

Green China and Young China

PART ONE

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绿色中国 少年中国

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第一部分



“我们走的是唯经济的道路，一切以经济建设为中心，取得了举世瞩目的经济奇迹，但是也付出了巨大的代价。”

什么是绿色中国？可持续的、民主的、公平的、和谐的社会主义中国，就是绿色中国。这句话经过多年的奋斗总结，每一个词都凝结着几代人的心血。为什么要建设绿色中国？因为绿色代表生命，代表可持续，凡不可持续的即是非绿色的。我们现在的中国还没做到“可持续”三个字。

我们目前的经济发展模式是不可持续的。单位GDP的能耗是日本的7倍、美国的6倍，甚至是印度的2.8倍。污染排放量是世界平均水平的十几倍，劳动生产率却是世界的几分之一。我们目前的资源能源状况是不可持续的。可居住的土地50年内水土流失了一半，现存45种主要矿藏15年之后将只剩下6种，5年后60%的石油需要进口。

我们的环境不可持续。三分之一的国土被酸雨污染，3亿多农村人口喝不到干净的水，三分之一的城市居民呼吸不到清洁空气。传统的高耗能、高污染、高消费的经济发展模式使中国成为了世界耗水第一、污水排放量第一、还是世界三大酸雨区之一。我们目前的社会发展是不可持续的。中国的基尼系数在2003年已经超过了国际公认的警戒线，中国已经变成“居民收入很不平等的国家”。世界银行说，全世界没有一个国家在短短15年内收入差距扩大得如此之快。我们批判了那么多年资本主义，批的就是不可持续、不公平、不平等，如果我们社会主义解决不了社会公平问题，我们如何体现自己制度的优越性？

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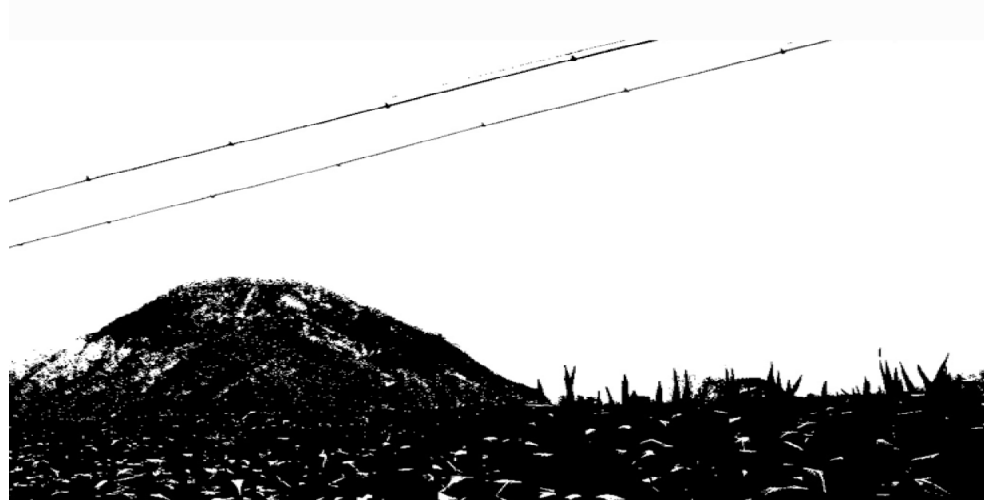
The local government decides who is taken on, how much they are paid, what benefits they receive, what jobs their relatives get and where their children go to school. The result is that local environmental protection offices become public relations teams, rubber-stamping projects that the local government wants to push through. How can they be realistically expected to prevent local governments from harming the environment in pursuit of economic gain? We still have not completed the reform of the administrative decision-making process. Many large projects that will have far-reaching consequences get the go-ahead without the public being aware of them. Even if the public finds out about the projects in advance, there are no channels through which they can express their opinions, and the public interest is eroded. Change requires democracy and a mature legal system. It requires public participation and transparency in public affairs.

