,例如农业股份公司、各种类型的专业合 作社、股份合作社、农业技术协会、家庭农场、公司+农户等 等,当然,它还应包括河南临颍南街村的"共产主义小社区"、 广东中山崖口村的农业生产大队这些仍体现人民公社体制本质的 组织。总之,与人民公社体制的"大一统"、"清一色"相比,我 国的农村微观经济组织形式已呈现出千姿百杰、共存并竞争的多 样化发展态势。这些非家庭的农村微观经济组织在什么情况下可 以替代农户(农户微观经济主体地位消失),在什么情况下又与 农户并存、互补或兼容?各种不同类型微观经济组织形式存在与 发展的内在机理、外在环境是什么?这些组织存在与发展的合理 边界在哪里,它们是否具有发展的可持续性? 我国农村微观经济 组织未来的发展趋势又是什么?诸如此类的种种问题,要合理地 解释、正确地回答、确实非常不容易、而这些问题又是关系到我 国农业、农民、农村发展命运的大问题。如果我们把眼光放得更 远一点,新中国成立后半个多世纪的农村史,事实上也是一幅波 澜壮阔的微观经济组织变迁史。这里有经验,也有教训;有理 想,也有迷惘;有激情,也有狂热。的确,这是一段充满希望的 历史,也是一段充满痛苦的历史。借用曾经十分流行的一句话. "前途是光明的,道路是曲折的。"我说这些,无非是要说明,从 微观经济组织的变迁人手,或许是研究农村经济的一个适宜的切 人点。

2001年我们通过投标竞争,承担了教育部人文社会科学基金的重大科研项目《中国农村微观经济组织形式研究》

(01JAZJD790002)。几年来,课题组组织了华中师范大学经济学院的 100 多名本科生在全国 20 个省、市、自治区 87 个县(市)开展了两次农村千户调查;课题组成员还实地考察了湖北、湖南、河南、广东、浙江、甘肃等一些农业股份公司、合作社、私人农场等不同类型的微观经济组织。作为课题组负责人,2003年8月至2004年2月我还利用在英国剑桥大学做访问学者的机会实地考察了英国的农村。几年来,课题组成员共发表了相关论文近二十篇,并形成了三本既有内在关联、又具有相对独立意义的专著:《中国农村微观经济组织变迁研究(1949—1985)——以湖北省为中心的个案分析》(梅德平)、《中国农业上市公司的绩效与股票运行分析研究》(叶桦)、《当代中国农村微观经济组织形式研究》(曹阳)。我们的这些研究肯定不是尽善尽美,但可以告慰的是,我们确实付出了艰辛的努力。

最后,我要感谢课题组的同事,他们是:梅德平先生、张启春女士、李庆华先生、叶桦女士。我还要感谢参与课题调查的华中师范大学经济学院的同学,感谢许许多多为课题研究提供过帮助的朋友。代表课题组全体成员,我要特别感谢华中师范大学中国农村问题研究中心的徐勇先生、项继权先生,感谢华中师范大学社会科学处的石挺处长,感谢他们为本项目的顺利完成以及系列专著的公开出版所做出的贡献。

曹 阳 于武昌桂子山

序 言

当代中国的改革开放虽为时仅二十余年,但却取得了举世瞩目的成果,国人无不为之骄傲和自豪。但是,我们也要清醒地认识到,在现今改革开放和现代化发展的进程中,中国仍然面临着许多难题。如果不能很好地分析和解决这些难题,将会严重制约中国现代化发展的最终结局。在这些难题中,"三农"问题无疑首当其冲,不仅学术理论界甚为关注,而且受到中央和各级政府的高度重视,视之为影响中国现代化成败的关键因素。

"三农"问题之所以如此重要,但凡略知中国历史和现实国情者或多或少都会有所了解,这里无需再作具体说明。重要的是,如何切实解决当下中国面临的"三农"问题,使中国现代化得到持续发展,最终保证中国顺利步入世界文明强国之列。对此学术理论界已从不同角度提出了诸多见解,可谓仁者见仁,智者见智,均不乏启迪意义。

实际上,"三农"问题在中国并非仅仅只是一个现实问题,而是一个源远流长的历史难题。早在近代中国早期现代化启动和初期发展阶段,农村、农民、农业等一系列问题已成为影响中国早期现代化发展进程的一个重要因素。尽管在历届政府和各种民间力量的艰辛努力之下,近代中国的早期现代化也取得了若干

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成果,但由于农业发展的滞后,农民的生活状况没有从根本上得到改善,农村社会也未能真正实现从传统向现代的转型,因此中国早期的现代化也一直无缘取得最终的成功。1949年之后,新中国的现代化建设在中国共产党的领导下获得了新的发展机遇,但也走过了一条曲折的道路,甚至经历了若干的挫折。

