

## Chapter 9

# Environmental Policy after Open-door Policies and Its Innovation for New Century in China

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### 1. Introduction

There is no any doubt for the great achievements man has acquired in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which almost cover every field of the social alive, therefore, it is complete reasonable that people are full of heroic and sanguine sense when the new century comes. Meanwhile, however, the situation shown in some specific aspects of human development, for example, the environmental and resource status, becomes much more complicated and prudent.

The environmental and ecological crises taken place worldwide forward people not only warnings but also pondering. How did the environment, as the material base for human survival, fall into the crises as it is today? The answer for it has been deepened following the experience that people battled against the environmental problems. The environmental degradation has ever been thought as a problem in the single scientific and technical manner, and the solution was to take some technical remedial measures. Challenges quickly came to this option from the reality, because even though great effort had been made in putting the environment in order, the environmental situation has not been improved yet since then, and, on the contrary, gotten worse, especially in developing countries. The key of the problem is that the creation and worsening of the environmental problem is very closely related to the traditional economic development patterns and strategies.

One obvious change recent years in the field of environmental protection was to turn the angle of view of environmental measures to a profound background, to find the reasons and countermeasures at a deeper level-economic development strategy, macro policy arrangement and action incentive structure. This change has been reflected as the continuous adjustment and transformation of environmental policies. The environmental policy can be understood as the sum total of the environmental protection countermeasures within a certain range, and the

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comprehensive reform, thereupon, will manifest as the innovation and development in the field of environmental protection.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. Fundamental characteristics of China's environmental policies

The environmental policies are all countermeasures and actions taken by state for the purpose of protecting the environment, including the concrete forms as laws and regulations, administrative instructions, propaganda and call on, and social supervisions, etc. So far China has developed a fairly complete system of environmental policy, which involves several bodies in society and shows diversity of policy instruments.

### 2.1 Main contents of China's environmental policy

China's environmental policy contains environmental pollution controlling and the ecological environmental conservation, and here, due to limited space, only the former is to be introduced. Environmental pollution control is the main body of China's environmental policy and it can be further classified as two parts: controlling policies and guiding policies. The control policies indicate those environmental policies that have enforced restraints (or very strong requirements) implemented by the state for whole society, for example, those environmental management systems and related administrative decrees, etc., while the guiding policies present the propositions and encouragement made by the state for the voluntary environmental protection actions in society, for instance, the green labeling, public participation, etc.<sup>2</sup>

#### 2.1.1 Controlling policies

The targets of the controlling policies are those who directly cause the environmental pollution or damages, including firms, social organization, individuals and others, and among them the firms are main. In China, most of controlling policies have got the formal positions as legal institutions through environmental legislation, and the others, for instance, the decrees on meeting the regional emission standards or closing certain seriously polluted firms within a limited term, are implemented in the form of governmental forces. Following are some specific forms of the controlling policies, mainly the environmental management systems (Zhang, 1998; Wang, 1998).

##### - System of environmental impact assessment

According to the environmental protection law and other regulations, the construction projects that may impact the environment must go through the formalities of the system of environmental

impact assessment, including the assessment on emission effect, the technique measures to be taken, the cost-benefit analysis for the environmental investment, etc.

- **“Three Simultaneous” management**

In China the environmental laws set that the environmental protection facilities in a construction project must be designed, constructed and used along with the subject body simultaneously (“Three Simultaneous”). This system is to ensure the environmental control investment from being vacant, and to promote the standard-met emission after the project is to be used.

- **Pollution Charge System**

The pollution charge is an economic incentive policy set up early and has been implemented for long term in China. It forces the objects whose emissions exceed relevant standards to pay to a certain extent without excusing the duty to abate the pollution.

- **System of Abating Pollution within a definite time**

This system is that the government issues orders for those heavily polluted sources or region to do their jobs in controlling the emission under certain environmental standards before a deadline. The system aims at single pollution source and broad region as well.

- **System of Total Emission Control**

This system is to set up the total amount goal of pollutant emissions and corresponding abating plan within a specific region to avoid the worse result in the environmental quality.

- **System of Emission Permits**

China’s environmental laws requires the enterprises or any other bodies who need to emit pollutants into the environment to report in advance their emission results to the environmental sectors, and make an application for an emission permit which would be issued from the sectors according the local total containing ability of environment.