The longer I am involved in environmental protection, the more I realise the importance of democracy and the legal system. I am convinced that environmental protection cannot be advanced by the State Environmental Protection Administration (SEPA) alone. It requires action from the whole of society, and the establishment and implementation of democracy, and a mature legal system. Environmental protection is the ideal field in which to experiment with democracy and law, because it is a fairly apolitical area and one on which it is reasonably easy to reach a consensus. The issue of the Old Summer Palace is a good example. Different ways of thinking, different departmental interests, regional and central powers, communication between the government and public, and the “Law on Administrative Licensing” all came together and interacted. The result was an experiment in the way that democratic and rational decision-making, and public supervision of the government, can work in a rational and harmonious environment. So far, the experiment seems to have been a success.



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为什么会造成不可持续的局面呢？因为我们在发展战略的选择上有了偏差。20世纪50年代，我们模仿苏联的重工业模式。虽然这个模式为新中国奠定了工业基础，但并不符合我国人均资源短缺、资本稀缺、劳动力资源丰富的基本国情。20世纪80年代，我们转而学习欧美，用生产高消耗和生活高消费来刺激经济高速增长，这种粗放型经济增长模式追求资本生产率与利润最大化而忽视资源利用率与环境损失。

在改革开放前 我们走得是一条唯政治的道路，一切以阶级斗争为纲，没能完成从革命党向执政党的转变，一个运动接着一个运动地革自己的命。改革开放后，这25年来，我们走的是唯经济的道路，一切以经济建设为中心，取得了举世瞩目的经济奇迹，但是也付出了巨大的代价。我们有一个思想的误区，就是唯经济决定一切。经济上去了，政治就稳定；经济上去了，人民吃饱饭就安居乐业；经济上去了，我们有得是钱，就可以足够的物质的手段去应对行将来临的人口、资源、环境、社会、经济、文化等一系列危机。但现在看来，这是不行的，等这些危机真的来临时，那点经济成果恐怕远远难以应付。



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regions of north China. If these areas then become polluted, they will no doubt move to the US, Canada or Australia and cause inflation there too. They create pollution, but are removed from its consequences. They take all the benefits of polluting industries, but pay nothing towards the clean-up costs.

Although the speed of our economic development has been high, the rewards have not been fairly distributed. Power and wealth have flowed towards the cities, the eastern regions and certain wealthy groups. Rural residents, the western regions and the poor have become – in terms of employment opportunities, education, healthcare and social security – the losers in a dualistic system. The environment has also lost out. Some people and regions “getting rich first” has been achieved by sacrificing the environment of other people and regions. There is also the issue of social responsibility. What burden of responsibility should be borne by the business people who got rich first, the officials who have become powerful, and the groups who have benefitted the most? What form should this social responsibility take in the fields of the environment and public affairs? Not long ago I wrote an essay entitled “Urging Chinese Business to Take Environmental Responsibility”. I suggested those people, regions, industries, departments and cities that got rich first should take on environmental responsibility, in order to narrow social divides and assuage a series of social injustices. They need to understand that the consequences of injustice are the same for rich and poor alike. We always say that we are aiming for a “socialist market economy”, and this is an excellent goal; it combines the efficiency demanded by the market with the fairness encouraged by socialism. But at the moment we are not doing well enough in either efficiency or fairness. Our generation needs to work enormously hard to remedy this.

Another factor is the law: we have more laws for environmental protection than any other country, but how many of them are actually enforced? And when they are enforced, what is the effect? Current laws do not allow severe enough punishment of polluters, and do not give enough power to environmental departments, with the result that it is cheaper to break the law than observe it. The system for maintaining local environmental protection offices is flawed. Their finances and personnel are all determined by the local government.

