Agrarian reform in Southern Africa in the 21st century: comparing Zimbabwe and South Africa

21世纪南部非洲的土地改革

——津巴布韦与南非之比较

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History: liberation struggles, democratisation and land 解放斗争、民主进程与土地史

- Southern Africa in general: large populations of white settlers, dispossession of indigenous majority, state support to (white) commercial farming class, creation of 'native reserves', migrant labour systems 南部非洲诸国：白人大规模迁入，赶走绝大多数土著居民，政府支持（白人）商业农场主，建立“土著保留地”，形成移民劳工体系
- Land dispossession fuelled African nationalist movements > liberation struggles 强占土地的行径激起了非洲民族独立运动及解放斗争
- Land reform a key focus of newly democratic regimes, but constrained by negotiated constitutions (protection of property rights) 土改成为新成立的民主政府工作的重心，但因为宪法协议（产权保护）而束手束脚。
- Land emphasized in rhetoric of new leaderships but a low priority in practice (see share of national budgets) 新任领导集团口头上强调土地工作，实际上并不重视（参见国家预算分配）
- Zimbabwe and South Africa: similarities but also key differences 津巴布韦与南非：很相似但也有关键差异

Zimbabwe's post-independence land reform
津巴布韦独立后的土地改革

- **Main focus = redistribution of LSCF - large-scale commercial farms (44% of total land, often best land) 主要关注：重新分配大规模商业农场所占的土地（占全部土地面积的44%，很多是上好的良田）**
- **1980-1999: 3.5 million ha, 75 000 beneficiaries, via state purchase from willing sellers at market prices, with right of first refusal for the state ie mix of state and market 1980 - 1999年：政府以优先购买权按市场价格从愿意出售的农场主手中购得土地，共重新分配了350万公顷土地，使7.5万人受益（政府加市场混合模式）。**
- **To Be continued…**

Zimbabwe's post-independence land reform
津巴布韦独立后的土地改革

- **Positive impacts on livelihoods of beneficiaries, with time (although many farms in dry regions), but little impact on population densities in Communal Areas (former reserves) 对受益者的生计逐渐产生了积极作用（尽管很多农场位于干旱地区）。但对共居地（之前的保留地）的人口密度没有影响。**
- **Dramatic increases in crop output from peasant farmers in CAs (eg maize and cotton); uneven by region and class, but demonstrates potential of small-scale agric 传统农作物产量（如玉米和棉花）急剧增长；不同地区、不同阶层的增长幅度不等，但显示了小规模农业的潜力。**
- **Slowdown of redistribution in 1990s, with more farms going to black LSCF & politically connected 'fat cats' 20世纪90年代，重新分配土地的进程减慢，很多农场又回到了大规模商业农场主（黑人）以及与政客有勾结的"权势人物"手中。**

Zimbabwe: farm occupations and 'fast track' land reform

津巴布韦：占有农场和“快车道”土地改革

- 1990s: failed structural adjustment (ESAP), rising poverty, corruption, 1997 war veterans crisis, war in DRC > black market in scarce foreign exchange begins 20世纪90年代：结构调整失败，贫困增多，腐败，1997年退伍老兵危机，刚果（金）战争，稀有外币兑换黑市形成
- Mounting challenges to ruling part Mugabe and ZANU-PF by trade unions and then Movement for Democratic Change 当政的穆加贝总统和商会控制的民盟党面临更多挑战，之后又有民主变革运动
- 1998: LSCF sector still holds 30% of land; land remains a key political symbol; renewed focus for govt & donors 1998年： 大规模商业农场仍然占有30%的土地，土地是关键的政治象征，是政府和援助机构重新关注的对象
- To Be continued…

Zimbabwe: farm occupations and 'fast track' land reform

津巴布韦：占有农场和“快车道”土地改革

- 1999/2000: Mugabe loses referendum on constitution; war veterans and 'youth' invade farms; contested (& rigged?) presidential election
  1999 - 2000年，穆加贝在对宪法的全民公投中失利；老兵和“年轻人”占领农场；总统大选被指存在争议（作弊了？）
- Occupations legalized > 'fast track' > land reform seen as political tool to defeat a democratic opposition > withdrawal of donors and continuing economic crisis 土地占有合法化>“快车道”>土地改革成为打败民主党反对派的政治工具>援助机构撤回，经济陷入持续危机