- **System on Environmental Protection Planning and Program**

The environmental protection laws set that the environmental protection plan and long term program must be integrated into the National Plan for Economic and Social Development. Meanwhile the environmental program and total emission control plan in priority areas must be made and implemented.

**- System of Environmental Protection Target Responsibility**

This system is to set the goals and targets in terms of environmental protection for the leaders or heads at all levels for their duration of being in office by means of signing a responsibility form, and the performances results of it may be looked upon as the indicators for their working achievements.

**- “Close, Stop, Merge and Re-Engineering” the Enterprises**

To close, stop, merge and re-engineering the enterprises by the need of protecting environment are mainly in two criteria: pollution situation and the scale of enterprises. By both, when the enterprises are seriously polluted or are in rather small scale for some special industrial sectors (like paper-making, etc.), they will be ordered by the governments to be canceled.

**2.1.2 Guiding Policies**

China’s environmental policy quite encourages the voluntary actions for environmental protection of whole society, so there are a lot of contents of guide, incentive and education in environmental policy framework, and these policies, through coordination with the controlling policies, lead the whole environmental policy have multi-points for implementation. The essential of the guiding policies is to initiate and utilize the ideological or moral resources in people’s mind to enhance the possibility of implementing the environmental policy, so, a mutual supporting relationship between the controlling and guiding policies creates: on one hand the controlling policies would meet a huge “frictional force” or ever not fully become true in their implementation process without guiding policies, and on the other hand, if the controlling policies are absent the guiding ones would weaken to produce essential results.

**- Environmental Claims in Enterprises’ Technological Renovation**

The state gives the requirements and directions to enterprises in terms of environmental protection for their technological renovations, asking them to reduce the pollutants emissions when the renovation is done. There usually are two ways to do so: updating technologies and recycling wastes.

**- Cleaner Production**

Cleaner production gets much attention in China’ environmental policy recent years. It includes cleaner production auditing, pilot engineering, clean technologies, etc.

### **- Environmental Labeling and ISO14000 Authentication**

In order to guide enterprises to produce environmentally sound products and also enhance the inner environmental management, the state began to promote the environmental labeling and ISO14000 authentication systems in middle of 1990s. Those enterprises that can meet the two standards may obtain special certifications that may be helpful for their competition.

### **- Waste Recycling**

China set up the encouraging policies for waste recycling early and provided favorable preferences for taxation and so on. This policy is now updating.

### **- Public Participation**

The state encourages the social voluntary actions. Environmental protection law sets "Each organization and individual has the obligation to protect the environment, and also has right to report and accuse those who pollute and wreck the environment". For helping the public participation, the Environmental Status Report and the Weekly Air Quality Report have been issued periodically.

## **2.2 Fundamental Characteristics of China's Environmental Policy**

A further analysis on basic characteristics of China's environmental policy may increase our overall understanding for it. The characteristics are mainly as follows:

First, for the policy orientation, China's environmental policy fairly emphasizes the relative balance between environment and economy. China's environmental policy not only considers the requirement of environmental protection goals, but also stresses the burden on economic system caused by environmental policies. Generally speaking, the bear ability of enterprises in terms of the environmental policies has always been considered as an important factors when the environmental policy was to be set up, so, there has been a mutual compromise between environment and economy within the policy framework. Consequently, the top strategy of China's environmental policy refers to "type in coordinate between environment and economy", not "type in environmental precedence". This kind of characteristics is closely related to the stage of creation and development of China's environmental policy when China is on the road to promote a very strong economic growth, and it is not realistic, at the quite low level of income per capita, to "proceeding environment". But this case means in the meantime that China's environmental policy will probably change to "type in environmental precedence" gradually after there is a considerable increase in income per capita.

Second, for the policy implementation mechanism, China's environmental policy fairly

stresses the role of governmental control. Almost all concrete measures, especially those environmental management systems, in China's environmental policy are directly dominated or operated by governmental sectors themselves, and they are conducted as a kind of administrative behavior through the governmental organization system, leading China's environmental policy to be in heavy color of governmental behavior. In recent years China took a mass campaign in pollution control in the basin of Huai River and Tai Lake, and the main tools used were also to use the power of administrative system. Comparatively, there are less policies implemented through the social community and common individuals. For this reason, China's environmental policy costs a lot of governmental financial resources, and furthermore creates a sharp conflict with the quite limited budget of financial supporting.

