BUILDING A MODERATELY PROSPEROUS SOCIETY IN ALL RESPECTS
– Poverty Reduction: Xi Jinping's Statements and Chinese Path*

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Abstract: *After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese people have been struggling against poverty amid national development under the leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC). Since reform and opening up, in particular, China has planned for and organized development-oriented poverty reduction practices on a broad scale with remarkable achievements and blazed a new path of development-oriented poverty reduction with Chinese characteristics. This path is both an essential component of Chinese socialism and a result of the CPC's ideological improvement on poverty reduction. Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, the whole Party, country, and society have been called upon to fight the battle against poverty on a full-scale under the guidance of General Secretary Xi Jinping's important statements on poverty reduction, unveiling a new stage for China's development-oriented poverty reduction in the new era. China's unprecedented poverty reduction achievements have enriched the path of poverty reduction with Chinese characteristics. Xi Jinping's insightful and coherent statements on poverty reduction represent the latest results of Marxist anti-poverty theories and comprise an essential part of Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for the New Era. His guidelines are the basis for the brilliant achievements of China's poverty reduction endeavors, and will contribute Chinese experience and wisdom to global poverty governance.*

Keywords: *poverty reduction path with Chinese characteristics, Xi Jinping's statements on poverty reduction, poverty reduction ideas, battle against poverty*
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The end of the World War II ushered in a new period for poverty eradication for humankind. Governments and international organizations undertook to fight poverty as their priority, giving rise to new anti-poverty practices and achievements globally. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, poverty reduction has dominated the agenda of China's socialist development and reform. By exploring a unique path for poverty reduction, China has contributed a significant share to world poverty reduction.

This paper aims to explain China's poverty status, interventions, and guiding ideology for poverty reduction, which are essential for understanding China's poverty reduction journey. Through its

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全面建成小康社会：习近平扶贫论述与中国特色减贫道路*

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摘 要： 中华人民共和国成立后，中国共产党领导全国人民在国家建设与发展中始终坚持与贫困作斗争，特别是改革开放以来，展开了有组织、有计划、大规模的扶贫开发实践，取得了举世瞩目的成就，走出了一条中国特色扶贫开发道路。这条道路既是中国特色社会主义道路的重要组成部分，也是中国共产党扶贫思想不断完善的实践成果。2012年中共十八大以来，以习近平总书记关于扶贫工作的重要论述（习近平扶贫论述）为根本遵循，以整体消除绝对贫困现象为基本目标，动员全党全国全社会，全面打响脱贫攻坚战，中国扶贫开发进入新时代脱贫攻坚新阶段，取得历史上最好的减贫成绩，丰富、发展了中国特色减贫道路。习近平扶贫论述思想深刻、内涵丰富、逻辑严密，是马克思主义反贫困理论的最新成果，是习近平新时代中国特色社会主义思想的重要组成部分，是新时代中国减贫事业取得前所未有辉煌成就的根本遵循，将为全球贫困治理贡献中国经验与中国智慧。

关键词： 中国特色减贫道路；习近平扶贫论述；扶贫思想；脱贫攻坚

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“二战”后，人类解决贫困问题进入了新的时期，各国政府和国际机构把反贫困摆在推动发展的优先位置，全球反贫困实践不断丰富和发展。自1949年中华人民共和国成立以来，解决贫困问题始终是社会主义建设、改革的基本内容，在为全球减贫作出重要贡献的同时，逐步走出了一条中国特色减贫道路。理解中国扶贫事业发展的历程，既要从贫困状况与减贫干预的技术层面展开，也需要分析并认识引领中国减贫事业发展的指导思想与意识形态。中国共产党在革命和建设实践中，探索形成了一套既符合贫困治理一般规律，又紧密结合中国国情的扶贫思想，其中习近平扶贫论述集其大成，引领中国新时代脱贫攻坚取得了前所未有的减贫成绩，大大丰富、发展了中国特色减贫道路。

一、中国减贫事业发展的基本历程

结合近70年的减贫发展经验，学术界做出了阶段性的划分：从中华人民共和国成立初期开始的社会主义

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revolutionary history and development practice, the Communist Party of China (CPC) has developed a poverty reduction approach in light of China's national conditions, which is epitomized by Xi Jinping's statements on poverty reduction. With this approach, China has achieved unprecedented progress in reducing poverty in the new era, offering valuable experiences worth referencing for other countries.

1. China's Poverty Reduction Journey

Most academics divide China's seven-decade poverty reduction endeavors into the following stages: (i) poverty reduction in the broad sense via socialist development from the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 to the dawn of reform and opening up in 1978; (ii) development-oriented poverty reduction since 1978; (iii) targeted poverty reduction since 2013 (Li, Yu, Tang, 2019). Some academics have identified three different stages of China's poverty reduction practice, including overall institutional poverty reduction (1949-1985), regional poverty reduction via development (1986-2013), and targeted poverty reduction (2014-present) (Sun, Zhou, Hu, 2019).

Based on specific poverty reduction practices, these stages sketch an outline of China's poverty reduction journey. Yet to some extent, these separate stages belie the continuity of China's unremitting poverty reduction endeavors. As some researchers noted, China in Mao Zedong's era effectively eradicated extreme poverty, paving the way for further poverty abatement in the post-reform era (Hu, 2012). In the new stage of targeted poverty reduction, the ongoing anti-poverty battle represents a deepening of poverty alleviation that started since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 in terms of both policy continuity and practical challenges.

For this reason, this paper argues that since 1949, China has embarked upon a continuous path of poverty reduction with a rational approach to achieving specific targets according to poverty status in various stages, and such poverty reduction is a "continuous national program" (Hu, 2012). This national program for poverty reduction features practices based on a combination of value rationality and instrumental rationality. Under the socialist ideals of common prosperity, the Chinese government identified poverty reduction targets, strategies, and policies across socio-economic development stages. China's poverty reduction journey is, therefore, a process of improving national poverty governance in which the State sets the path for poverty interventions according to changing poverty status and national capabilities. It is also a historical process towards common prosperity in tandem with the unfolding ideological blueprint of socialism with Chinese characteristics. As General Secretary Xi Jinping rightly pointed out at the Central Work Conference on Poverty Relief and Development in 2015, "Our Party has led to people to fight a continuous war on poverty since the founding of the People's Republic of China" (CPC Central Party History and Literature Research Institute, 2018).

In a longer historical framework, China's poverty reduction campaign started after the century-long impoverishment and debility of the Chinese nation. China's socialist reform and development led by the CPC since 1949 have served as an antidote to poverty that long plagued the nation. Upon the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, China was one of the poorest countries in the world, as reflected in its short average life expectancy. In 1950, China's life expectancy was only 41 years, below the world average of 49 years (Maddison, 2007). In the stark reality of biting poverty, Chinese communists upheld the political program established in the revolutionary era, and launched massive and sweeping land reforms and socialist transformations of agriculture, handicrafts, and capitalist industry and commerce.

