

International Development Studies

加拿大特伦特大学国际发展研究系



The Agrarian Question: Past and Present

再论农政问题：回顾与展望

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Critical Issues in Agrarian and Development Studies Seminar

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TRENT 

IDS

- A dynamic of surplus and deficit farm production leads to changes in property relationships and changes in working relationships within and between peasant households
不同农场盈亏变化使财产关系、农户内部以及农户之间的劳动关系也发生了变化
- Agrarian accumulation is or is not leading to changes in property relationships
农业积累或许正在、也或许不会带来财产关系的变化

- Henry Bernstein 's four key questions:

亨利·伯恩斯坦的四个关键问题：

1. who owns what? 谁拥有什么？
2. who does what? 谁从事什么？
3. who gets what? 谁得到什么？
4. what do they do with it? 他们用所得物做什么？



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1. The agrarian question: whether, and if so, how, capitalism and capitalist relations of production are transforming rural societies in ways that can be socially, economically and ecologically detrimental to farmers **农政问题：资本主义和资本主义生产关系是否正在从社会、经济、生态等方面改造农村社会，使之朝着不利于农民的方向发展？如果是，那这一切又是如何发生的？**
2. Agrarian transition: those changes in rural societies that are necessary for the establishment of capitalism, both within agriculture and outside agriculture **农政转型：是指为了建立资本主义，农业内外和农村社会所必须发生的变迁**

Key original texts: 重要的原著

Karl Marx, *Capital Volume I* (1867)

卡尔·马克思 , 《**资本论**》 **第一卷** (1867)

Friedrich Engels, *The Peasant War in France and Germany* (1895)

弗里德里希·恩格斯 , 《**法德农民战争**》 (1895)

Karl Kautsky: *The Agrarian Question* (1899)

卡尔·考茨基 : 《**土地问题**》 (1899)

Vladimir Lenin: *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* (1899)

弗拉基米尔·列宁 : 《**俄国资本主义的发展**》 (1899)

- Marx's 'so-called primitive accumulation': **马克思的所谓的“原始积累”** :

- through the commodification of land, labour and subsistence, feudal relations of production between lord and serf are replaced in the English countryside by capitalist relations of production between landlords, capitalist tenants, and agricultural waged labour

通过土地、劳动力和生活资料的商品化，英国农村地主与农奴之间的封建生产关系被地主、租地农场主和农业工人之间的资本主义生产关系所取代

- Lenin and Kautsky: **列宁与考茨基** :

- the differentiation of the peasantry through the normal, everyday and routine working of highly imperfect markets

农民在每日惯常的、高度不完全的市场条件下的分化

- The market imperative: those peasants that produce to sell must sell if they are to be successful

市场的强制力：若要成功，为出售产品而生产的农民就必须将产品卖出去

- Markets, specialization and competitiveness can facilitate accumulation **市场、专业化与竞争有助于积累**
- This depends on **这取决于** :
 - the production of an agricultural surplus, and on **农业剩余的生产以及**
 - how that part of the agricultural surplus which is kept by the household is used **农户如何使用自己所保留的这部分农业剩余**
- The retained surplus must be re-invested in farming **剩下的农业剩余必须被再投资到农业活动中**

- This promotes the capitalization of farming and a restructuring of the rural labour-process
这提高了农业的资本化程度，重构了农村劳动力过程
- Households struggle to avoid the appropriation of agricultural surplus by **农户努力避免农业剩余被他人剥夺：**
 - * landlords, in the form of rents; and/or **地主，以收租的形式和（或）；**
 - * merchants, through prices; and/or **商人，以价格的形式和（或）；**
 - * lenders, through debt; and/or **债主，以债务的形式和（或）；**
 - * the state, in the form of taxes **国家，以税收的形式。**

- At the same time, some farm households fall into deficit
与此同时，一些农场背上了债务

- They do not produce enough to meet the demands the household makes in the market for commodities that are not self-produced
他们的产出不足，不能在市场上购买自己不能生产而又必需的商品