### 3. The Effectiveness and Difficulty of China's Environmental Policy

To evaluate the effectiveness of China's environmental policy is the prerequisite of innovation for it. The criteria for evaluation should be alone: the real environmental quality.<sup>3</sup> Taking this criteria the overall assessment for China's environmental policy may be as follows: China's environmental policy has gained great achievements and been basically successful, but in the meantime, it remained certain structural defects and faced quite big difficulties.

The achievements China's environmental policy obtained during past longer than 20 years in terms of pollution control and ecological conservation have been remarkable. Firstly, the increasing speed of environmental pollution has somehow been slowed down. China's economy increased by an average of 9%~10% these recent more than 10 years. According to the historic experiences happened in some developed nations, it is common thought that so high economic growth speed must cause a very rapid deterioration in environmental quality, but China in reality basically avoided this trend. In recent 10 years the total industrial output value increased fast while the total pollutants emission increased slowly. Secondly, the investment for pollution control increased year by year from the 2.5 billion Chinese RMB Yuan in 1981 to 40.8 billion in 1996, with the investment rate with GNP in about 0.5%~0.8% (Institute for Management of China Academy of Environmental Sciences, 1998). Thirdly, the pollution abatements in some priority areas and partial regions gained obvious progress. In Huai River basin the number of closed and stopped enterprises reached up to more than 5700 with the decrease of pollution burden on the basin by 40%. Additionally, the environmental quality in some cities has been to certain extent improved. Fourthly, the basic power of environmental protection, including management, monitoring, scientific research, education and so on, has been nearly 10 thousand people (SEPA, 1998). Totally, China's environmental policy has gained a remarkable effectiveness and the environmental situation would be much more serious without this policy.

Meanwhile, however, the difficulties China's environmental policy faced should also be paid much attention. The key issue is that the environmental quality in China has never got a deserved improvement so far. Since 19980s many official formal assessment about China's environmental situation have been somehow low. The usual overall evaluation expresses are "partially improved while overall getting worse" (1988), "the city-centralized environmental pollution is getting strengthened and also broadened onto rural areas, and the scope of ecological wreck is expanding and the degree is aggravating" (1996), "there is still no change for the conditions of environmental pollution and ecological wreck in rather much regions, and some of them are even strengthened" (1998) (see Table 1 below). It is seen proceeded along the historic line that China's environmental status has for a long term been inclined to the side of seriousness, even quite serious, basically keeping in control but not effective control. This case implicates that the effectiveness of environmental policies has always been offset by the newly-produced environmental pressures, and the environmental policies have just maintained the environmental status from sharp decline, that is, they have not had the ability to radically change the serious state of environment. This evaluation for China's environmental state and policy raises a fundamental question: is it the time to carry out a structural change for China's environmental policy?

Table 1- The Formal Evaluations for China's Environmental Status Over the Years

Description	Document	Source
The environment problems we faced are still severe, and the status quo and prospect of pollution worry us.	Nation wide working review of environmental protection in 1988.	China Environmental Almanac 1990, p68. Beijing: China Environmental Sciences Press, 1990.
The environmental situations we faced with are still severe, which can be summarized through three sentences: there are some improvements in partial regions, but the total is worsening, and the prospect is worried.	The working report at Third Nationwide Conference on Environmental Protection, 1989.	China Environmental Almanac 1990, p38. Beijing: China Environmental Sciences Press, 1990.
There have been a huge increase of pollutants emitted to the environment, and also artificially produced damages to the natural ecological environment in certain areas, leading the environmental quality worse gradually.	The State Council Decision on Further Strengthening the Environmental Protection Work, 1991.	China Environmental Almanac 1991, p19. Beijing: China Environmental Sciences Press, 1991.