In the countryside, land reforms significantly eased poverty and laid an essential institutional and political basis for subsequent rural poverty reduction and development. In this stage, the goal of poverty relief was to address farmers' basic survival needs and ward off starvation (Zhang, 2007). In 1958, China's countryside entered into the Great Leap Forward and the People's Commune era. In this period, the leftist policy caused rural development to fail in the economic sense. Yet rural collectivization also

建设的广义性减贫实践，到改革开放以来的发展性扶贫实践，再到2013年以来精准脱贫攻坚的扶贫新实践（李小云、于乐荣、唐丽霞，2019）。也有学者将70年的减贫实践划分为制度整体扶贫（1949~1985年）、区域扶贫开发（1986~2013年）和精准扶贫（2014年至今）三个阶段（孙德超、周媛媛、胡灿美，2019）。这些划分方式以不同时期的减贫实践主要特征为依据，描绘了中国扶贫发展的整体轮廓，然而，阶段性的划分在一定程度上割裂了中国持续减贫行动的整体逻辑。正如研究者所指出的，毛泽东时代有效地消除了极端人类贫困现象，为改革时期进一步消除贫困奠定了重要基础（胡鞍钢，2012）。同样地，尽管以精准扶贫、精准脱贫为基本方略的“脱贫攻坚战”是中国减贫发展的全新阶段，但无论从政策的延续性，还是实践的挑战来看，“脱贫攻坚”同样是中华人民共和国成立以来扶贫开发的发展和深化。

基于此，本文认为，1949年至今70年多年的中国减贫历程，乃是持续回应不同阶段贫困状况的理性化的过程，是不断地选取特定的减贫目标并开展针对性的实践的过程，是“持续性国家行为”（胡鞍钢，2012）。这一过程包含了国家价值理性与工具理性的实践，一方面坚持共同富裕、全面小康等社会主义价值理想；另一方面根据经济社会发展的阶段性，确定适宜的减贫目标并选择相应的减贫战略与减贫政策。因此，中国减贫历程既是国家贫困治理能力理性化水平不断提升的实践过程，国家不断根据贫困治理需求与治理能力确定具体的干预路径，也是整体不断迈向共同富裕和全面小康的历史进程，是中国特色社会主义意识形态蓝图在不断实践中展开。因此，2015年习近平总书记在中央扶贫开发工作会议上的讲话中，作出了“新中国成立以来，我们党带领人民持续向贫困宣战”（中共中央党史和文献研究院编，2018）的论断。

更长时段的历史进程中，中国的减贫事业的发展乃是以近代以来中华民族积贫积弱的历史状况为起点。1949年以来，中国共产党领导的社会主义改造、建设则是针对这种贫困状况采取的根本性的解决方案。中华人民共和国成立之初，中国是当时世界上最贫穷的国家之一，人均预期寿命是当时贫弱最直接的表现，1950年，中国人均预期寿命仅为41岁，低于当时全球平均水平49岁（Maddison，2007）。面对国内普遍贫困的现实，中国共产党人坚持革命年代所确立的政治纲领，大规模实行土地改革，对农业、手工业和资本主义工商业进行社会主义改造。在农村，土地改革不仅在短时间内极大地缓解了贫困状况，而且为后来农村减贫与发展奠定了重要的制度基础和政治基础。然而，这一时期的减贫实践虽然较大程度缓解了全国根本性的贫困问题，但只是在低水平上保证农民的基本生存需要，使大多数人口免于饥馑（张磊主编，2007）。1958年开始，在土地改革的基础上，中国农村发展进入了“大跃进”及人民公社时期。这一时期，一方面，由于“左”的路线方针，农村发展陷入经济意义上的失败；另一方面，由于农村的集体化也带来了保障性扶贫的长足发展，农村基础教育、合作医疗等取得了较大进步。

1978年以来，伴随着思想领域的大解放，中国开启了改革开放的伟大历史进程，确立了“贫穷不是社会主义”的观念。以解散人民公社、建立家庭联产承包责任制、改革购销体制和农村商品流通体制为主要内容的一系列经济体制方面的改革，有力地促进了农村经济发展，取得了显著的农村减贫效果（见表1）。这一时期，由于农民收入的普遍增长，中国的贫困发生率出现了大规模的下降。虽然体制改革带来的经济增长极大地改善了农村的贫困面貌，提高了农民的福利水平，但“市场机制的引入和农户的自然资源及人力资源禀赋的不同，必然造成农户间不均等程度的增加”（张磊主编，2007）。此外，“老少边穷”地区的贫困问题开始凸显，根据国

Table 1: China's Total Poor Populations and Poverty Incidence by Different Standards, 1978-1985

Year	National poverty line (yuan)	Poor populations (100 million)	Poverty incidence (%)	NBS poverty line (yuan)	Poor populations (100 million)	Poverty incidence (%)	World Bank's poverty line (yuan)	Poor populations (100 million)	Poverty incidence (%)
1978	-	-	-	100	2.50	30	99	2.6	33
1981	-	-	-	-	-	-	160	1.94	24.3
1984	-	1.04	-	200	1.28	15.1	178	0.89	11.0
1985	200		12.3	206	1.25	14.8	193	0.96	11.9

Source: Zhou Binbin, Gao Hongbin. "Research on Poverty and Summary of Anti-Poverty Practices" [A] // *Essential Collection of Chinese Papers on Poverty Reduction*, He Daofeng, Editor-in-Chief [M]. Beijing: China Economic Publishing House, 2001.

led to significant progress in poverty relief at the subsistence level, rural basic education, and cooperative healthcare.

In 1978, the Chinese leadership broke away from ideological fetters and embraced the principle that "poverty is not socialism." Since then, China has unveiled a new chapter of reform and opening up, and carried out a swathe of reforms to dissolve People's Communes, establish the household contract responsibility system, and reform the unified purchase and sales system and rural commodity distribution system. These reforms have boosted the rural economy and slashed rural poverty (see Table 1).

In the post-reform era, farmers' rising income led to a steep fall in China's poverty incidence. Economic growth stemming from institutional reforms lifted the countryside from poverty and improved farmers' welfare. Yet the "introduction of market mechanism and differences in natural and human resources endowments of farming households inevitably gave rise to inequality in the countryside" (Zhang, 2007). Meanwhile, poverty became more prominent in old revolutionary base areas, areas with large ethnic minority populations, border areas, and poor areas. According to the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), there were still 125 million people in China without adequate food and clothing in 1985. In the mid-and late 1980s, therefore, it became natural for the Chinese leadership to enhance national poverty governance responsibilities and roll out targeted poverty reduction campaigns.

In 1984, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council released the *Circular on Assisting the Transformation of Poor Regions*, focusing on poverty relief in old revolutionary base areas, areas with large ethnic minority populations, border areas, and poor areas. "Due to differences in national conditions and policy implementation, imbalances still exist in the rural economy. In particular, we are yet to lift tens of millions of people out of poverty, and deliver adequate food and clothing to all the people" (CPC Central Party History and Literature Research Institute, 2011a). This *Circular* unveiled China's mass poverty reduction campaigns. After 1984, the Party and government ramped up poverty-reduction budgets, introduced a host of pro-poor policies, and adopted the principle of development-oriented poverty reduction. In 1986, the State Council established the Steering Group for Economic Development in Poor Regions - the first special agency for poverty reduction in China and the predecessor of the Steering Group for Development-Oriented Poverty Reduction.

Officially released in 1994, the *Seven-Year Priority Poverty Alleviation Program (1994-2000)* called for mobilizing all human, material, and financial resources to lift 80 million rural populations out of poverty in seven years from 1994 to 2000. After the dawn of the 21st century, the central government

表 1:1978~1985年不同标准下中国贫困人口规模和贫困发生率的变化

年份	国家使用的扶贫标准(元)	贫困人口(亿)	贫困发生率(%)	国家统计局标准(元)	贫困人口(亿)	贫困发生率(%)	世行标准(元)	贫困人口(亿)	贫困发生率(%)
1978	–	–	–	100	2.50	30	99	2.6	33
1981	–	–	–	–	–	–	160	1.94	24.3
1984	–	1.04	–	200	1.28	15.1	178	0.89	11.0
1985	200		12.3	206	1.25	14.8	193	0.96	11.9

资料来源:周彬彬,高鸿宾.对贫困的研究和反贫困实践的总结[A]//何道峰主编.中国扶贫论文精粹[M].北京:中国经济出版社,2001.

