



中国新时期

退耕还林(草)工程的


经济分析

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摘 要

长期以来,中国在经济落后以及发展战略错误导向的双重作用下,盲目开荒种田,以林(草)换粮,造成了严重的水土流失和生态恶化,已成为影响中国经济社会持续稳定发展的重要制约因素。发端于20世纪90年代中后期的中国新时期退耕还林(草)工程,旨在通过一系列的政策激励,引导与刺激广大农户参与到这项庞大的生态工程建设上来,以实现退耕区的生态重建并进而维持整个中国的生态平衡。

近年来,退耕还林(草)工程无论是从广度还是深度上讲都在快速发展,同时在工程从启动到推进的过程中也逐渐暴露出诸多问题。对退耕还林(草)工程实施过程中的一些重要问题,如退耕还林(草)与粮食安全的关系问题,退耕还林(草)补贴标准与补贴期限问题,退耕还林(草)过程中各参与主体的行为互动与利益均衡问题,退耕还林(草)政策实施的内在机理以及进一步优化的问题以及如何建立起退耕还林(草)长效机制问题等,都需要进行更深入系统研究。有鉴于此,本研究以“中国退耕还林(草)工程与政策的经济分析”为题,就上述问题进行一些探索,企图在理论上有些创新,在应用上为有关部门评价、修正中国新时期退耕还林(草)政策,保证退耕还林(草)工程的顺利持久实施提供参考。

本研究由“2605项目”切入,讨论了中国新时期退耕还林(草)工程实施的必要性和可行性,并分析了其有别于其他林业生态工程特点,揭示了本研究的特殊性与针对性;从生态学、生态经济学、环境经济学等学科角度揭示了中国退耕还林(草)工程的理论基础,并定义了退耕还林(草)的概念;分“基本政策”和“具体政策”两个层面分析了中国新时期退耕还林(草)政策的科学含义并指出了政策设计中的一些缺陷;研究和比较了国内外退耕还林(草)工程实施的过程,并归纳出了国外类似的工程对中国退耕还林(草)工程的启示;重点探讨了中国退耕还林(草)工程与粮食安全之间的关系以及退耕还林(草)各参与主体在退耕还林(草)工程不同演进阶段的利益互动问题;最后在上述研究的基础上,提出了建立退耕还林(草)

工程长效机制的若干政策建议。

本研究的主要观点和结论是：

(1) 退耕还林（草）工程与中国粮食安全问题。本研究在科学认识“粮食安全”概念的基础上，分析了粮食安全在中国的特殊重要性，认为能否保证粮食安全将是退耕还林（草）工程顺利实施最为重要的前提条件；分析了影响中国粮食生产的生态因素，认为中国退耕还林（草）工程与粮食安全之间存在着既相互影响、相互制约，又相互促进、相互补充的辩证关系；对中国退耕还林（草）工程启动以后国内粮食供求关系的变化进行分析，并结合中央政府 2004 年开始在全国范围内实施的粮食“新政”及其效果，认为主要不是退耕还林（草）工程导致了我国粮食供给形势的紧张，更不能因此否定和停止退耕还林（草）工程，批判了退耕还林（草）工程“怀疑论”和“错误论”的思想。

(2) 关于工程启动阶段的补贴问题。尽管影响中国退耕还林（草）工程启动的因素很多，但本研究认为最为重要的因素就是“补贴”，认为这是工程启动最重要的原动力；通过建立退耕还林（草）农户生产行为的经济模型，从理论上分析了不同的补贴数量对退耕面积的影响，认为补贴越多，农民退耕的积极性就越高；通过同一补贴数量对优劣等土地退耕比例将产生不同影响的分析，指出了我国现行政策中补贴标准“单一化”的弊端，并提出了进一步细化补贴政策，实行“差别补偿”的观点；通过对我国现行补贴标准的实证分析，得出了现行补贴标准相对较高的结论，并由此揭示了中国退耕还林（草）工程超计划推进的原因；结合样本地区数据分析，认为我国退耕还林（草）补贴中有相当部分转移到了国营粮食企业，并因此得出了解决国营粮食企业巨额亏损和挂账问题也是退耕还林（草）工程一个暗含的目标的结论；结合林草业发展的自然特征和退耕区社会经济状况，提出了应进一步延长补贴期限的观点。