从发展观上讲，发展是硬道理没错，但发展必须是全方位的发展，综合的发展，不是唯经济2的发展。全面协调的发展才是硬道理。实际上，我们却把单纯的经济增长等同于发展，又把经济发展等同于单纯的财富积累，再把对财富的追求变成整个社会的唯一追求。按理说，一切资源都以当前的市场价格来定价，但土地、水源、环境、生物多样性等稀缺资源的潜在价值却被忽略。大量社会资源为能“短平快”增加财富的项目所吸收，盲目投资、重复建设、疯狂消费的生产和生活方式，造成了巨大的金融风险。同时，对财富的极端崇拜导致对人终极关怀的缺失，造成了整个社会伦理道德与价值观的溃散，造成了环保、教育、扶贫等关系国计民生的公共事务被长期忽视，弱势群体被边缘化，穷人失去了道义的支持，失去了归属感，黑恶势力与邪教趁机膨胀。对财富的过分追求也使得政治和经济资源大量涌入与经济总量增长关系密切的少数行业和领域，错综复杂的部门利益、集团利益、地方利益纠缠在一起，使整个社会追逐短期利益的行为空前上升，甚至成为主流，可以在“发展”的口号下肆无忌惮地侵害包括环境权益在内的公共利益。短期经济总量数目增长的同时，发生了更为严重的不公平和腐败。

世界上环保分为四个层次，第一个层次是把环境当成一个专业问题；第二个层次是把环境当成一个经济问题，第三个层次是把环境当成一个政治社会问题，第四个层次最高，是把环境当成一个文化伦理问题。我们一直处在环境专业层次，国外早已经进入到环境政治社会层次了。近两年，鉴于中国的环境与经济矛盾空前尖锐，环境既制约了经济，经济也破坏了环境，使我们的环保工作迅速上升到经济层面，但国家还没有系统的环境经济政策支撑，包括思想观念、文化理论也没有根本转变，环保系统内的素质也跟不上。从世界范围内看，环境问题早已不是一个专业问题，而是一个涉及方方面面问题的复合体。



Everyone knows that we have to choose a new path: a third way that means the environment and the economy will both benefit. This is the path of clean production, a circular economy with new energy sources. Other countries have already shown that these methods can be successful. Western countries have abandoned earlier methods of production in favour of ecologically sound industries. Some may not be convinced that this is a good example for China to follow, as these countries have benefited from primary accumulation and 300 years of environmental exploitation, but could Japan's experiences hold lessons for us? Japan's balance of population and resources was even less favourable than China's, but they have successfully built a circular economy and society. Those who are still not convinced should look at the example of South Korea. By the time the country's per capita GDP had reached US\$5,000, South Korea had already solved its environmental problems. Even a moderately developed country can remedy environmental problems that the developed nations could only solve in the advanced stages of development.

There is still hope. Green production, clean technology, sustainable consumption, green capital markets, stocks and shares and green credit are all options that we can explore. Under the market system, many public resources have no price. We make assumptions that the earth's resources are limitless – that before resources are extracted from the earth, they have no value. This has been a historical limitation of traditional politics and economics. Scarce resources such as water, coal, or biodiversity have no price. The day that a pricing system for these resources is set up will be a day of enormous change in economics. Such a transition in our way of thinking about economic development would be revolutionary for China. This is what we mean by a "green economy", and would be a prelude to the emergence of a new set of environmental economic policies.

Why is the environment considered a sociological issue? I have written an article specifically addressing this issue called "Environmental Protection and Social Justice", and will not go into too much detail here. Suffice to say that social injustice leads to environmental injustice, which in turn leads to further social injustice, and a vicious circle is set in motion. The result is disharmony throughout society. Here is a classic example of what should be called environmental injustice: coal mine owners from Shanxi province indiscriminately extract coal and dig up the land, creating pollution. As a result they become extremely wealthy. Once they have polluted Shanxi, however, they do not stay there. Instead they move to Beijing where they buy luxury villas and push up house prices. They have also pushed up property prices in all the coastal