Economic decline, 2000-2010

2000 - 2010年经济衰退

A combination of factors: 多重影响因素：

- **Access to foreign exchange by 'rentier class' > lack of investment in production "收息阶级"进入外汇市场 > 失去了生产投资**
- **Reserve bank printing money > inflation (40 million%!) 储备银行不断印钱> 通货膨胀（通胀率达40000000%！）**
- **Droughts (often responsible for food shortages) 干旱（常带来食物短缺）**
- **Near collapse of commercial farming sector > decline in forex earnings (eg from tobacco, flowers) 商业农场几乎破产>外汇收入减少（如烟草、鲜花等）**
- **Lack of seed, fertilizer, draught power and credit constrains production by land reform beneficiaries 缺少种子、化肥、畜力和信贷，土改的受益者无法顺利进行农业生产**
- **Bloated, inefficient & costly state bureaucracy 臃肿、低效、开支庞大的政府机构**
- **Withdrawal of multilateral and bilateral Western donors; 'turn to east' has limited success 西方撤回了多边援助和双边援助；"转向东方"成效有限。**

Stabilisation 2010 – 2012

2010 - 2012年 经济止跌

- Dollarisation halts inflation in its tracks 改用美元交易，控制住了通胀
- Government of National Unity with MDC constrains ZANU-PF to a degree 与“民革运”共同组建联合政府，民盟党的权力受到一定制约
- Agriculture bounces back 农业生产开始恢复
- China and the ‘turn east’ policy 中国与“转向东方”政策
- Minerals wealth and the commodity boom 矿产带来的财富与商品的蓬勃生产

Farm occupations: a social movement or not?
占有农场：一场社会运动？

Three competing views: 三种相矛盾的观点：

- **Social movement of the rural poor (a 'semi-proletariat'), led by war veterans, later subverted by elite interests 是农村穷人（半无产阶级）的社会运动，由老兵领导，后被精英分子所利用**
- **Elite-led: organized by small group of 'war vets' and ZANU-PF, to buttress a declining ruling party, with elites as main beneficiaries 精英领导：由一小群"战场老兵"和民盟党带领，支持了一个摇摇欲坠的政党，精英是主要的受益者**
- **Complex and often chaotic combination of class interests, strategies and power dynamics, involving party officials, bureaucrats, business interests, middle class, rich and poor peasants 有着复杂而混乱的阶级利益、战略和权力的变动，政党首领、官员、商人、中层阶级、富农和贫农都参与其中**

- **Most agree that few farm workers on large farms benefited, & many (perhaps 70 000) were displaced 大部分人赞成这样的观点：即大农场的劳动工人很少受益，相反，很多人（约有7万人）都被驱离了土地**

Outcomes of ‘fast track’ land reform: an altered agrarian structure

“快车道”土地改革的结果：土地结构发生了改变

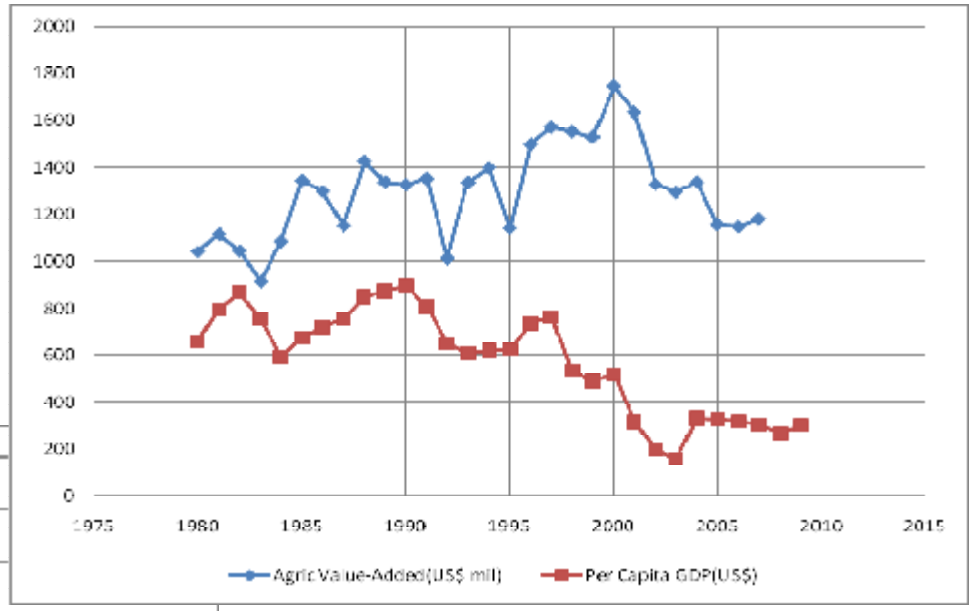
	Farms/households (000’s) 农场/家庭（单位：千）					
	1980		2000		2010	
	No 数量	%	No 数量	%	No 数量	%
Peasantry农民	700	98	1,125	99	1,321	98
Middle farms 中等农场	8.5	1	8.5	1	30.9	2
Large farms大农场	5.4	1	4.956	0.4	1.371	0.1
Agro-Estates 农业公司	0.296	0.1	0.296	0.02	0.247	0.02
Total总计	**714**	**100**	**1,139**	**100**	**1,353**	**100**