<p>The large rivers around the country have been polluted to various extents and the trend of it is continuously developing, especially for the water areas near the developed industrial cities and towns; the environmental noises pollution in urban area is serious.</p>	<p>Environmental Status Report of 1994.</p>	<p>China Environmental Almanac 1995, p65~73. Beijing: China Environmental Sciences Press, 1995.</p>
<p>Along with economic and population growth and accelerating of urbanization process, the nationwide environmental status is more and more severe. The city-centralized environmental pollution is getting strengthened and also broadened onto rural areas, and the scope of ecological wreck is expanding and the degree is aggravating.</p>	<p>Keynote Report of Fourth National Conference on Environmental Protection</p>	<p>China Environmental Almanac 1996, p16~17. Beijing: China Environmental Sciences Press, 1996.</p>
<p>Compared to the last year, the city-centralized environmental pollution is continuing worsened and expanded to rural areas; the scope of ecological wreck is still expanding too.</p>	<p>Environmental Status Report of 1995</p>	<p>China Environmental Almanac 1996, p88~94. Beijing: China Environmental Sciences Press, 1996.</p>
<p>Due to the population growth and economic development that brought about huge pressures on resources, the ecological environment in partial areas have been continuing worsened.</p>	<p>Environmental Status Report of 1997</p>	<p>Environmental Networking News, No.7, 1998.</p>
<p>The environmental situations in whole country is still severe. A considerable number of regions have not got change in environmental pollution and ecological wreck, and some of them have even been strengthened; the environmental pollution and ecological wreck that endangered the people's health become the factors that hindered the economic and social development in certain areas.</p>	<p>Outlines of Countrywide Environmental Protection Work (1998-2002)</p>	<p>Environmental Networking News, No.10, 1998.</p>
<p>The environmental status China faced is still quite severe. In many regions, the environmental pollution situations have not yet changed, some</p>	<p>Report on Environmental Status in China 1998</p>	<p>China Environmental News, 17 June 1999.</p>

<p>of them are even strengthened. In some regions, the ecological environmental problems, such as soil erosion, dissertification, the degradation of forestry and grassland, etc., become more considerable.</p>		
<p>However, the present situation of the environmental quality within whole country is still severe. The pollution from householder and agricultural production shows their increasing trend, and the range of ecological wreck continues to broaden. In some regions the environmental pollution and ecological degradation are still aggravating.</p>	<p>The Key Points of Environmental Protection Work for Whole Country of 2000.</p>	<p>Environmental Protection, No.2, 2000.</p>

As for the specific forms, the difficulties China's environmental policy faced are mainly shown on two aspects: first, the economic development decision-making process has still separated to some extent from the requirement of environmental protection. Although the significant decision-making at national level has given more comprehensive consideration to environmental impacts and countermeasures, the economic decision-making ways that ignore the environmental factors, however, have still occupied a considerable position at regional and enterprise level, which brought about a heavy pressure on the environment (for example, the very serious pollution taken place in basin of Huai River, Tai Lake and Chao Lake, etc.). In the orienting principles China's environmental policy pays much attention to prevention and elimination of environmental problems from the original source, but there is a further need to explore the specific ways to accomplish the principles. In total to improve the economic decision-making system is a breakthrough point of China's environmental policy. Second, one realistic difficulty faced by China's environmental policy is lack of sufficient resources to make effective supervision and restrictions against environmentally-harmful actions. Implementing environmental policies needs costs, and such costs are even quite high. These costs mainly include those expenditures taken place in all aspects of environmental management, such as establishing organizations, adding staff members, purchasing facilities, monitoring, bargaining with enterprises, legal litigation...endless. In China, most of these costs are falling down on the governmental environmental protection sectors at various levels who put most environmental policies into effect. Due to the very limited scale and budget of these sectors, especially the limited number of people who directly carry out environmental management, the power of environmental

sectors are not able to meet the demand of management against a number of enterprises and other bodies who violate environmental laws, so that the environmental policies are not gotten a full implementation. This case is called "slack implementation" in China and becomes more prominent along with the development of market economy while the number of market bodies increases very quickly (Xia, 1993).

The difficulties China's environmental policy faced may also involve in other factors like investment and technology, etc. However, they, by their nature, are too a policy issue. Exactly to say, they are an economic decision-making issue at the macro level and an environmental supervision issue at micro level, therefore, the change of China's environmental policy may start from the points of economic decision-making and the environmental supervision.