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环保为什么是经济问题呢？因为环境污染已经严重地制约了经济增长。世界银行计算过，目前中国每年GDP的8%—13%都在支付环境成本。很多人都认为，只要发展了，有钱了，再回过头来治理污染也不迟，发达国家就是这么做的。中国为什么不行？因为中国的人口资源环境结构太不合理，没有对外的殖民统治，没有环境资源的占有与掠夺，没有资金与技术的优势，越往后，经济增长的成果就越难于支付环境成本。如果按照现行模式发展，15年后经济总量翻两番，污染也会跟着翻几倍。可能还没有等我们储备足够的物质基础，环境危机就会交织着其他危机提前爆发。谁都想着一好遮百丑，我要当市长、县长，也会首先想到的是发家致富是首要任务，GDP考核是主要标准，先污染、后治理是固定模式。先污染，后治理，意味着我先享受，15年之后的治理责任是你们这个年龄段的事。可惜我们想错了，生态危机比我们想象的来的快得多，危及的不是子孙后代，而是我们这一代的生活。如五年之内还继续这种发展模式的话，危机的症候将非常明显地呈现。

我们只能走一条新的路，这条新路大家都知道，是环境与经济共赢的第三条道路，就是清洁生产，就是循环经济，就是开发新能源。这条路有人替我们走成功了，西方发达国家抛弃了原有的生产生活方式，选择了生态工业经济道路。我们对他们的转型很不服气，因为他们有原始积累，掠夺大自然已经300年了。但日本值不值得我们借鉴？日本的人口资源环境结构比我们还不如，但是它也走成功了循环经济与循环型社会，如果我们也不能完全服气的话，我可以再举举韩国的例子。韩国在人均5000美元的时候竟然解决了环境问题。即是说中等发达国家提前解决了发达国家高度发达时才能解决的环境问题。世界上并不是没有路可走，绿色生产、绿色科技、绿色消费以及绿色资本市场、绿色证券、绿色信贷等等，都是我们要探索的新型工业化道路。在原有的市场体系中，有一些公共资源是没有价的，我们总假设地球上的资源无限，总假设地球上的资源在被开采之前

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In the last few years, the conflict between the environment and the economy has become unprecedentedly intense - the environment has begun to place limits on economic growth, and economic growth has destroyed much of the environment; this has led to our conservation work being rapidly elevated to the economic level. However, the state still has no systematic policy framework on the issue of the economy's confrontation with the environment, and has not developed ways of thinking or cultural theories on the issue. There have not been any fundamental changes, and the environmental protection system has not caught up with the new "economic" way of looking at the issue. On a global scale, the environment has long since moved on from being an isolated problem - it is interrelated to all other issues.

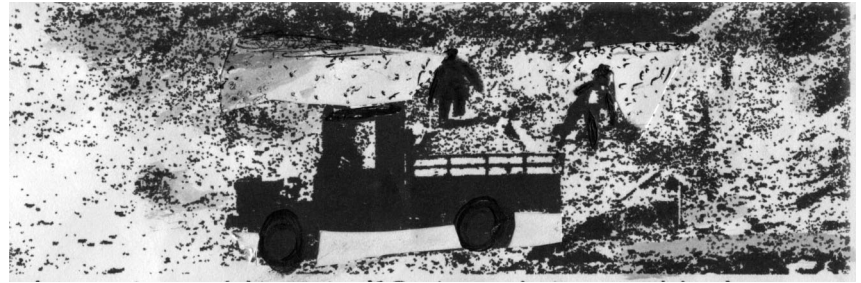
So why is the environment considered an economic problem? Because damage to the environment is seriously restricting economic growth. The World Bank has calculated that currently between 8% to 13% of China's GDP goes towards paying environmental costs. Lots of people think that we should wait until we have reached a higher level of wealth and development, before setting about repairing the damage we have done to the environment. The developed countries did this, they say, so why can't China? The answer is that China's population structure does not allow it. We do not have overseas colonies and access to their environmental resources, and we do not have the same advantage in terms of capital and technology. The longer we wait, the harder it will be for economic success to pay for damage done to the environment. If we stick to the current model of development, then in 15 years our GDP will have increased four-fold, but the pollution will have increased even faster. It is possible that before we have built up enough of a material foundation, an environmental crisis will have broken out, bringing with it other kinds of crisis. Everyone wants to perform well. If I was the mayor of a town, or the head of a county, I would also see development and wealth creation as my priority. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is the main standard by which good is measured, and the idea of "pollute now, clean-up later" has become ingrained. The thinking behind this idea is that we can enjoy life now, and the responsibility for clearing things up can be passed to younger people 15 years from now. But there is a flaw in this thinking: an ecological crisis is creeping up on us much faster than we imagine, and those at risk are not later generations, but us ourselves. If the current model of economic development is followed for another five years, the symptoms of the crisis will become ever more apparent.