家统计局的统计,1985年中国仍有1.25亿人口没有解决温饱问题。因此,强化国家贫困治理职责,实施具有针对性的扶贫行动成为80年代中后期中国减贫事业的必然选择。

为解决“老少边穷”特殊区域的贫困问题,中共中央、国务院于1984年印发《关于帮助贫困地区尽快改变面貌的通知》,指出“由于自然条件、工作基础和政策落实情况的差异,农村经济还存在发展不平衡的状况,特别是还有几千万人口的地区仍未摆脱贫困,群众的温饱问题尚未完全解决”(中共中央文献研究室编,2011a),由此拉开了大规模专项扶贫的序幕。党和国家大幅度增加扶贫投入,制定一系列扶持政策,而且对先期的扶贫工作进行了根本性的改革与调整,“扶贫开发”成为中国减贫的重要路径。1986年国务院成立“扶贫开发领导小组”的前身——“贫困地区经济开发领导小组”,扶贫工作由此有了专门的工作机构。

1994年,《国家八七扶贫攻坚计划(1994~2000年)》正式印发。该计划的主要目标是从1994年到2000年,集中人力、物力、财力,动员社会各界力量,力争用7年左右的时间,基本解决目前全国农村8000万贫困人口的温饱问题。进入21世纪,国家根据不同时期贫困人口规模、分布状况、贫困程度等因素,相继出台《中国农村扶贫开发纲要(2001~2010年)》和《中国农村扶贫开发纲要(2011~2020年)》两个纲领性的文件,旨在不断提升减贫成效。

2012年,党的十八大召开,中国特色社会主义进入新时代,扶贫开发进入脱贫攻坚新阶段。当时,扶贫工作存在明显薄弱环节,包括精准扶贫体制机制还不健全、扶贫开发责任还没有完全落到实处、扶贫合力还没有形成、扶贫资金投入还不能满足需要、贫困地区和贫困人口主观能动性还有待提高、因地制宜与分类指导还有待加强(中共中央党史和文献研究院编,2018)。针对这些问题和不足,习近平总书记提出了一系列新思想新观点,做出了一系列新决策新部署,形成了习近平扶贫论述,引领中国减贫事业进入精准扶贫精准脱贫新阶段。随着脱贫攻坚战进入决战决胜期,中国整体消除绝对贫困的历史性目标即将实现,中国特色减贫道路也将实现从消除绝对贫困到缓解相对贫困的历史性转换。党的十九届四中全会审议通过了《中共中央关于坚持和完善中国特色社会主义制度、推进国家治理体系和治理能力现代化若干重大问题的决定》,明确提出

has introduced two poverty reduction guidelines based on the size, layout, and poverty status of poor populations across various stages, i.e., the *National Program for Development-Oriented Poverty Reduction in Rural China* for the period of 2001-2010 and 2011-2020, respectively.

The 18th CPC National Congress held in 2012 marks the beginning of a new era for socialism with Chinese characteristics and a new stage for development-oriented poverty reduction programs. Back then, China was yet to develop sound mechanisms for targeted poverty reduction, assign development-oriented poverty reduction responsibilities, form poverty-reduction synergy, allocate sufficient poverty reduction funds, empower poor regions and populations, and provide targeted guidance and assistance according to local conditions (CPC Central Party History and Literature Research Institute, 2018).

Regarding these challenges, General Secretary Xi Jinping put forward new ideas and made new decisions on poverty reduction to usher in a new stage of targeted poverty reduction. As China moves into the final stage of the battle against poverty, the goal of eradicating absolute poverty is within reach, and the alleviation of relative poverty will replace the eradication of absolute poverty as the new priority. In October 2019, the Fourth Plenum of the 19th CPC Central Committee adopted the *Decisions on Major Issues Concerning the Improvement of Socialist System with Chinese Characteristics and National Governance Modernization*, which calls for "scoring a victory of eradicating poverty, consolidating poverty reduction results, and creating long-term mechanisms for addressing relative poverty." This policy statement will guide China's future poverty reduction programs.

Over the past seven decades, China has persistently updated its poverty reduction goals according to new poverty challenges while standardizing its national poverty governance system. Based on the identification of barriers to rural poverty reduction and development, the Chinese government has carried out rural reforms and poverty interventions in critical areas and improved policy instruments to increase the effectiveness of national poverty governance (Lyu, 2017).

2. Guiding Ideology for Poverty Reduction in China

Behind China's poverty reduction achievements are continuous institutional innovations, increasing inputs, and improving poverty reduction concepts and guidelines. Since the 1920s, under the guidance of Marxism, Chinese communists have improved the theories and ideas for poverty reduction based on the reality of China's revolution, development, and reform to achieve common prosperity. From a practical point of view, these ideas not only sum up China's poverty reduction experience but form the theoretical basis for the Chinese approach to poverty reduction as well.

Carl Marx's insights on poverty have underpinned the fundamental philosophy and methodology for poverty reduction in China. Carl Marx believed that in a new social system, "Productive forces will develop rapidly", and the "Purpose of production is to achieve prosperity for all" (Marx, Engels, 1980). In his description of socialism, Frederik Engels also noted that "Our goal is to build the socialist system that offers healthy and rewarding jobs, abundant material life and leisure time, and real and sufficient freedom for all (Marx, Engels, 1965). In the Marxist view, the proletariat must escape exploitation under the capitalist production relations, and individuals must escape alienated labor to embrace "free and all-round development." Both are essential to solving the problem of poverty. Marxism has established the ideal of "common prosperity" for China's poverty reduction endeavors and the goal of promoting people's all-round development, which will continue to guide China's socialist development and poverty reduction programs.

Under the guidance of Marxism, the CPC started to explore an anti-poverty path before the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, and adopted the revolutionary guidelines to abolish the feudal land ownership system, eliminate exploitation, and ensure farmers' livelihoods. Mao Zedong blamed the semi-colonial and semi-feudal social systems as the root cause of poverty in old China. Based on this view, the CPC had carried out anti-poverty practices with land reform as the linchpin. By removing the

“坚决打赢脱贫攻坚战，巩固脱贫攻坚成果，建立解决相对贫困的长效机制”的新部署，将指引中国特色减贫道路不断开拓发展。

纵观70年的反贫困实践，中国特色减贫道路既是中国不断面对新的贫困问题情势，不断调整和提升反贫困目标的过程，也是国家贫困治理体系科学化、规范化程度不断提升的过程。在扶贫开发工作的各个阶段，中国以农村改革和政府扶贫干预为主轴，科学研判制约农村减贫与发展的瓶颈因素，找准释放减贫动力的关键领域和关键环节，不断优化减贫治理的政策工具，从而提升国家减贫治理体系的有效性（吕方，2017）。

二、中国减贫事业发展的指导思想

中国减贫成就的背后，是不断创新的体制机制和持续加大的投入力度，也是中国扶贫基本理念与指导思想的不断完善。20世纪20年代起，中国共产党人以马克思主义为指导，结合中国革命、建设和改革实际，以“共同富裕”为关键词，逐步形成和发展中国扶贫理论和思想。从实践观点看，这些思想既是对中国扶贫经验的总结和凝练，也是中国特色减贫道路得以不断向前发展的重要理论基础。

马克思关于贫困问题的深刻剖析，确立了中国扶贫思想的根本立场与基本方法。马克思提出，在新的社会制度中“社会生产力的发展将如此迅速”，“生产将以所有的人富裕为目的”（马克思、恩格斯，1980）。恩格斯在描述社会主义时也指出，“我们的目的是要建立社会主义制度，这种制度将给所有的人提供健康而有益的工作，给所有的人提供充裕的物质生活和闲暇时间，给所有的人提供真正的充分的自由”（马克思、恩格斯，1965）。在马克思看来，贫困问题的解决不仅在于无产阶级摆脱资本主义生产关系的剥削与压榨，也在于作为个体的人摆脱异化劳动而实现人的“自由全面发展”。马克思主义确立了中国扶贫事业“共同富裕”的价值理想，也提出了促进人的全面发展的目标。这些理想与目标长期贯穿于中国社会主义建设与减贫事业发展，是中国扶贫事业发展重要的思想源泉。

以马克思主义为指导，中国共产党在中华人民共和国成立前就不断探索反贫困的道路，形成了以推翻封建土地所有制、消灭剥削，解决农民生存问题为基本目标的革命方针。毛泽东在分析旧中国贫困问题时曾指出，中国的贫困问题主要是由已经被推翻的半殖民地半封建社会的制度造成的。基于这样的认识，中国共产党在中华人民共和国成立前，就在一些地区开展了以土地制度改革为核心的反贫困实践，通过铲除农村剥削制度的根基促进农村生产力的解放，从根本上确保贫困农民充分分享劳动成果。