- Cash flow problems produce distress sales, debt, and entry into waged labour

现金的匮乏让他们廉价抛售产品，债务缠身，沦为雇佣劳工

- It may force them to rent out or sell land
也迫使他们出租或卖掉土地

- The result is a change in the structure of resource distribution among farm households **结果是农户之间资源分配结构发生变化**
 - accumulating households seek to expand their control over productive assets in order to give further impetus to accumulation **能够积累的农户试图控制更多的生产性资产，以便更好地实现积累，比如**
 - Land **土地**
 - tools, equipment and machinery **工具、设备和机器**
 - 'modern' farm technology **“现代” 农业技术**
 - Labour **劳动力**
 - deficit households increasingly liquidate their remaining assets by selling them to more dynamic producers **负债的农户逐渐变卖剩余的资产，将之卖给更有活力的生产者**
 - agrarian structure changes **农政结构发生变迁**

- **Thus: 因此**

- changes in who owns what – land and equipment :
谁拥有什么发生了变化 – 土地和设备
- changes in who does what – work for another begins
谁从事什么发生了变化 : 有人开始为他人工作
- changes in who gets what – the products of working for another are owned by the land owner
谁得到什么发生了变化 – 雇工生产的产品归土地所有者所有
- changes in what do they do with it – market imperatives mean that they must invest
他们用所得物做什么也发生了变化 – 市场的强制力迫使他们必须投资

- **But: scale of farm does not equal size of farm**
但是 : 农场规模不等于农场面积

- Robert Brenner and Ellen Wood add a new dimension to the analysis: the social property relations of feudalism did not develop new technologies or techniques, which produced a crisis of production and productivity – the forces of production were stagnant

罗伯特·布伦纳和埃伦·伍德增加了一个新的分析维度：封建主义的社会财产关系并没有催生出新的技术，导致了生产危机与生产率危机——生产力停滞

- The agrarian crisis of late feudalism led to conflict between lords and peasants which generated context-specific transformations in agrarian structure and rural social relations

晚期封建主义的农政危机导致了地主与农民之间的矛盾，使农政结构与农村社会关系依据不同背景发生了转型。

- Terence J Byres has stressed that this is a process that historically has not been encountered in such a stark, clear form

特伦斯·拜尔斯着重指出，历史上我们或许从未遭遇过形式如此鲜明的转型过程：

- A driver may be, as in Marx, a landlord class in process of transformation: capitalism from above
一是马克思所说的自上而下的资本主义，地主阶级主导的转型
- A driver may be, as in Lenin and Kautsky, a differentiating peasantry in process of transformation: capitalism from below
一是列宁和考茨基所说的自下而上的资本主义，由农民分化带来的转型

- Byres has identified historical puzzles: agrarian transitions which have not required the full development of capitalist social relations of production in agriculture as part of the establishment of capitalism **拜尔斯抛出了历史上的谜团：存在这类农业转型—资本主义的建立并不要求资本主义生产关系在农业领域得到完全的发展**

Thus: agrarian transitions can produce **因此，农业转型可能会带来**

- capitalist relations of production and dynamic processes of labour commodification; **OR 资本主义的生产关系和劳动力商品化的过程，或者**
- * a reinforcing of pre-existing pre-capitalist class relations in an effort to sustain surplus appropriation amongst dominant capitalist class forces; **OR 早先存在的前资本主义阶级关系得到加强，使占统治地位的资本主义阶级得以继续剥夺农业剩余；或者**
- a partial transformation of pre-existing relations of production, grafting aspects of capitalist relations of production with aspects of pre-capitalist relations of production as part of an effort to sustain surplus appropriation by dominant capitalist class forces **早先存在的生产关系部分转型，前资本主义生产关系与资本主义生产关系部分融合，使占统治地位的资产阶级得以继续剥夺农业剩余**

- To understand historical puzzles Henry Bernstein “unpacked” the agrarian question into 3 constituent elements, which together constitute an analytical framework
为解开这些历史谜团，亨利·伯恩斯坦将农政问题分解为三个相关因素，共同构成一个分析框架：

1. Production 生产

- a. differentiation of assets 资产分化
- b. technical change 技术变迁
- c. commodification of labour 劳动力商品化