(3) 关于工程推进阶段的利益互动问题。本研究认为退耕还林（草）工程推进过程中一条最为重要的主线是各利益相关者的利益关系，参与主体都将依据于各自的“成本—收益”分析和对其他参与主体行为的判断，以实现各自利益最大化为目标理性地选择自己的行为；将退耕还林（草）的参与主体分为三个，即中央政府、地方政府和退耕农户，并结合工程实施中各自所扮演的角色分析其成本与收益的大小，得出了在现有政策框架内中央政府既得利益明显，而地方政府和退耕农户却利益有限且风险很大的结论；运用“博弈论”尝试分析了退耕还林（草）工程各参与主体彼此之间博弈行为，

认为由于存在着目标冲突,因而相互博弈的结果使得地方政府和退耕农户都倾向于选择消极地参与退耕还林(草)工程行为,从而导致政策实施的低效率;运用“委托—代理”理论尝试分析了退耕还林(草)中政府与农户之间的激励机制和监督机制,认为政府必须与农户之间通过签订建立在各自利益基础上的契约并进行必要的监督,才能实施预期的目标。

(4) 关于工程后退耕阶段的可持续机制问题。本研究认为克服退耕还林(草)短期行为,建立起长效机制的关键问题是能否使退耕区农民收入持续稳定增加,并分别从生态补偿、林(草)产权制度以及退耕区产业结构调整 and 后续产业发展三个方面探讨了努力方向;在探讨“生态补偿”概念的基础上,探讨了退耕还林(草)工程的外部性校正的两种流行理论——庇古的“利益调整理论”和科斯的“改变利益调整的初始条件理论”——的作用机理和内在的统一性,并从节约总交易费用(包括外省交易费用和内生交易费用)的角度提出了退耕还林(草)工程外部性校正的思路;结合我国生态补偿的探索实践,提出了退耕还林(草)生态补偿的基本方向;以产权理论为基础,分析了退耕还林(草)工程中的产权形成与产权残缺的特征,以及产权残缺对退耕还林(草)工程的不利影响,在分析国外生态公益林产权制度安排的基础上,结合中国实际,提出了以“混合产权制度”来优化退耕还林(草)产权结构的构想;在分析结构调整与经济增长互动效应的基础上,结合中国退耕还林(草)政策的实施,揭示了退耕地区农村产业结构调整 and 后续产业发展的必要性和可行性。

(5) 基于上述研究结论,针对中国新时期退耕还林(草)工程与政策中存在的突出问题,分别从八个方面提出了建立退耕还林(草)长效机制的政策建议。粮食安全是退耕还林(草)工程实施最为重要的前提条件,更事关国家整体安全,一定要采取综合措施予以确保;探讨了科学地确定补贴标准的方法,应以此为依据实行“差别补偿”,并改变简单补贴钱粮的方式,辅之以政策支持、生态移民和发展教育事业等多种补贴方式,同时要结合不同地区实际,延长补贴期限;针对退耕还林(草)过程中各参与主题存在目标冲突和“非合作博弈”的倾向,提出了“参与式退耕还林(草)”的思路,以便有效地解决工程实施中的激励和监督问题;引入市场机制也是实现各参与主体利益均衡的有效方式,通过进一步强化私人承包制,实现经营方式创新,建立中介组织等方式,逐步克服退耕还林(草)由政府操作的种种弊端;按照以“混合产权制度”来优化退耕还林(草)产权结构的构想,提出了林业分类经营的观点,并就退耕还林(草)以后形成的不同林(草)的性

质（生态林和经济林）提出了具体的思路；强调了一定要运用法律手段有效保护退耕还林（草）工程中所形成的林（草）的私有产权，包括林地的承包权和收益权，林地使用权的流转和地上林草权的保护等，切实保护退耕农户的利益；结合退耕区的政策环境、资源禀赋、社会文化背景以及结构调整的基本原理，提出了退耕区农村产业结构和后续产业发展的基本思路，认为应从以市场为导向和发挥自身比较优势出发，进一步优化农林牧结构、大力发展农林牧产品加工业、积极发展第三产业、促进劳动力异地转移和大力推动退耕区城市化发展等方面做文章。

关键词：退耕还林（草） 粮食安全 利益关系 长效机制

Abstract

Under the dual influences of the backward economy and the wrong development strategy, reclaiming wasteland to farm and exchanging forest or grass for the grain blindly in China have caused serious soil erosion and ecological backwardness which, as the important restriction factor, have already influenced the sustainable and stable development of Chinese society and economy for a long time. The project of reverting farmland to forest or grassland in the 1990s aimed at leading and stimulating the masses of peasant households to participate in this huge ecological engineering construction, so as to realize the ecological reconstruction of the reverting farmland areas and then maintain the whole Chinese ecological balance.