1956年建立社会主义制度以后，中国共产党在制度上保障了全体人民人与人之间的平等关系。但由于中国长期遭受帝国主义和封建主义的掠夺压迫，经济极端落后，贫穷与落后仍是基本国情。中国共产党和第一代国家领导人将反贫困作为巩固和发展社会主义制度的重要着力点，提出通过工业化和合作化实现反贫困的战略构想，形成了对于贫困问题及缓解贫困的基本认识，即在建立社会主义制度的背景下分析中国的贫困问题，从满足人民群众利益角度寻找反贫困路径。毛泽东基于当时的中国国情，分析了贫困问题的根源，确定了中华人民共和国反贫困的目标以及消除贫困的步骤和战略，坚持中国共产党的领导以及农民的主体地位，这为农村反贫困建立了制度基础和认识基础。尤其是其关于共同富裕的思想及追求平等的反贫困实践，为中

foundation of rural exploitation, the reform aimed to liberate rural productivity and entitle poor farmers to the fruits of their labor.

After the establishment of the socialist system in 1956, the CPC has put into place the systems of equality for all the people. Due to previous exploitation and oppression of imperialism and feudalism for a long time, however, China was still an extremely underdeveloped country mired in poverty and backwardness. With anti-poverty as a priority for consolidating and developing the socialist system, the CPC and the first-generation Chinese leadership after 1949 identified industrial development and collectivization as strategic visions for reducing poverty, calling for addressing China's poverty issues in the context of socialist systems and exploring an anti-poverty path based on people's interests. In light of China's national conditions, Mao Zedong analyzed the root causes of poverty, and identified anti-poverty goals for the People's Republic of China and steps and strategies for eradicating poverty under the CPC's leadership and focusing on farmers, creating the institutional and philosophical basis for fighting poverty in the countryside.

Based on Mao Zedong's thought, after reform and opening up in 1978, Comrade Deng Xiaoping further identified common prosperity as the intrinsic attribute of socialism. He said that the goal of poverty reduction is to deliver prosperity to all the people. Deng Xiaoping also argued that poverty is not correlated, nor even compatible, with socialism. "Poverty is not socialism, and socialism must eradicate poverty" (Deng, 1993). "The nature of socialism is to liberate and develop productive forces, abolish exploitation and polarization, and reach the state of widespread wealth for all people" (Deng, 1993). He called for reform, opening up, and development as an antidote to poverty. His statements on the nature and countermeasures of poverty comprise the philosophical framework for poverty reduction in China. Succeeding top leaders of the Party and the government, such as Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao, built upon Deng Xiaoping's theory on poverty reduction, brought China's poverty reduction programs to a higher level.

The 18th CPC National Congress in 2012 has ushered in a new era for Chinese socialism. In 2020, China is poised to complete the building of a moderately prosperous society in respects to achieve our Party's first centennial goal. Yet poverty reduction remains a top priority for developing countries and the international community at large. The United Nations' 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development has identified the eradication of poverty in all its forms as the first goal, underscoring the significance of fighting poverty. In the new era, poverty reduction is blessed with new enabling conditions. From the strategic vision of rejuvenating the Chinese nation, General Secretary Xi Jinping has given great prominence to development-oriented poverty reduction in China's national governance. His strategic decisions and arrangements on winning the war on poverty and statements on targeted poverty reduction have steered China's poverty reduction campaign on a new journey and brought China's poverty reduction philosophy to a new height.

Based on profound historical origin, experience, and deliberations, Xi Jinping's statements on poverty reduction have developed into a coherent, problem-oriented theoretical system of thought, which identifies the goals, principles, and strategies for fighting poverty in China. In summary, this system of thought highlights the following eight principles: (i) We must score the victory in fighting poverty and build a moderately prosperous society in all respects; (ii) adhere to the Party's leadership and enhance organizational assurance; (iii) follow the approach of targeted poverty reduction to increase effectiveness; (iv) ramp up pro-poor financial support; (v) mobilize all stakeholders and resources; (vi) follow strict requirements and make earnest efforts; (vii) rely on the masses and unleash endogenous momentum; (viii) work in concert to eradicate poverty and build a shared future for humankind.

Based on Marxist positions and methodologies, Xi Jinping's statements on poverty reduction represent critical theoretical innovations of Chinese socialism that not only succeed Chinese philosophies on poverty reduction but present in-depth reflections on the achievements of China's poverty reduction endeavors and challenges since the dawn of the 21st century. Unprecedented achievements of poverty

国的反贫困提供了理论基石与思想基础。

1978年改革开放后，邓小平同志在毛泽东共同富裕思想基础上，提出共同富裕是社会主义的本质特征，实现全体人民的共同富裕是反贫困的战略目标。邓小平认为，贫困同社会主义不但没有必然的联系，而且是不相容的。“贫穷不是社会主义，社会主义要消灭贫穷”（邓小平，1993），“社会主义的本质，是解放生产力，发展生产力，消灭剥削，消除两极分化，最终达到共同富裕”（邓小平，1993），主张在中国社会改革、开放、发展的进程中消除贫困，对于贫困的实质、反贫困战略及政策措施方面提出了一系列构想，中华人民共和国的扶贫思想体系初步形成。其后，在中国特色社会主义建设过程中，江泽民、胡锦涛等党和国家最高领导人不断丰富中国扶贫思想的理论内涵，持续推动中国扶贫事业向更高水平迈进。

党的十八大以来，中国特色社会主义进入了新时代，2020年将全面建成小康社会，实现我们党第一个百年奋斗目标。减贫发展依然是摆在广大发展中国家和国际社会面前的首要任务，联合国《2030年可持续发展议程》把消除一切形式的极端贫困作为首要目标。在此背景下，解决贫困问题有了新的价值和意义，新的历史情境也为贫困问题的解决提供了新的条件。站在中华民族伟大复兴的战略高度，习近平总书记把扶贫开发摆在治国理政突出位置，作出打赢脱贫攻坚战的重大战略决策和部署，形成以精准扶贫方略为核心的扶贫论述，引领中国减贫事业迈入新的征程，推动中国扶贫思想发展到了新的高度。

基于深厚的历史渊源、丰富的实践经历和长期深思熟虑的思考，习近平扶贫论述不断发展完善，形成了问题意识明确、理论体系完备、内在逻辑严密的扶贫思想体系。不仅从根本上回答了中国脱贫攻坚的目的和意义，也为打赢脱贫攻坚战确立了原则和战略，深化了扶贫开发的方法和策略，破解了诸多中国特色减贫道路上的理论与现实难题，具有丰富的思想内涵。这些内涵集中体现在以下八个方面：①决胜脱贫攻坚，共享全面小康；②坚持党的领导，强化组织保证；③坚持精准方略，提高脱贫实效；④坚持加大投入，强化资金支持；⑤坚持社会动员，凝聚各方力量；⑥坚持从严要求，促进真抓实干；⑦坚持群众主体，激发内生动力；⑧携手消除贫困，共建人类命运共同体。

习近平扶贫论述既是马克思主义立场和方法的时代宣言，也是中国扶贫思想的继承和发展，更是基于21世纪以来中国减贫事业取得的成就和面临的挑战所进行的深入思考，是中国特色社会主义的重大理论创新。党的十八大以来脱贫攻坚前所未有的历史性成就正是习近平扶贫论述的实践证明，这些实践及其经验正是习近平扶贫论述发展和完善的经验基础。

三、新时代中国减贫事业的政策与实践

随着扶贫思想的发展与完善，中国扶贫的政策与实践也不断演进，围绕扶持谁、谁来扶、怎么扶和如何退等基本问题，制定了一系列的相关政策并取得了良好的实践效果。尤其是党的十八大以来的脱贫攻坚战，在习近平扶贫论述的指引下，书写了中国扶贫道路上浓墨重彩的一笔，开辟了中国减贫事业新篇章。习近平扶贫论述不仅为中国脱贫攻坚实践克服困难与挑战提供了基本方略，也为中国特色减贫道路的未来发展指引了方向。

reduction since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012 lend evidence and empirical basis to Xi Jinping's statements on poverty reduction.