2. Accumulation 积累

3. Politics 政治

The contemporary agrarian question thus explores how

- production
- accumulation
- politics

in rural areas

- are
- or are not changing

in ways that

- do
- or do not

facilitate the development of capitalism

因此，当代农政问题要探究的，就是农村地区的生产、积累与政治是否在发生变化，以及这种变化或不变是否有助于资本主义的发展。

What is the contemporary historical puzzle? 当代的历史谜团又是什么呢？

1. The expansion of non-traditional agro-exports has deepened the commodification of peasant labour as it is subsumed to global capital **非传统的农业出口产业被全球资本所吸纳，它的扩张深化了农村劳动力的商品化过程**

* richer peasants that can take advantage of this are becoming (proto-)capitalist farmers **富有的农民利用这一点，成长为（最初的）资本主义农场主**

2. But peasant-based petty commodity production remains stubbornly significant in rural life: globally, some 450 million smallholders farm 2 hectares or less, and these are the rural poor **但以小农为基础的小商品生产顽强存在并仍对农村生活具有重要意义。全球有4.5亿小农（农村贫穷人口），耕种的土地平均不足2公顷。**

* but processes of peasant displacement and peasant class differentiation can continue to be witnessed **但农民被驱离农业、农民的阶级分化的过程仍然明晰可见**

3. The fragmentation of classes of rural labour has led to deepening processes of semi-proletarianization as the rural poor become a relative surplus population

农村劳工阶级的碎片化深化了农民的半无产阶级化进程，农村的穷人成为相对剩余人口

Does the agrarian question still matter in an age of globalization?

那么，在全球化的时代，农政问题还重要吗？

The tripartite agrarian structure: **三分的农政结构**

- a relatively more capital-intensive export-oriented farming sector that is industrial / capitalist or is about to become capitalist **一个相对资本密集、以出口为导向的农业部门，（正在）成为工业资本主义**
 - » Brazil 巴西
 - » Vietnam 越南
 - » India 印度
 - » Kenya 肯尼亚
- a relatively more labour-intensive locally-oriented farming sector that retains a significant degree of petty commodity production **一个相对劳动密集型、以本地市场为导向的农业部门，维持着较程度的小商品生产**
 - » Ethiopia 埃塞俄比亚
 - » Nepal 尼泊尔
 - » Malawi 马拉维

- alongside dramatic growth in semi-proletarianization and the relative surplus population in most settings **在大部分情况下，这伴随着半无产阶级化程度的明显加深和相对剩余人口的急剧膨胀**

The extent of the linkages between the two sub-sectors have important implications for growth, accumulation and agrarian transition

这两类农业部门之间联系的紧密程度对增长、积累和农业转型有重要意义

- » Vietnam and Brazil versus India and Kenya
- » **越南和巴西 --- 印度和肯尼亚**

How might this contemporary agrarian question be resolved? **如何解答当代农政问题？**

- Marx: the analysis of Capital is “expressly restricted to the countries of Western Europe” and that it is wrong to “place all agrarian transformations on the same plane”

马克思：《资本论》的分析“仅限于西欧诸国”，“认为所有的农业转型都处于这一水平”是不正确的。

- Marx's letter to Zasulich clearly stipulated: **马克思写给查苏利奇的回信中明确指出：**
 - a formally independent but internationally weak state
(俄国) 形式上独立但在国际上弱小
 - with a dominant small-scale peasant population
小农占人口的绝大多数
 - which was rapidly industrializing under the auspices of an interventionist state
正在政府干预下进行快速的工业化
 - with industry under the control of the state or non-Russians
工业产业被国家和外来资本控制
 - with production linked to the world market
生产与国际市场接轨
- It is a remarkably contemporary setting
如今很多国家也处于相似的境地

- Marx identified a set of powerful interests seeking to subordinate the peasantry: **马克思指出了一系列试图统治农民的力量：**
 - *the state **国家**
 - * intruding capitalists and merchants **入侵的资本家和商人**
 - *landed proprietors **土地所有者**
- This too sounds quite contemporary **这些力量仍在眼前**