无价，这是传统政治经济学的历史局限。比如说水，比如说煤价，再比如说生物多样性等等。这些稀缺资源都是没有价的，当这些资源的价格体系确立的那一天，便是经济学上重大改革转型的那一天，这种经济发展和思维方式的改革，对中国而言，是一场革命，这就叫绿色经济，这就是环境经济政策体系将出台的前奏。

环保为什么是个社会问题？我曾经写过一篇文章叫《环境保护与社会公平》，专门讲了这个问题，这里就不多阐述了。简单地说，社会不公导致环境不公，环境不公又加重了社会不公，形成了恶性循环，带来了社会不和谐。

比如，山西一些煤矿业主，他们乱采乱挖，污染了环境，赚了大钱。可他们污染了当地环境后却不 在当地居住，到北京买高档别墅，炒热了北京的房地产，甚至炒高了北方沿海的房地产，估计如果这些城市也污染了，他们会跟着炒高美国、加拿大、澳大利亚的房价。他们制造污染却不承受污染，享受污染所产生的好处，却不支付治理污染的成本，这就是典型的环境不公平。

我们经济发展速度虽然很快，但发展成果却分配得不公平。权力与财富向城市、东部和富裕人群集中，农民、西部地区和贫困人群在就业、教育、医疗、社保等方面成为二元结构的牺牲者。环境方面也是如此。某些人的先富牺牲了多数人的环境，某些地区的先富牺牲了其他地区的环境。另外，还有社会责任问题。那些先富起来的企业家，那些获取了权力的官员，那些获得利益的集团，应该承担什么样的社会责任？尤其是对环境与公共事务而言，他们的社会公益责任如何体现？我前不久还写了一篇文章，叫《呼唤中国企业的绿色责任》，实际上就是呼唤那些先富起来的人、地区、行业、部门、城市担负起社会绿色责任。为了使大家共同富裕，而让他们弥合社会的差距，弥补一系列社会不公平。他们要明白，不公平所造成的恶性



Development is a good thing in itself. But it must be integrated development across all areas, not just economic development. Only all-round, coordinated development is a good in itself. We have always taken “development” to mean economic development alone, and this to mean the simple accumulation of wealth. As a result, the pursuit of wealth has become the sole aim of society. In theory, the value of all resources is determined by the market price, but the latent value of scarce resources such as land, water, the environment, and biodiversity has been ignored. Many social resources have been absorbed by projects designed to help people “get rich quick”. Blind investment, continual rebuilding and a lifestyle based on massive consumption have built up an enormous financial risk. At the same time, the extreme worship of wealth has led to a decline in consideration for others and a breakdown in social ethics and values. Affairs relating directly to the national economy and people's livelihoods such as conservation, education and poverty alleviation have been neglected. Disadvantaged groups have been marginalised, and the poor have lost all moral support and sense of belonging. Moreover, criminal forces and dangerous cults have expanded by taking advantage of the situation. The excessive pursuit of wealth means that disproportionate amounts of political and economic resources are put into a small range of industries closely related to economic growth. The intricate and complex entanglement of the interests of government departments, various groups and regions has seen an unprecedented increase in the pursuit of short-term gain. This has become very common, and public interests, including the environment, are often unscrupulously violated under the banner of “development”. As the short-term economic figures increase, so do the most serious forms of injustice and corruption.