3. China's Poverty Reduction Policies and Practices in the New Era

Developments of poverty reduction guidelines have led to improving pro-poor policies and practices. The Chinese leadership has enacted a string of policies identifying the key stakeholders, methodologies, and target groups for poverty reduction, which yielded good results. In particular, the battle against poverty set in motion since the 18th CPC National Congress has achieved remarkable results. Xi Jinping's statements on poverty reduction not only provide basic strategies for tackling difficulties and challenges in reducing poverty but will guide the direction of China's future poverty reduction as well.

3.1 Improving Accountability

The *National Program for Development-Oriented Poverty Reduction in Rural China* for 2001-2010 and 2011-2020 have put into place an accountability mechanism for poverty reduction. Specifically, each level of government is responsible for development-oriented poverty reduction in its jurisdiction and must incorporate development-oriented poverty reduction into local social and economic development strategies and master plans. Local governments are responsible for achieving poverty reduction goals and subject to progress evaluation. Top Party and government leaders should stay in charge of poverty reduction with responsibilities shared among all levels of government, focusing on specific regions, villages, and households. In particular, the provincial governments must have the responsibilities, financial resources, and powers to ensure that counties in their jurisdictions implement poverty relief programs to help individual villages and households.

Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, the Chinese government has created a poverty reduction working mechanism in which the central government is responsible for overall coordination, provincial governments stay in charge of poverty reduction in their respective jurisdictions, and local governments at city, prefecture, and county levels are responsible for implementing poverty relief programs. Assignment of responsibilities to specific officials with proper coordination provides solid assurance for winning the battle against poverty. In the *Implementation Measures for Poverty Reduction Accountability* released in October 2017, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council put forward specific poverty reduction requirements to the Party committees and governments of 22 provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities in central and western parts of China, as well as relevant central state agencies.

The *Measures* call for clear poverty reduction accountability under the working mechanism of central coordination, provincial responsibilities, and city and county-level implementation. It also stipulates awards and penalties. Party committees and governments at all levels, the Poverty Reduction Steering Group, and relevant central state agencies may award departments and individuals with outstanding poverty reduction contributions. Such awards will enter into consideration in the appointment of cadres. Those who fail to perform responsibilities with negative impacts will be subject to penalties.

3.2 Implementing Targeted Poverty Reduction

Poverty identification strategies are determined mainly according to the regional distribution of rural poor populations. In the mid-1980s, the rural poor were concentrated in a few poor regions. In the 1990s, they started to migrate elsewhere. In the late 1990s, the dispersion of poor populations became more significant (Huang, 2016). In 1982, the Chinese government created the Steering Group for Agricultural Development in the Hexi, Dingxi, and Xihaigu Regions, which kicked off a mass campaign of targeted

（一）完善责任落实体系

两个十年《中国农村扶贫开发纲要》确立了政府主导、分级负责的责任落实机制：要求各级政府对本行政区域内扶贫开发工作负总责，把扶贫开发纳入经济社会发展战略及总体规划；实行扶贫开发目标责任制和考核评价制度；强化扶贫开发责任；坚持中央统筹、省负总责、县抓落实的管理体制，建立片为重点、工作到村、扶贫到户的工作机制，实行党政一把手负总责的扶贫开发工作责任制；始终不断完善和细化扶贫工作责任落实的分工，要求坚持省负总责，县抓落实，工作到村，扶贫到户；要求按照扶贫开发工作责任到省、任务到省、资金到省、权力到省的原则开展工作。

党的十八大以来，脱贫攻坚战形成了中央统筹、省（自治区、直辖市）负总责、市（地）县抓落实的扶贫开发工作机制，分工明确、责任清晰、任务到人、考核到位，既各司其职、各尽其责，又协调运转、协同发力，为打赢脱贫攻坚战提供坚实保障。2017年10月，中共中央办公厅、国务院办公厅印发《脱贫攻坚责任制实施办法》，对中西部22个省（自治区、直辖市）党委和政府、有关中央和国家机关脱贫攻坚责任的落实提出了明确要求。该办法明确要求“脱贫攻坚按照中央统筹、省负总责、市县抓落实的工作机制，构建责任清晰、各负其责、合力攻坚的责任体系”。同时明确了相关的奖惩机制，各级党委和政府、扶贫开发领导小组以及有关中央和国家机关可以按照有关规定对落实脱贫攻坚责任到位、工作成效显著的部门和个人，以适当方式予以表彰，并作为干部选拔使用的重要依据；对不负责任、造成不良影响的，依纪依法追究相关部门和人员责任。

（二）实施精准扶贫

“贫困瞄准策略的选择与确定主要依据农村贫困人口的区域分布特征。在20世纪80年代中期，农村贫困人口是相对集中在若干贫困区域的，而20世纪90年代开始则逐步分散，区域集中性明显下降。到20世纪90年代后期，贫困人口分散的特征与趋势更加明显”（黄承伟，2016）。1982年，“三西（河西、定西、西海固）地区农业建设领导小组”成立，标志着中国针对性、大规模扶贫正式开始，确立国家扶贫投入主要用“三西”的扶贫开发的方针。随后，1984年《中共中央、国务院关于帮助贫困地区尽快改变面貌的通知》将扶贫重点从“三西”地区扩展到“十几个连片贫困地区的问题”（中共中央文献研究室编，2011a）。1986年，作为扶贫开发的重点的“国定贫困县”开始确定，成为我国扶贫瞄准的重要单元。“确定国家扶贫开发工作重点县和贫困村并给予重点支持，是扶贫开发区域瞄准的主要方法，是扶贫工作的重要抓手和成功经验”（范小建，2012）。《国家八七扶贫攻坚计划（1994~2000年）》中，基于“贫困人口主要集中在国家重点扶持的592个贫困县”的前提，中央扶贫资金的投放开始集中于县域，“中央的财政、信贷和以工代赈等扶贫资金要集中投放在国家重点扶持的贫困县”，“其他非贫困县中的零星分散的贫困乡村和贫困农户，由地方政府安排资金扶持”（中共中央文献研究室，2011b）。进入21世纪，“八七扶贫攻坚”顺利完成，县域贫困瞄准的局限性开始显现：“（1）扶贫资金的使用严重分散，因为生活在国定贫困县内的贫困人口仅占全部贫困人口的一半；（2）非国定贫困县内的另一半贫困人口几乎完全没有得到中央扶贫资金的扶持”（世界银行，2001）。

针对这些现实和矛盾，《中国农村扶贫开发纲要（2001~2010年）》围绕新的贫困形势和减贫目标，对此前的瞄准方式做出了调整，虽然很大程度上依然延续此前县瞄准的特点，但已经开始兼顾非贫困县的扶持。“国

poverty reduction focusing on these regions.

In 1984, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued the *Circular on Assisting Poor Regions* to include over ten contiguous poor areas into the scope of poverty reduction priorities (CPC Central Party History and Literature Research Institute, 2011a). In 1986, China started to identify "state-level poor counties" as priorities for development-oriented poverty reduction. An important methodology and successful experience in China's poverty reduction is to identify priority countries and poor villages (Fan, 2012). Under the *Seven-Year Priority Poverty Alleviation Program (1994-2000)*, the central government started to allocate poverty relief funds to counties. "Poverty relief funds, including central fiscal funds, loans, and employment programs, should give priority to the state-designated poor counties." "Local governments should allocate funds to support sporadic poor villages and households in other non-poor counties" (CPC Central Party History and Literature Research Institute, 2011b).