现实与历史无法完全割裂。在很大程度上可以说,现实是历 史的延续与发展。所以、借鉴前人的智慧,总结历史的经验教 训,对于探究解决当代中国"三农"问题的方法与途径不无被 益。正是本着这一理念、梅德平博士在这方面进行了可贵的探 索。他本是学历史出身,在武汉大学历史系攻读硕士学位毕业 后,在华中师范大学经济学院从事多年的教学和科研工作,又掌 握了经济学的专业知识和研究方法。数年前通过考试、在职攻读 中国近现代史专业博士学位。于是,结合自己所具有的历史学和 经济学的双重学术背景,经过反复思考和论证,他的博士学位论 文的选题最终确定为 1949 年至 1985 年中国农村微观经济组织变 迁研究,并考虑自己工作所在地区的便利,主要是以湖北省为中 心进行区域性的个案分析。历经多年的刻苦钻研,他顺利完成近 30 万字的博士学位论文的撰写并通过答辩,已经取得了博士学 位。现在, 其学位论文即将出版。借此机会, 作为他这篇论文的 指导老师、我要向他表示衷心的祝贺、也向读者介绍和推荐他精 心研究的这一成果。

博士学位论文不同于一般的研究成果,它应更加注重于"问题意识"和学术创新。该文的作者在这方面称得上是尽了较大的努力,其结果虽不能说完全达到了预期设想的高度,但也不无收获。该文的"问题意识"主要是围绕中国农村微观经济组织的发展变迁及其影响,以湖北省为个案,参照其他地区的情况,从不

同的层面进行比较深入的考察和分析。从以往的相关研究看,这一切人点及分析路径本身即不乏创新之处。其具体研究又注重了对若干相关重要问题予以客观而平实的解答,如中国农村微观经济组织内部的不同产权制度是如何形成的?哪一种产权制度更有效率?不同微观经济组织内部的分配制度是怎样建立起来的?建立之后又是通过何种机制得以实施的?此外,还对农村微观经济组织变迁的制度绩效、国家在经济组织变迁中的作用与职能转换等问题,进行了分析论证。可以说,该文是一项较扎实和较深人地探讨 20 世纪下半期中国农村微观经济变迁的研究成果,不乏学术价值和现实意义。

在理论方面,该文主要是借助新制度经济学的制度变迁理论,以及马列经典作家有关合作经济组织的基本原理,运用"制度结构—经济行为—制度绩效"的分析框架,对该文主题和相关问题进行层层论述和分析。其研究方法则主要采用理论与实证相结合、比较分析、个案与整体考察三种方式。上述理论和方法,在本文中的运用应该说基本上是比较得当的。

还值得一提的是,该文作者在资料的搜集和引用方面也花费了相当的气力。除广泛搜集这一时期的官方文献、报纸杂志、统计资料、人物文集、地方县志等资料外,作者还查阅了湖北省档案馆以及黄冈市档案馆、浠水县档案馆收藏的相关档案,另又实地进行了调研访谈。这些本是从事此项研究所必需的基础性工作,不应该专门予以肯定,但在当今学风浮躁、急功近利的特殊情况下,还是值得提倡和肯定的。

至于该文的具体观点与结论是否正确,需要专家和读者 评判,笔者在此不能妄下定论。可以肯定的是,该文尽管得

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以出版,但在许多方面还有不完善之处,希望梅德平在此基础上进一步继续努力钻研,取得更多具有更高学术水准的研究成果。

朱 英 2004 年 9 月 于 武昌 桂 子 山

Abstract

The system transition of microeconomic organizations in rural areas is an inevitable subject in the research on rural economic reforms and development after the establishment of PRC. In present, "San Nong problems" (rural problems, agricultural problems and farmer problems) is not only a hot theoretical research subject but also a problem that Chinese governments at all levels must try all means to solve. The experience of economic development in Chinese rural areas has proved that farmer problems are the core of "San Nong problems" while farmers' income problem is the core of farmer problems. According to the experience of some countries with successful development of rural economies, the improvement of the organized degree of farmers is a very important system arrangement to protect farmers' self - benefits and to raise their income. In that way, farmers can win the initial benefits from the exchange of agricultural products as well as the income from the second industry and the tertiary industry. In Chinese rural areas, agricultural industrialization based on household operation has recently become an important measure to improve the organized degree of farmers. It becomes increasingly mature and the central government has been reconfirming her support to it in her supreme docu-

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ments. It shows that constant innovations in the microeconomic organizations will become one of the key factors that can influence and restrict the overall development of Chinese rural areas in future. In this sense, it is necessary to sum up the basic experience and draw a lesson from the system transition of microeconomic organizations in rural areas since the establishment of PRC in order to avoid big faults in the innovations. Obviously, the research and analyses on the process and internal system arrangement of rural economic organizations have their theoretical and practical significance.