- The agrarian question could be resolved through the agricultural commune gradually transforming itself into an element of collective production on a national scale, building upon the unique features of the Russian peasantry **以俄国农民的独特性为基础，农政问题可以通过农业公社逐渐转型成为全国集体生产的一部分而得到解决**

- * arable land was not private property, and so land was not commodified **耕地并非私有，土地没有商品化**
- * all members of the commune were entitled to a house and garden, and so subsistence was not commodified **公社内所有社员都拥有居所和菜园，生活资料并没有商品化**
- * membership of the commune was not defined by kinship **公社社员身份并不靠血缘来认定**

- A new way of resolving the agrarian question: one that requires de-commodification so that the global peasantry can develop the productive forces in agriculture **解决农政问题的新路径：去商品化，使全球农民得以发展农业生产力**
- A falsehood lies at the heart of the world food system: that we need capital-intensive industrial agriculture to feed a world of 10 billion **全球粮食体系的核心谎言：我们需要资本密集型的工业化农业来养活100亿人口**
- Instead, industrial agriculture is increasingly fettering the productive forces in agriculture because of its impact on climate change **相反，因为其对气候变化的影响，工业化农业日渐成为农业生产力发展的镣铐**

肥沃的土地

洛桑试验站小麦的平均产量 (吨/公顷)

持续种植小麦 轮作的第一年

不施肥 最好的无机肥

施无机肥* 最好的有机肥

施有机肥

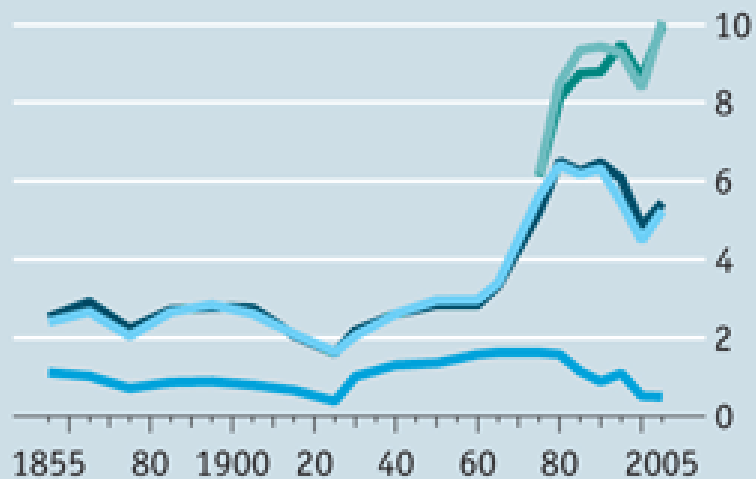
Fertile ground

1

Broadbalk average wheat yields
Tonnes per hectare

Continuous wheat: 1st wheat in rotation:

- unmanured — best inorganic fertilisers[†]
- inorganic fertilisers* — best organic manures[‡]
- organic manure only



Source: Rothamsted Research *With too little nitrogen †For maximum yield ‡Plus spring nitrogen

SRI Experience Is Spreading

Comparison Yields (t.ha⁻¹) vs. SRI Average and Max.

Country	Comp. Yields	Ave. SRI Yields	Ave. SRI Maximum
BANGLADESH	4.9	6.3	7.1
CAMBODIA	2.1	4.4	8.5
CHINA (hybrids)	10.9	12.8	14.8
CUBA	6.2	9.8	12.7
GAMBIA	2.3	7.1	8.8
INDONESIA	4.8	8.2	9.0
LAOS	3.3	3.3	7.0
MADAGASCAR	2.6	7.2	13.9
NEPAL	4.4	8.1	11.1
PHILIPPINES	3.0	6.0	7.4
SIERRA LEONE	2.6	5.3	7.4
SRI LANKA	3.6	7.8	14.3
<i>Average</i>	<i>3.9</i>	<i>7.0</i>	<i>10.1</i>