After the dawn of the 21st century, the Seven-Year Priority Poverty Alleviation Program came to a successful conclusion. Yet the limitations of county-wide poverty reduction started to appear. "(i) The use of poverty relief funds is highly scattered since only half of poor populations lived in state-designated poor counties; (2) the other half of poor populations outside the state-designated poor counties barely received any support of central poverty relief funds" (World Bank, 2001).

Given these realities and contradictions, the *National Program for Development-Oriented Poverty Reduction in Rural China (2001-2010)* began to target counties not designated as poor counties. "The State identifies areas with large ethnic minority populations, old revolutionary base areas, border areas, and deeply poor areas as priorities for development-oriented poverty reduction, and designated poor counties as priorities in these regions." "Most poverty relief funds should be used to support poor counties, and an appropriate amount should also go to other poor areas" (CPC Central Party History and Literature Research Institute, 2011c).

Then, the *National Program for Development-Oriented Poverty Reduction in Rural China (2011-2020)* not only targets counties not designated as poor counties, but brings "villages" into the policy agenda as well. "We must strive to reduce poverty in key counties and poor villages outside contiguous poor areas. Original policy support to key counties should remain unchanged" (CPC Central Party History and Literature Research Institute, 2013). While the new program targets villages and households for poverty reduction, "despite falling poverty incidence scattered geographical distribution of poor populations add to the difficulty of lifting the remaining poor populations out of poverty." "China should develop appropriate household targeting mechanisms for poverty reduction to benefit more people in poverty" (World Bank, 2009).

Since the 18th CPC National Congress, General Secretary Xi Jinping has called for targeted poverty reduction as the basic strategy in fighting the battle against poverty. Under this guideline, the Chinese government has taken extraordinary measures for targeted poverty reduction in villages and households. The central government has increased clarity in the goal of fighting poverty, recognizing the importance of targeting individual villages and households to eradicating absolute poverty. Precise identification is consistent with the distribution of poor populations in China and the goal of poverty reduction at a higher level; tt is also the first step for implementing targeted poverty reduction. For that, improved national poverty information network with poverty-relief big data has served as an enabler for fighting poverty.

3.3 Poverty Reduction Innovations

Over the past decades, China has steadily intensified poverty reduction efforts with better focuses, and introduced innovations in the means for reducing poverty. Since the 18th CPC National Congress, in particular, the Chinese government has adopted innovative models and pathways for targeted poverty reduction under Xi Jinping's guidance.

Broadening livelihoods for the poor: Asset investments and ecological compensation programs have enabled the poor to participate in social and economic development, thus ensuring their social inclusion

家把贫困人口集中的中西部少数民族地区、革命老区、边疆地区和特困地区作为扶贫开发的重点，并在上述四类地区确定扶贫开发工作重点县”；“中央财政扶贫资金主要用于扶贫开发工作重点县，适当支持其他贫困地区”（中共中央文献研究室编，2011c）。其后，《中国农村扶贫开发纲要（2011~2020年）》延续将瞄准对象扩展到贫困县以外的思路，不仅明确提出继续加强贫困县以外地区的资源供给，同时以“村”作为瞄准单元也纳入了政策议程。“要做好连片特困地区以外重点县和贫困村的扶贫工作。原定重点县支持政策不变”（中共中央文献研究室，2013）。随着“新纲要”的实施，将扶贫瞄准单元进一步转向村户成为共识，然而，“随着贫困率的下降，地理上的分散将导致消除剩余贫困人口变得更加困难”，“需要重视开发恰当的家庭瞄准机制，这样才能使扶贫惠及更多的贫困人口”（世界银行，2009）。

党的十八大以来，习近平总书记提出精准扶贫重要思想，并明确精准扶贫是脱贫攻坚战的基本方略，这对新时代中国减贫工作提出了新要求，一系列超常规举措为扶贫到村到户提出了更高的标准，为创新面向家庭的瞄准机制创造了契机。基于中央一系列决策部署，脱贫攻坚精准的目标日渐清晰，为更好瞄准贫困人口奠定了政策基础。以精准扶贫为基本方略，推进瞄准单元向村户的转变，意图实现贫困人口的全覆盖，从而实现脱贫攻坚消除绝对贫困人口的基本目标。“精准识别”的要求一方面符合中国贫困人口分布变化的趋势，适应更高水平的减贫目标，是中国减贫新阶段的必然选择，另一方面构成精准扶贫方略实施的首要环节，是“精准”理念的具体实践。基于这样的理解，全国扶贫信息网络系统不断完善，所形成的“减贫大数据”为打赢脱贫攻坚战奠定了扎实的基础。

（三）创新扶贫手段

纵观中国扶贫事业的发展历程，不仅是扶贫力度不断加大、贫困瞄准不断聚焦的过程，同样也是扶贫手段不断创新的过程。尤其是党的十八大以来，在习近平扶贫论述的指引下，脱贫攻坚不断创新模式和路径以实现精准扶贫精准脱贫。在拓展贫困人口生计模式方面，资产收益扶贫、生态补偿扶贫为贫困人口升级发展与经济社会整体发展建立了纽带，实现了贫困人口的社会融入与经济正义。在贫困人口赋权方面，“扶志”的实践由向贫困人口输血、补血，转向贫困人口主体性的提升。在贫困地方发展方面，金融扶贫、电商扶贫、光伏扶贫、旅游扶贫等创新机制为区域经济社会发展带来了新思路与新路径。尽管这些干预模式以中国的贫困治理体系为背景，但其中所包含的诸多机制与模式，对于中国以外地区的减贫发展不乏借鉴的意义。

（四）实行最严格的考核评估

历史上，诸多济贫立法偏离目标，最终失败，原因之一就是政策在行动层面偏离目标或违背政策的基本原则。20世纪60年代美国政府“向贫困宣战”，联邦短时间内围绕减贫进行了大量的社会政策立法，然后到80年代，由于政策执行方面的困境，许多法案不得不废除。对于这样的困境与风险，习近平扶贫论述特别强调“完善脱贫攻坚的考核机制，考核机制严格”，不仅通过对约束条件的强化有效规避了政策执行偏差的风险，而且通过完善激励机制，充分调动了政策执行主体的积极性。这些理念在实践中通过“扶贫大数据”“第三方评估”等措施最终保证了政策设计与政策执行的有效衔接，最终保障了政策目标的充分实现。党的十八大以

and economic justice.

Empowering poor populations: Awareness programs have been carried out to encourage the poor to actively participate in anti-poverty practices and take upon themselves the responsibility for reducing poverty while receiving assistance.

Developing local economy in poor areas: In poor areas, industries, such as financial, e-commerce, photovoltaic, and tourism industries, have been fostered for the regional economy to thrive.

Based on China's poverty governance system, these interventions contain numerous mechanisms and business models worth referencing for other countries.

3.4 Adopting the Most Stringent Criteria for Poverty Reduction Evaluation

In history, one of the reasons for poverty relief legislations to fail is that policy implementation tends to deviate from goals or violate basic policy principles. In the 1960s, the US government declared war on poverty. In a short period, the federal government enacted numerous social policies and legislations, many of which became repealed in the 1980s due to problems in implementation. Recognizing such dilemmas and risks, Xi Jinping stressed that "We should enhance poverty reduction evaluation by strict standards." The enforcement of binding requirements has effectively prevented the risks of deviation from policy implementation, and better incentives have motivated policy enforcement agencies to ensure the achievement of targeted poverty reduction goals. In addition to designing a complete pro-poor policy system, targeted poverty reduction also calls for the supervision of policy actions to ensure proper implementation.

4. Brilliant Achievements of China's Poverty Reduction Programs

With rapid and sustained economic growth since reform and opening up in 1978, China has lifted over 700 million people out of poverty, making an important contribution to global poverty reduction efforts. Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, China has fought a battle against poverty on an unprecedented scale and made decisive progress in uplifting working and living conditions in poor areas for poor people, composing a new chapter in the anti-poverty history of humankind.