In recent years, the project of reverting farmland to forest or grassland has been developing fast from the scope and the depth, but a great deal of problems was also gradually exposed. Some important problems in the course of implementing the project, is to be researched deeper and more systematically. The problems include the relationship between reverting farmland to forest or grassland and food security, the interaction behavior of each participation subject in the course of reverting farmland to forest or grassland and the balance problem of the interests, the inherent mechanism in the course of reverting farmland to forest or grassland and how to further and how to set up the reverting farmland to forest or grassland long-effective mechanism, the allowance standard and the time-limit question of reverting farmland to forest or grassland, etc. In view of this, this dissertation, under the title "An Economic Analysis on China's Project and Policy in Reverting Farmland to Forest or Grassland", explored the above-mentioned problems, and attempted to make some innovations in theory, in order to provide references to the relevant departments to appraise and revise China's reverting

farmland to forest or grassland project of China, ensuring the implementing of reverting farmland to forest or grassland project successfully and permanently in the new era.

Started with "the 2605 project" and with a discussion over the necessity and the feasibility of implementing the reversion of farmland to forest or grassland project of China in the new era, the dissertation analyzed the project's characters that are different from any other forest ecological projects, revealing its particularity and pertinence. From the angle of ecology, ecological economics and environmental economics, it also revealed the theoretical foundation of the project and defined the conception of reverting farmland to forest or grassland. After an analysis on "basic policy", "specific policy" and the scientific meaning of reverting farmland to forest or grassland project of China, the author points out some defects in the policy design. It also studies and compares the domestic and overseas background and the process of reverting farmland to forest or grassland, and puts forward the revelation based on the external similar project, putting emphasis on the relationship between reverting farmland to forest or grassland and grain safety and the different interactions of each participation subject at the stage of gradual progress of project. Based on the above-mentioned study, the paper proposed several policy recommendations of the long-effective mechanism of the reverting farmland to forest or grassland project.

The main viewpoints and conclusions of the dissertation are:

(1) Reverting farmland to forest or grassland and food security are of crucial relationships. Based on the scientific cognizance of food security's conception, the paper analyzed the significance of food security in China. Food security is the most important precondition to implement the reverting farmland to forest or grassland project successfully. It analyzes the ecological factors about China's grain production, and believes that Chinese reverting farmland to forest or grassland and grain safety influence each other, and restrict each other, and promote each other, and supplement each other. It also analyzes the change of the supply-demand relationship about domestic grain, since reverting farmland to forest or grassland project was initiated, and it argues that the reverting farmland to forest or grassland project is not

the main reason for the shortage of China's grain supply and the reverting farmland to forest or grassland project can't be denied or suspend either. It also criticizes those who have showed their skepticism and opposition to the thoughts of the reverting farmland to forest or grassland project.

(2) The problem of the allowance at the stage of project initiation. Though there are so many factors, which affect the initiation of the reverting farmland to forest or grassland project, this paper believes that the most important factor is "the allowance" which is the most important impetus of the project's initiation, and defines it. By setting up the economic patterns of the farmer's action involved in the reverting farmland to forest or grassland, it analyzes theoretically the effects of the different quantities of the reverting-farmland areas and reaches the conclusion that the more allowance the governments pay, and the more activeness the farmers have to revert. It criticizes the "simplifying" tendency of the allowance standard paid in the present policies of our country, suggesting some policies to subdivide the allowance, and has put forward to carry out the differential allowance policies. By case study of the current allowance standard of China, it draws a conclusion that the current allowance standard is relatively high, and then revealing the reasons of the reverting farmland to forest or grassland project of China to carry out beyond the plan. Based on the datum of the sample districts, it argues that the considerably part of allowance of reverting farmland to forest or grassland has been transferred to the state-owned grain companies, with the conclusion that to solve the problem of the state-owned grain companies' enormous deficit and selling on credit is one of the implicit goal of the reverting farmland to forest or grassland project. According to the natural characteristic of the forest and grassland industry's development and the economic and social situations of the reverting-farmland areas, it has come up with the view of prolonging the allowance's deadline.