#### **4. The Direction of Innovation in China's Environmental Policy**

##### **4.1 The Nature of Environmental Policy Innovation**

The transformation of China's environmental policy, as mentioned above, is a kind of structural and fundamental one and can be referred as "innovation in environmental policy". Innovation, according to its essential meaning, means a breakthrough to the previous system to gain the new "profit".<sup>4</sup> If we look upon the environmental improvement as a kind of profit, the environmental policy innovation would, therefore, be the way to take it. The environmental policy innovation is a kind of institutional innovation, indicating an improvement of relationship among mankind in terms of environmental issues. Hence, the innovation in environmental policy should follow the general laws of institutional innovation.

The major general laws of institutional innovation are as two points: to continuously reduce the cost of the operation of the institutional system, and to provide the innovation actions with effective incentive (Wang, 1992, 1993).<sup>5</sup> Taking this principle to observe China's environmental policy, it can be seen that China's environmental policy, as a kind of institutional system, has the problem in too high operation cost and in lack of sufficient stimulate for social environmental protection. Formerly the two issues in economic decision-making and environmental supervision have been mentioned in discussion about the difficulties facing China's environmental policy, and now can be analyzed further below.

Taking the issue of separation between economic decision-making and environmental impact as first. Why is there a great sustained pressure on the environment from the economic development process in China? This is because a forceful mechanism for integrated decision-making on environment and development has been absent in China's environmental policy so far (Xia, 1994), which leads a quite high coordinate cost to enjoy the economic decision

and environmental impact together, or sometimes even too high to make any coordination (thinking the case in Huai River and Tai Lake basins where economic development is almost completely apart from environmental consideration). It is obviously difficult for this kind of environmental policy to acquire a thorough environmental efficiency.

Now see the issue of insufficiency of environmental supervision. It is surely out of the ability when government wishes to supervise the large-numbered pollution actions with its rather limited financial resources. Why do not social powers involved into environmental supervision besides government? The answer is "lack of incentive". China's environmental policy, especially the environmental laws, authorizes the government a lot to do the job of environmental management, while allocates less to society, particularly in interest incentive. Suppose a social organization or an individual would like to enjoy the supervision against a polluted firm, what interest will it or he gain (interest motive is the basic logic of market economy)? and what authorities it or he holds to do so? If there is no a full development in terms of social environmental rights and interest, the social resources may not be stimulated and mobilized to the environmental supervision so that the situation of "slack implementation" mentioned above may hardly be changed.

The development of market economy in China till now has promoted an extensive social organization and individuals into economic activities, but in the field of environmental policy, the case of direct governmental control remains. That is just the opportunity for innovation in environmental policy.

## 4.2 The Direction of Innovation in China's Environmental Policy

It is preliminarily clear, through above analyses, that the basic route of the innovation in China's environmental policy are shown in three aspects: (1) improving the economic decision-making process; (2) setting up the mechanism of mutual social restriction and equilibrium; (3) proper deregulation.

### 4.2.1 Improving the Economic Decision-making Process

As for the improving the economic decision-making process, the total direction of it is to set up the mechanism for integrated decision-making on environment and development. This mechanism will contain following contents: first, as for the decision-making bodies, a special attention should be paid to the environmental sectors within governments at national and regional levels who should realize, participate and express to the environmental decision-making processes. Essentially, the integrated decision-making reflects a kind of relationship of interest coordination,

and the communication and exchange among the sectors may prevent the economic decision-making from leaving a heavily serious environmental consequences. Second, as for the decision-making levels, it is notable for the economic decision-making activities at national and local levels because they may cause, compared with those activities a project level, a broad environmental impacts. Third, as for the decision-making forms, the integrated decision-making mechanism may take forms like "Committee", "Working Group", "Agreement", "Voting", "Round Table", etc. They are used aiming at different specific needs. In total, the integrated decision-making of environment and development is a new kind of economic decision-making way with a plentiful context, and the key of it is to make it clear that the improvement of the economic decision-making way is one of the chief options of China's environmental policy innovation.