The paper mainly applies the system transition theory in the neo – system economics and the basic principles of cooperative economic organization in the classical works of Marxism and Leninism. It also takes Hubei province as example to thoroughly study the transition process of rural economic organizations during the period from the establishment of PRC till the early 1980s'. The process covers such microeconomic organizations in Chinese rural areas as Mutual Aid Teams, Cooperatives, People's Commune and Household Contract Responsibility System. The study is based on thorough historical data and complete research results available. The primary framework of the study is system structure – economic behaviors – system utility.

The overall train of thought of the paper is as follows: the introduction part focuses on the theories applied, realistic significances, main concepts, primary theories concerned, research results available and the methods of study throughout the paper; Chapter One and Two make an overall observation on the system transition of rural economic organizations for the later discussion; Chapters Three and Four analyze respectively the property right system and the distribution system, and also make a com-

parison of the two systems in various organizations; Chapter Five centers on the economic behaviors of farmers under different property right and distribution systems; Chapter Six mainly discusses the system utility in the transition process of rural economic organizations; Chapter Seven makes a brief illustration on the government functions in the transition process of microeconomic organizations in Chinese rural areas. The paper also presents some suggestion on the orientation of constant innovations of the above organizations and the transformation of government functions. The author discusses the following six problems and at the same time puts forward his own views after independent reflection.

(1) An overall definition on the features of the microeconomic organization transitions in rural areas by means of system analysis. The basic premise of the paper is the system analysis on the general characteristics of the transitions of microeconomic organizations in rural area. The basic viewpoint of the paper is as follows. In general, the transitions during 1949 to 1985 are apparently mandated and induced. The transitions from Mutual Aid Teams to Cooperatives and to People's Communes during 1949 to 1978 were mandated while the innovation of Household Contract Responsibility System at the end of 1978 was typically induced. Those transitions have several features. At first, the motive power of the system transitions was from the pursuit of the action bodies for the potential interests, or potential system benefits. Secondly, different property right and distribution systems formed under different organizational systems due to different patterns and action bodies of the system transitions. It is just the differences in the internal structures of organizations that lead to different system utilities. At last, the non - official system, ideology, plays an important role in the mandated system transitions.

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- (2) A comparison between the structures of property right systems and distribution systems at different stages of the microeconomic organizations development. Property right system has a great impact on economic development. As distribution system, its impact is direct on the degree and intensiveness of the motivation to the members' behaviors in the organizations. The paper attaches importance to the analysis on the internal structures of property right systems in organizations. It will not only illustrate the different property right arrangements, but more important, it will make comparison of the property right systems in different organizations. Which arrangement is more efficient? Why is it efficient? What are the advantages and disadvantages of different property right systems?
- (3) An analysis on the distribution systems and their effectiveness in different microeconomic organizations. In many studies before, there is no explanation for the distribution systems of the organizations. According to the author, different property right systems lead to different distribution systems. The distribution systems of farmers' economic organizations under Mutual Aid Teams, Cooperatives, People's Communes and Household Contract Responsibility Systems differ in this way or that way. The problems that the paper tries to answer are how different distribution systems are set up and in which way they are put into practice.
- (4) An analysis on the farmers' behaviors under the control of property right and distribution systems. In each economic organization, farmers are always the participants and the executors of systems. Therefore, the study on farmers is also essential to this paper. Farmers' economic behaviors are influenced and determined by property right and distribution systems. Meanwhile, they are restrained by a certain property right and distribution system. It is believed that farmers' behaviors are not exactly

the same in different microeconomic organizations. Under the collective e-conomic system, there was no economic behavior in real sense. Only after the execution of Household Contract Responsibility System, did farmers' economic behaviors become true. The paper pays close attention to the mentality and behaviors of farmers' labor input in different economic organizations. Because farmers labor input under collective labor system differs from that under family labor system, the paper puts the emphasis on the farmers' combinational labor with the family side occupation at the core. As to the farmers' behaviors after contracting system, production, investment and accumulation became outstanding.

- (5) An analysis on the system utility of microeconomic organization transitions. The paper will discuss the utility problem from economic and political aspects. The reason is that the political and economic utilities are generally different in the same organization system. The former is apparent but the latter is probably less apparent.
- (6) An definition of government functions in the transition of economic organizations and the transformation of government functions in the innovation of microeconomic organizations. The relationship between government and system transition is an important subject of economics. The application of neo system economics in the study offers a basic train of thought for the present and future system innovations of microeconomic organizations in Chinese rural areas as well as the transformation of government functions.

Of course, the application of system transition theory on the above all analyses on both theoretical and realistic subjects are tentative. Any instruction and criticism of expertise on the basic viewpoints are sincerely welcomed.

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