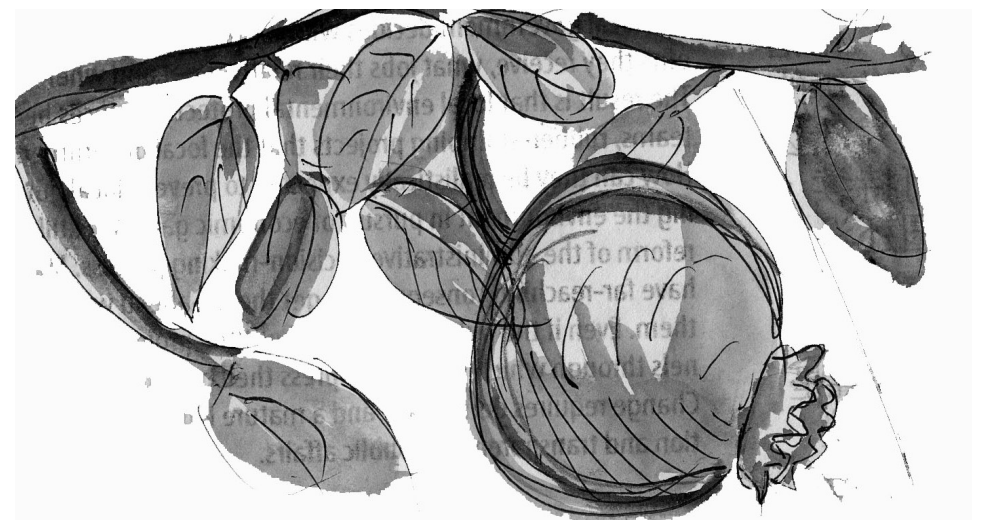
There are four different ways of approaching the issue of environmental protection: it can be seen as a specialised and isolated field in itself, as an economic issue, as a political and sociological issue, or – at the highest level – as a cultural and ethical issue. In China, we have always looked at the environment as an isolated subject, whereas abroad it is already being treated as a political and sociological issue.

结果对于富人和穷人是一样的。我们总说要实现社会主义市场经济，这是一个非常好的初衷，因为社会主义强调的是公平，市场经济强调的是效率，社会主义市场经济就是公平与效率的结合。目前来看，我们的社会公平还有没有完全到位，市场经济的效率也没有完全到位。这需要我们这一代人付出更为巨大的努力。

环保为什么还是个政治问题？从人事上来讲，是个官员政绩考核问题，因为现在官员政绩考核的主要指标就是GDP，又没有环境问责机制，大小官员们为了三年五年的政绩，毁掉十年百年的资源环境毫不心痛。因为决定他们升迁的不是环境与资源，不是教育与卫生，不是治安与人文。所以，应将绿色GDP尽快研究出台，应将环保等公共政策指标尽快纳入到官员政绩考核体系中来。从法律上讲，我们有世界上最多的环保法律，可真正执行的有多少？执行了的效果怎么样？现行法律中对于污染者的惩罚太轻、赋予环保部门的权限太小，造成了“守法成本高、违法成本低”的状况。从制度上讲，环保部门体制没有垂直，地方环保部门的财政和人事都由地方政府管理，他们的任用、他们的工资、他们的待遇、他们的家属工作、孩子上学都是地方政府管，所以这些人到环保总局来反而成了当地政府跑通环保审批的公关部经理。怎么能指望他们去阻止地方政府为了追求经济发展而破坏环境？从决策程序上讲，我们尚未完成行政体制转变的改革，大量对环境产生重大影响的大规划、大工程、大项目在公众毫不知情的情况下上马，公众知道了也没有渠道表达自己的意见，公共利益就此被侵蚀。要改变，就要民主与法制，就要提倡公众参与，就要政务公开，就要阳光行政。