水稻强化栽培体系(SRI)的推广

水稻强化栽培体系的平均产量与最高产量

国家	对比产量	SRI平均产量	SRI最高产量
孟加拉			
柬埔寨			
.....			
斯里兰卡			
平均			

● Agroecology requires: **农业生态学要求**

- optimizing the sustainable use of low-impact local resources
最优、环保、可持续地利用当地资源
- minimizing the use of high-impact farm technologies
尽量少用影响环境的农业技术
- thus, sustaining soils and micronutrients
保证土壤和微量元素的可持续性
- adapting farm input and output choices to reflect the ecosystem and the landscape
调整农场的投入和产出，使之能反应生态系统和风景风貌
- while all the while sustaining and enhancing crop yields to as to increase agricultural surpluses
始终保持并提高作物产量，增加农业剩余
- in other words, in agroecology knowledge is a central productive force, which is not the case in Taylorist agriculture
换言之，知识在农业生态学中是重要的生产力，而在泰勒制农业中不是

- Agroecology 农业生态学

- * can be more productive
可以更高产
- is more resilient to economic and environmental shocks
更能应对经济与环境的动荡
- is more labour intensive
更加劳动密集型
- * historically, was the foundation of local communities and food systems
历史上看，是本地社区和粮食体系的基石

- Food sovereignty is based on the right of peoples and countries to define their own agricultural and food policy:
食物主权是建立在人民和国家有权制定他们自己的农业和粮食政策的基础之上
 - the right of farmers to produce food and receive a price for it that reflects their actual cost of production, not world market prices
农民生产粮食的权利，并能按反映实际生产成本的价格而不是按世界的价格出售粮食的权利
 - the right of eaters to be adequately informed so that they can decide what they consume, and from whom
消费者的充分知情权，他们能决定消费什么，以及消费谁生产的产品
 - *the right of peoples and countries to decide how and by whom food is produced and consumed
人民和国家有权决定食物生产和消费的方式以及由谁来生产和消费

- the protection of eaters and farmers from international food dumping arising from direct and indirect export subsidies
保护消费者和生产者不受因直接和间接出口补贴而引起的国际粮食倾销的影响
- thus, the protection of national agricultures from low-priced imports
保护国家农业不受廉价进口产品的影响
- and the phasing out of government measures that promote unsustainable agriculture
逐步取消不可持续农业的国家政策

- Food sovereignty is a new way of thinking about the central concerns of the agrarian question **食物主权是思考农政问题核心的新路径**

- * the right of farmers to receive a price that reflects their actual cost of production – production and accumulation **农民有权获得反应他们实际生产成本的价格 — 生产和积累**
- * the right of countries to decide how and by whom food is produced – production and accumulation **国家有权决定粮食以怎样的方式由谁生产出来 — 生产和积累**

- the protection of farmers from international food dumping arising from direct and indirect export subsidies – production and accumulation **保护农民不受因直接和间接补贴而引起的国际粮食倾销的影响—生产和积累**
- the protection of national agricultures from low-priced imports – production and accumulation **保护国家的农业不受廉价进口产品的影响—生产和积累**
- the phasing out of government measures that promote unsustainable agriculture – production and accumulation **逐步取消不可持续农业的国家政策—生产和积累**

What drives the movement for food sovereignty?

The rural politics of the agrarian question

是什么推动了食物主权运动？农政问题中的农村政治

La Via Campesina - 148 member organizations in 69 countries with an affiliated membership of 200 million: 农民之路运动 – 148 个成员组织，来自69个国家，成员多达2亿

- * redistributive agrarian reform in order to preserve land, water, seeds and other natural resources 保护土地、水、种子及其他自然资源的再分配性农政改革
- * sustainable agroecological production based on small and medium-sized producers 秉持可持续农业生态学理念的农业生产，以小农或中等规模生产者为基础
- * gender justice 性别正义
- * food sovereignty 食物主权

The essential questions of agrarian political economy: 农业政治经济学的重要问题

- * who owns what 谁拥有什么
- * who does what 谁从事什么
- * who gets what 谁得到什么
- * what do they do with it 他们用所得物做什么

These essential questions are at the forefront of La Via Campesina's campaign for food sovereignty, the foundation of an agroecological agrarian transition

这些问题是农民之路运动主张食物主权时的核心问题，也是农业生态学理念指导下的农业转型的基石

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