4.1 Eliminating Absolute Poverty

At a workshop on targeted poverty reduction in 2018, General Secretary Xi Jinping noted that "If we score the victory in fighting the battle against poverty in three years, the problem of absolute poverty that has existed over thousands of years in the history of the Chinese nation will be resolved in our generation" (CPC Central Party History and Literature Research Institute, 2019). By the end of 2018, China's rural poor populations reduced to 16.60 million, down 83.39 million over the past six years. Rural poverty incidence decreased to 1.7%, down 8.5 percentage points over the past six years. China is about to eliminate absolute poverty in the countryside, where poverty used to be widespread, to become the first developing country to meet the United Nations poverty reduction target, contributing to over 70% of world poverty reduction achievements (NBS General Affairs Department, 2019). The remarkable poverty reduction achievements find expressions in both the number of people lifted out of poverty and the unprecedented speed of poverty reduction as well. By China's current rural poverty line, the number of rural poor populations reduced by over 80 million from 2013 to 2018. Each year, over 12 million people were lifted out of poverty. Poverty incidence fell from 10.2% to 1.7%.

4.2 Expediting Development in Poor Regions

Poverty reduction programs have enlivened social and economic development landscapes in poor regions. Hefty infrastructure and public service investments have boosted local development by fostering industries with local advantages, substantially improved the environment, and led to better

来，国家层面围绕精准扶贫进行了一系列顶层设计，然而这只是精准扶贫目标实现的一部分。“精准扶贫”不仅意在设计完备的扶贫政策体系，同时也包含了对于政策行动的监督机制，从而保障政策最终落实。

四、中国减贫事业的辉煌成就

改革开放以来，中国在实现经济高速、稳定、持续增长的同时，使7亿多贫困人口脱贫，为全球减贫作出重要贡献。党的十八大以来，脱贫攻坚力度之大、规模之广、影响之深，前所未有，取得了决定性进展，显著改善了贫困地区和贫困群众的生产生活条件，谱写了人类反贫困历史新篇章。

（一）绝对贫困问题即将整体消除

2018年习近平总书记在打好精准脱贫攻坚战座谈会上的讲话指出，“三年后如期打赢脱贫攻坚战，中华民族千百年来存在的绝对贫困问题，将在我们这一代人的手里历史性地得到解决。”（中共中央党史和文献研究院编，2019）。截至2018年末，中国农村贫困人口减少至1660万人，过去6年共减少8239万人；农村贫困发生率下降至1.7%，过去6年下降8.5个百分点。中国农村从普遍贫困走向整体消灭绝对贫困，成为首个实现联合国减贫目标的发展中国家，对全球减贫贡献超过70%（国家统计局综合司，2019）。巨大的减贫成绩不仅体现在直接的减贫成果，也体现为前所未有的脱贫速度。按照中国农村现行扶贫标准，2013~2018年，农村贫困人口累计减少8000多万人，每年减贫人数都保持在1200万以上，贫困发生率从10.2%下降到1.7%。

（二）促进贫困地区加快发展

贫困地区以脱贫攻坚统揽经济社会发展全局，贫困地区呈现出新的发展局面。贫困地区基础设施和公共服务投入大量增加，发展能力明显增强，特色优势产业迅速发展，生态环境显著改善，贫困群众生活质量稳步提升。贫困县国内生产总值年均增速高出全国平均水平2个多百分点，贫困地区农村居民人均可支配收入年均增速高出全国农村平均水平2.3个百分点，发展差距逐步缩小（国家统计局，2019）。贫困地区特色优势产业迅速发展，旅游扶贫、光伏扶贫、电商扶贫等新业态从无到有、从小到大，快速发展。生态扶贫、易地搬迁扶贫、退耕还林等明显改善了贫困地区生态环境，为实现生态保护和扶贫脱贫有机结合奠定了基础。前所未有的大规模、高强度集中投入，促进了贫困地区农村基础条件的明显改善和公共服务水平的明显提升。精准识别、精准帮扶、精准管理、精准退出等精准扶贫方略的实施，明显提高了贫困地区基层治理能力和管理水平。

（三）营造全社会参与扶贫的氛围

脱贫攻坚对整个社会扶贫济困氛围形成、社会主义核心价值观的培育、营造更和谐的发展氛围，都是一个重要抓手和载体。东西部扶贫协作，东部地区在支持西部地区减贫发展的同时，拓展了自身发展空间，彰显了社会主义实现共同富裕的价值取向。中央国家机关单位定点扶贫，不仅为定点帮扶县带来资金项目、新理念新思路、新技术新市场，而且使定点扶贫成为中央国家企事业单位干部了解农村、密切干群关系、培养锻炼

quality of life for the poor. Poor counties saw their GDP grow faster than the national average by over two percentage points, and rural resident per capita disposable income in poor areas increased faster than the countryside average by 2.3 percentage points, resulting in smaller development gaps (NBS, 2019). In poor areas, industries with local advantages developed rapidly. New business models such as tourism, photovoltaic, and e-commerce have thrived from scratch. Ecological compensation, resettlement, and returning farmland to forest programs have greatly improved the ecological environment in poor areas, integrating ecological protection with poverty reduction. Broad and intensive inputs have uplifted rural infrastructures and public services in poor areas. With precise identification, assistance, management, and exit of poverty, the implementation of targeted poverty reduction strategies has significantly improved grassroots governance in poor areas.

4.3 Encouraging Public Participation in Poverty Reduction

Poverty alleviation programs play an important role in promoting public awareness about poverty and socialist core values and creating a more harmonious development environment. By assisting the western region in reducing poverty, the eastern region has expanded development space and lived up to socialist values to achieve common prosperity. Central state agencies are paired with poor counties to bring capital, projects, and new concepts, technologies, and markets to these counties. Such poverty alleviation programs also provide an avenue for state functionaries to know more about the countryside, get along with the masses, and develop valuable experience. In participating in poverty reduction, private companies, social organizations, and individuals contribute to harmonious social development.

4.4 Creating a Sustainable Poverty Governance System

Under the CPC's leadership, the Chinese government has assigned responsibilities for targeted poverty reduction at all levels, stepped up policy coordination and financial and human resources inputs, and engaged all stakeholders to reduce poverty for poor villages, households, and individuals. The progress and results of poverty reduction are subject to all-round supervision and stringent evaluation. This institutional system is characterized by central coordination, provincial responsibilities, and city and county-level implementation. All levels of government from central to local have signed commitments of responsibilities with clear goals and responsibilities, focusing on implementation. These institutional arrangements contribute to China's wisdom and the Chinese solution to the causes of world poverty reduction.

5. China's Poverty Reduction Experience and Inspirations

Under the CPC's leadership, the Chinese people have explored a poverty reduction path, and continue to build upon it. China's poverty reduction generally offers experiences and inspirations worth referencing for other countries.

5.1 Combining Poverty Reduction Actions with National Development Strategies

China's poverty reduction programs have been an integral part of China's modernization drive and political and economic development since 1949. Poverty reduction in China, though guided by a series of special plans introduced since the 1980s, has always been closely related to China's overall development strategies. According to the *Decisions of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council* released in 1999, the most important experience of China's poverty reduction is to "give great political and strategic prominence to development-oriented poverty reduction as part of the master plan for national and local social and economic development, enact pro-poor policies to address subsistence and development needs in poor areas, and raise funds to increase poverty relief inputs."