We have arrived at this point because we made biased decisions when choosing development strategies. In the 1950s we imitated the Soviets by developing heavy industry. This may have laid the industrial foundation for New China, but it was not entirely appropriate for a country that is rich in labour but lacking in natural resources. In the 1980s we turned in another direction, and learnt from Europe and the US by stimulating economic growth with energy-intensive production and consumer lifestyles. This extensive model of economic growth seeks to maximise production levels and profit, but overlooks how resources are used – and the damage done to the environment.

Before the reform period we followed an exclusively political model, with class struggle as our guiding principle. We were unable to complete the transition from revolutionary party to ruling party, and instigated one political movement after another. In the 25 years since the reforms, China has followed an exclusively economic model. We are widely recognised as having achieved an economic miracle, but we have paid an enormous price. There has been a flaw in our thinking: the belief that the economy decides everything. If the economy is booming, we thought, political stability will follow; if the economy is booming, we hoped, people will have enough to eat and live contented lives; if the economy is booming, we believed, there will be money everywhere and materialism will be enough to stave off the looming crises posed by our population, resources, environment, society, economy and culture. But now it seems this will not be enough. When these crises really hit us, a little economic success will not be nearly enough to deal with them.



两年多来，我越搞环保就越感到民主和法制的重要，我深知环境保护仅凭环保总局一个部门是办不成的，需要全社会的共同行动，需要民主法制的尽快建立和实施。在环保领域里最可以搞民主法制的实验，因为环保的政治成本相对小，最易达成大家的共识和共赢。圆明园就是最好的例子，各种思想，各种部门利益，中央和地方权能，政府与百姓之间的互动，以及《行政许可法》所阐述的民主科学决策程序，舆论与公众监督等等，都有了一个理性和谐的平台加以交流实验。目前看来，实验成功了。

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潘岳,中国国家环保总局副局长。作为一名新生代中国高官，他敢言敢为，调任环保总局以来更是掀起“环评风暴”，引起巨大关注和争议。

What do we mean by the phrase "green China?" We mean a China that is sustainable, democratic, fair, harmonious and socialist. This conclusion has been reached after many years of struggle. Each word is the distillation of the blood, sweat and tears of several generations. We want to build a green China because green is the colour of life, of sustainability. For something to be called "green" it has to be sustainable – and currently China has yet to achieve sustainability.

The model of economic development that we are currently pursuing is unsustainable. Our energy consumption per unit of GDP is seven times that of Japan, six times that of America, and even 2.8 times that of India. China's labour productivity is less than 10% of the world total, and yet our emissions are over 10 times higher than the global average. China's current supplies of energy and natural resources are unsustainable. Soil erosion and water loss mean that in the last 50 years, the area of habitable land has halved. We currently have 45 main sources of minerals, but in 15 years only six will remain. Within five years, 60% of our oil will be imported.

China's environment is unsustainable. One-third of China's land mass is affected by acid rain. Over 300 million rural residents have no access to clean drinking water. One-third of urban residents breathe heavily polluted air. Thanks to the traditional model of economic development – which is energy intensive, heavily polluting and relies on high levels of consumption – China has become the world's largest consumer of water, largest emitter of waste water and one of the three areas in the world worst affected by acid rain. Our current society is unsustainable. In 2003 China crossed a "safe boundary" on the Gini coefficient – a measure of inequality of distribution of income – which means that China was classified as having "very unequal wealth distribution". The World Bank has said that no other country has seen such a large income disparity emerge in just 15 years. For so long we criticised capitalism for being unsustainable, unfair and unequal, but if our socialism cannot solve problems of social inequality, then how can we claim our system is superior?