(3) The problem of multilateral interests at the stage of implementing the project. This article believes that at the stage of implementing the project, the most important point is the interests' relation of related parts. According to the "cost-benefit" analysis and the judgment to the behaviors of other parts, each participation subject will regard realizing each interest to

maximize as the goal and choose one's own behaviors ideally. There are three parts that join the reverting of farmland to forest or grassland, namely, central government, local government and peasant households of reverting farmland. According to the cost and benefit size's analysis of each, it has drawn a conclusion that central government interests is obvious in existing policy framework but local government and peasant household's interests are limited and shoulder high risks. By using "game theory", it has tried to analyze game behaviors of participation subjects of the reverting farmland to forest or grassland project. Having different goals, each other is inclined to passively participate the reverting farmland to forest or grassland project, and it will cause the poor efficiency of implementing the policy. By using "trust-agent" theory, it has try to analyze incentive mechanism and supervision mechanism between governments and peasant household, and believes that the governments must sign the contract based on each interests and carry on the essential supervision with peasant households, thus could implement the anticipated goal.

(4) The issue of setting up long-effect mechanism at the stage of maintenance. This article believes that whether the farmer's income in the reverting farmland areas can increase continuously and steadily is the key of overcoming the short-term conducts of reverting farmland to forest or grassland and setting up long-effect mechanism. It also analyzes the effort's direction of the ecological allowance, the forest or grassland's property right, the industries structure's adjustment and the succeeding industries' development of the reverting-farmland areas. Based on analyzing the conception of the ecological compensation, it has study the function mechanism and the inherent unity of two kinds of prevailing theories of rectifying externality of the reverting farmland to forest or grassland project— "interests adjust theory" of Pigou and "change interests adjustment initial terms theory" of Coase. From the angle of the total trade expenses (include external trade expenses and internal trade expenses), it has put forward the thought of rectifying externality of the project. According to the exploration practice of the ecological compensation of our country, it also puts forward the basic orientation of the ecological compensation of reverting farmland to forest or grassland.

Based on property-right theory, it analyzes the characteristic of property right formation, the incomplete property right and the adverse effect of the incomplete property right. On the basis of analyzing foreign ecological and public forest's property relations and the reality of China, it puts forward the idea of optimizing the structure of property right of reverting farmland to forest or grassland by "mixed property institution". On the basis of analyzing the interaction effect of the economic growth and the structural adjustment and the implementation of the reverting farmland to forest or grassland project, it reveals the necessity and feasibility of the industrial structure adjustment of the reverting-farmland areas and the development of the follow-up industries.

(5) Based on the above-mentioned conclusions, this paper puts forward some policy advices in 8 perspectives on setting up sustained institution of reverting farmland to forest or grassland. Grain security is the most important precondition to implement the reverting farmland to forest or grassland project successfully, even concerning the whole nation's safety. So grain security should be ensured by comprehensive measures. It has researched the scientific methods to establish the allowance standard, and has proposed executing "the differential compensation" to change the simple method of money and grain allowance, and the author proposes that policy allowance, emigrant allowance, and education allowance be the supplementary. In accordance with the facts of different districts, it puts forward the suggestions to prolong the allowance deadline. Because the goal conflicts and "non-cooperative game" tendency among the participation subjects in the course of reverting farmland to forest or grassland, this article proposes the thought "participation in reverting farmland to forest or grassland", in order to solve the stimulation problem and the supervision problem at the stage of implement the project effectively. The respect of market mechanism is a right choice to realize the proportional benefit of the participation subjects. By further strengthening private contract system, realizing the innovative operation ways, setting up intermediary organizations and so on, all sorts of defects of reverting farmland to forest or grassland which are controlled by governments will be overcome step by step. According to the concept of "mixed

property institution" to perfect the property right structure, it has proposed the thought of classifying the forest's management, also the different natures of forest or grass (ecological forest and economic forest) . It emphasizes that the legal means must be used to protect the privately-owned property right of the reverting farmland to forest or grassland project, including the contracting right and income right of the forest land and the circulate of forest land use right and protection of forest grass right, so as to protect the interests of the reverting-farmland peasant households. According to the policy environment, resource natural endowment, social culture background and basic principle of the structural adjustment, it puts forward the basic thought of the structure of rural undertaking and follow-up industry development of the areas of reverting farmland to forest or grassland. Based on market-oriented function and one's own comparative advantage, the government should optimize the structure of agriculture and forestry and herd, and develop the processing industry of agricultural products and forestry and herd in a more cost-effective manner, developing the tertiary industry, promoting workforce move, and putting more emphasis on urbanization of the reverting-farmland areas.

Key words: Revert Farmland to Forest or Grassland; Food Security; Interest Relationship; Long-Effective Mechanism

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