In the *Rural Development-Oriented Poverty Reduction (White Paper)* released in 2001, China's

干部的重要平台和渠道。广泛动员民营经济、社会组织、公民个人参与脱贫攻坚，激发了人们内心深处扶贫济困的本质情感，在帮扶中促进了社会和谐发展。

（四）建立可持续的贫困治理体系

脱贫攻坚以来，中国加强党对脱贫攻坚工作的全面领导，建立各负其责、各司其职的责任体系，精准识别、精准脱贫的工作体系，上下联动、统一协调的政策体系，保障资金、强化人力的投入体系，因地制宜、因村因户因人施策的帮扶体系，广泛参与、合力攻坚的社会动员体系，多渠道、全方位的监督体系和最严格的考核评估体系，为脱贫攻坚提供了有力的制度保障。这一制度体系中，根本的是中央统筹、省负总责、市县抓落实的管理体制，从中央到地方逐级签订责任书，明确目标，增强责任，强化落实。这些制度成果，为全球减贫事业贡献了中国智慧和中国方案。

五、中国减贫的基本经验及启示

中国特色减贫道路是中国共产党带领中国人民在长期的反贫困实践中探索形成的、并且仍然在不断丰富发展。从中国减贫经验的普遍性和国际交流分享的可行性角度看，中国减贫的基本经验及启示突出表现在以下三个方面。

（一）减贫行动与国家发展战略相耦合是治理贫困的根本

中国减贫事业的发展既是面向贫困问题特征属性，不断进行战略调整的过程，也是中国现代化进程的有机组成，嵌入了1949年以来政治经济发展的整体进程。尽管20世纪80年代以来，国家制定了一系列专门的扶贫规划，但中国的扶贫事业始终同国家的整体发展战略紧密相连。1999年印发的《中共中央、国务院关于进一步加强扶贫开发工作的决定》就指出，中国扶贫经验最重要的一条就是“从政治的、战略的高度把扶贫开发摆上重要位置，纳入国家和地方国民经济和社会发展的总体规划，制定有利于贫困地区休养生息、解决温饱、加快发展的优惠政策，千方百计筹措资金，努力增加扶贫投入”。在2001年发布的《中国的农村扶贫开发》（白皮书）中，中国的扶贫历程被表述为：“1949年中华人民共和国成立后，特别是自二十世纪七十年代末实行改革开放政策以来，中国政府在致力于经济和社会全面发展的进程中，在全国范围内实施了以解决贫困人口温饱问题为主要目标的有计划、有组织的大规模扶贫开发，极大地缓解了贫困现象。”

党的十八大确立了到二〇二〇年全面建成小康社会的奋斗目标，习近平总书记指出，经济社会发展中的短板特别是主要短板，是影响如期实现全面建成小康社会目标的主要因素。虽然全面小康不是人人同样的小康，但如果农村贫困人口生活水平没有明显提高，全面小康也不能让人信服。基于此，《中共中央关于制定国民经济和社会发展第十三个五年规划的建议》把农村贫困人口脱贫作为全面建成小康社会的基本标志，强调实施精准扶贫、精准脱贫，确保我国现行标准下农村贫困人口实现脱贫、贫困县全部摘帽、解决区域性整体贫困。

poverty reduction journey is described as follows: "After the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, especially since reform and opening up in the late 1970s, the Chinese government has carried out massive development-oriented poverty reduction programs that are well-planned and organized to address the subsistence needs of poor populations, which have substantially alleviated poverty."

The 18th CPC National Congress has put forward the goal of completing the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects by 2020. As General Secretary Xi Jinping noted, we must address the weak spots in our social and economic development, which are the key determinants for achieving the goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects. Although not everyone can lead a moderately prosperous life, a society cannot be convincingly prosperous in all respects if the rural poor experience no significant improvement in their living standards. Therefore, the *Suggestions of the CPC Central Committee on the 13th Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development* identifies the poverty reduction for the rural poor as the basic symbol completing the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects, calling for targeted poverty reduction to lift all poor populations and poor counties out of poverty and put an end to regional contiguous poverty.

5.2 Poverty Reduction Approach Must Match Poverty Conditions

Academics have identified a myriad of poverty manifestations and root causes in the context of social and economic development, as well as a wealth of poverty intervention pathways and means. Poverty is not just about the lack of food, clothing, and livelihood. Poverty intervention is also not just about the role of government in supplementing family and community functions, or creating development opportunities. Judging by the poverty reduction practice after the World War II, it can be found that a common dilemma for poverty reduction around the world is the mismatch of poverty reduction resources, projects, and results. Both development and protection-oriented poverty alleviation programs often did little to help the poor escape poverty and even led to a vicious cycle of poverty.

China's targeted poverty reduction approach increases the achievements of poverty reduction by matching poverty reduction resources and methods against specific poverty problems, focusing on not only the amount of resources devoted to but the actual effects of poverty reduction. Such compatibility finds expression in the requirements of "precise recipients, precise project arrangements, precise use of funds, precise support to individual households, precise assignment of responsibilities to village first secretaries, and precise poverty reduction results." These requirements cover the basic aspects of poverty governance and serve as the basis for policy design and local innovations. Inputs for poverty reduction resources, projects, and targets must precisely match with actual poverty conditions.

5.3 Poverty Targeting Must Coordinate with a Gradualist Solution to Poverty

Since reform and opening up, China's development-oriented poverty reduction has taken on the trait of incrementalism. With increasing precision, China's poverty reduction targeting has shifted from regions to households, and the concept of multidimensional poverty reduction has replaced regional economic development as the criterion for poverty identification. Target beneficiaries for poverty relief have changed from regions to specific points (Li, 2011). In other words, the target groups of poverty reduction programs changed from regions to poor counties, townships, and then villages and households, or a combination of them in some stages.

Despite its vital importance, poverty reduction targeting is only a means for poverty governance, and the precision of targeting does not equal to the extent to which welfare improves for the poor. The selection of target beneficiaries and methods of targeting did not always strive to increase the precision of targeting. Instead, target beneficiaries for poverty reduction changed over time according to the capacity of poverty reduction governance, the efficiency of poverty reduction targeting, and the coverage of poor populations. With a pragmatic attitude, Chinese policymakers have designed poverty reduction programs to improve the overall welfare of the poor as much as possible.

（二）减贫方式方法与贫困状况相匹配是治理贫困的关键

随着经济社会的发展以及相关学术研究的深入，无论是贫困的表现与成因，还是贫困干预的路径和手段都有了极大的丰富和扩展。贫困不单是家户缺衣少食，生计不可持续，贫困干预也不单是政府对于家庭或社区功能的补位或是发展机会的营造。考察“二战”后世界范围内的减贫实践，可以发现，世界减贫存在的共性困境就是减贫资源、减贫项目与减贫成效的不匹配。无论是发展式的扶贫还是保护性的扶贫，常常收效甚微，甚至造成贫困的再生产。

中国的精准扶贫、精准脱贫则以减贫资源、减贫手段同差异性的贫困问题之间建立“对位匹配”来提高减贫的成效。即，不仅注重扶贫资源投入的增量，更看重扶贫资源投入所带来的减贫效果。这种匹配性，集中体现在其“六个精准”的论述中，“扶持对象精准、项目安排精准、资金使用精准、措施到户精准、因村派人（第一书记）精准、脱贫成效精准”，六个精准实际上涵盖了贫困治理的基本方面，为扶贫政策设计与地方治理创新提供了基本依据。六个方面的精准不仅强调贫困治理资源、项目和目标等的精准，同时也注重实现彼此之间的匹配。

（三）贫困瞄准与渐进主义解决方案相协调是治理贫困的路径

改革开放以来，随着贫困治理能力提升以及贫困人口的分布演变，中国扶贫开发的瞄准呈现出“渐进主义”（Incrementalism）特征。贫困瞄准实践体现了瞄准单元聚焦和瞄准工具精度提升的逻辑，表现为瞄准单元从区域瞄准到户瞄准的转变，识别标准也由区域经济发展转向多维贫困识别。就扶贫瞄准单元而言，大致经历了“从片到点”（李小云，2011）的过程，即从“片区”、贫困县到乡镇再到村和户的转变过程，尽管一些阶段也存在多种瞄准方式并举的情况。

瞄准对于贫困治理至关重要，但仍只是贫困治理的手段，瞄准的精度并不直接等同于贫困人口福利提升的程度。纵观中国贫困瞄准的历程，同样能够发现其瞄准单元以及瞄准技术的选取并未一直以精准为目标，而是根据贫困治理能力、贫困瞄准效率以及贫困人口覆盖率做出相应的调整，乃是以一种务实的态度尽最大可能提升贫困人群的整体福利。

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