#### 4.2.2 Setting up the Mechanism of Social Counterweight

To set up the mechanism of social mutual restriction and equilibrium contains the spirit of public participation. However, the public actions here are not confined to "participation". Rather, they should become a set of basic force. The basic form of the public is as social organization, community and individuals.<sup>6</sup> The role of social organizations and individuals in environmental policy has been manifested in various countries (both developing and developed countries) where the policy conditions with incentive have been provided to the social organizations and individuals. As samples, the Damage-related Pollution Compensation System and Pollution Disputation Treating System in Japan have shown us a helpful experience. It is an urgent need for China's environmental policy to extend the environmental rights and interests the public enjoyed, by which the public masses can act to supervise and restrict the environmentally damaged activities. Concretely, the main rights and interests are : The right being in the know. That is, to let the public realize the fact of a case by opening various channels and releasing environmental information. The environmental information should, besides the already released Environmental Status Report and the Weekly Air Quality Report, contain the specific information about certain enterprise (e.g. the productive technology, the raw materials, the emissions, etc.). This kind of information may help the public people to judge the enterprise's productive prospect and the risk that they may be regulated for the reason of environment, and then decide if to involve the enterprise's productive procedures (e.g. if buy the stock of it): Supervising right. The environmental laws should empower the public the supervising rights against the environmentally damaged behaviors. For example, any legal organization and individual would have the right to take samples from pollutant sources and make a legal test, and then use them as the evidences in lawsuit. The right for claiming indemnities. This right is the nuclear part of the environmental rights and interests. Not only the suffers of pollution themselves but also those

who are not directly related to the pollution sources should have, according to the sets by laws, the rights to ask a compensations from polluters. This arrangement is the basic motive force for the public to carry out environmental supervision, and on the other hand, is a huge pressure the polluters can hardly defy. The key here is to make laws which are favorable for people to take environmental actions (simply depending on enhancing the environmental awareness would call a limited public people. Only can happen an extensive action when the interest incentive is available). This point is the most important but also most difficult one to breakthrough. The right to participating some economic and environmental decision-making process. For example, to express the comments for significant economic policies and requirements for the environmental impact assessment of a construction project.

#### 4.2.3 Proper Deregulation.

In the meantime of strengthening the public actions, the environmental management instruments operated directly by governmental sectors may probably get an adequately simplified, including giving up some environmental systems and some other administrative measures that cost a number of governmental financial resources. Although this option may somehow different from the usual thought people hold to continuously broaden the governmental functions and powers, it is the request from objective realities. More important, this change does absolutely not deny the role the government played in the environmental policy, and on the contrary, does stress the dominant role of the government by the other more important side. The real functions of the government stressed here are the macro adjustment and control in terms of environmental policies (including environmental legislation and economic coordination), and the impartial verdicts at micro level. These functions are not alternative. To properly simplify the regulations may lead a turn for government from the "litigant" of executing the environmental policy to a "arbitrator", from an "athletes" to the "judge", and this, surely, is very meaningful (Xia, 1997).

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> With regard to "environmental policy", there have always been different understanding in "broad" and "narrow" meaning. The former looks upon the environmental policy as all actions and measurements the state taken, so the "environmental policy" contains the "environmental laws and regulations"; the latter believes the "environmental policy" is a concept paralleling with the "environmental laws and regulations", presenting those policy arrangements beyond the environmental laws and regulations. This paper takes the environmental policy as the broad one, therefore, the environmental policy, by its scope, contains pollution controlling policies and ecological conservation policies, and, by its content, contains formal environmental management systems and, as well, some timely effective environmental countermeasures.

<sup>2</sup> To classified the environmental policy as "controlling" and "guiding" policies here is for the need of illustration in this paper, not meaning that there really is a formal classification like this in China's environmental policy.

<sup>3</sup> Xie Zhenhua (Director-general of SEPA, China): "Environmental protection work is just a process. Its

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performance depends on that whether the environmental quality is improved or not". China Environmental News, 1998. 10. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Schumpeter (1912), the favorite American economist who earliest defined and illustrated the concept "innovation" as a scientific concept, pointed out that the innovation is to introduce new combination to the existing productive system. Here, the "productive system" can be looked upon as the production of all "efficiency" (including environmental efficiency), so the environmental policy innovation can be seen as the breakthrough from existing environmental policy. Innovation can further divided into technological innovation and institutional innovation. The former presents a change in relationship between man and the nature, and the latter man and man.

<sup>5</sup> To continuously reduce the cost of the operation of the institutional system can be understood as to choose a cheaper institutional arrangement for the same effectiveness. Equally, to provide the innovation actions with effective incentive also means to let those who create values obtain necessary interest. In China, the planned economy has been replaced by market economy because the latter is superior to the former.

<sup>6</sup> Social organization mainly presents "Non Governmental Organization (NGO)".