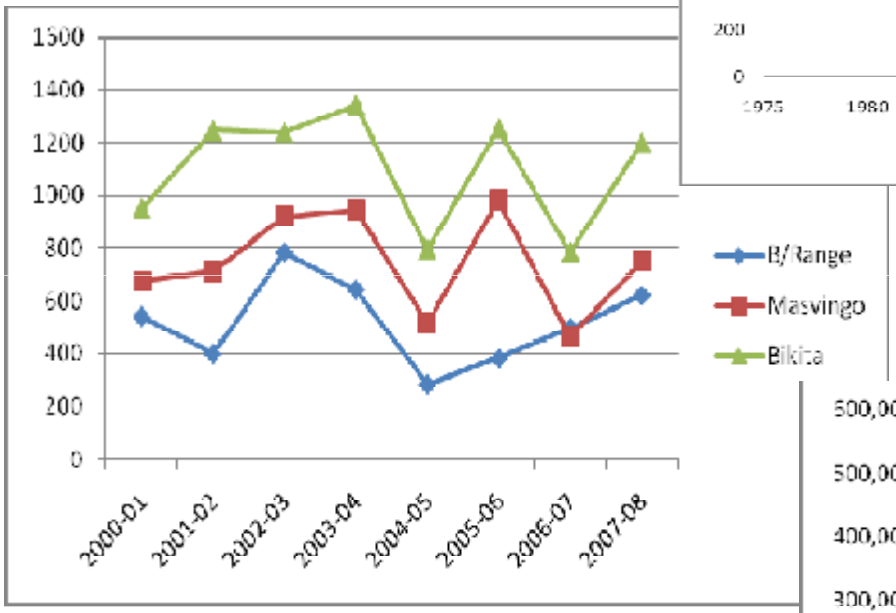
Impact on national agricultural output since 2000 differs by crop

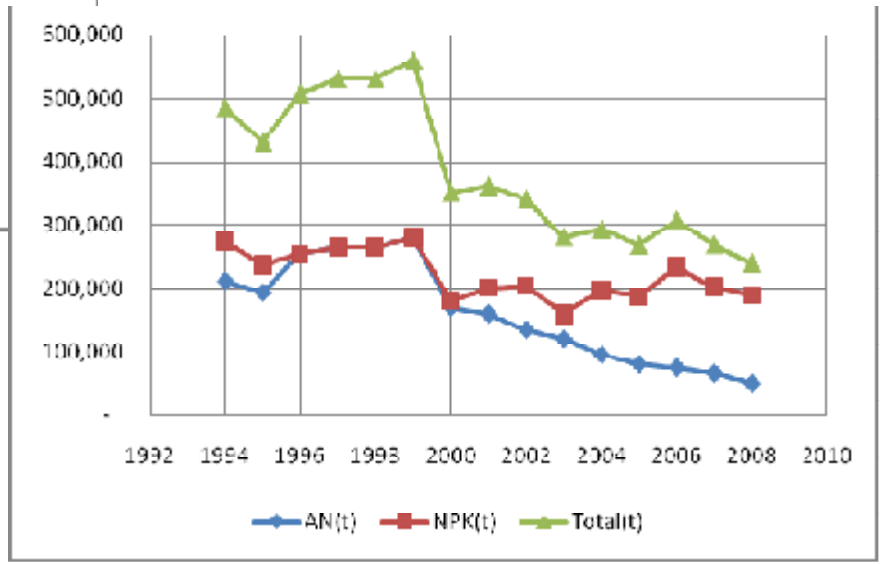
2000年以来农作物产量受到的影响

- Outputs of maize, tobacco, wheat, sugar , tea, coffee, horticulture = reduced 玉米、烟草、小麦、蔗糖、茶叶、咖啡、园艺作物的产量：减少
- Outputs of cotton, small grains, groundnuts = increased 棉花、谷类、花生的产量：增长
- Maize: - 33% compared to 1990s 玉米的产量与20世纪90年代相比减少33%
- Cotton: + 13% compared to 1990s 棉花产量却增加了13%

Tough conditions….
情况不容乐观







"Land Reform in Zimbabwe: myths and realities"

By

Ian Scoones, Nelson Marongwe, Chris Sukume, BZ Mavedzenge, Felix Murimbarimba, Jacob Mahenehene

《津巴布韦的土改：迷思与现实》伊恩·斯库恩斯等著

- Masvingo Province: survey of 400 households, 177 in depth, 120 life histories (and use of some household data from 2006)马斯温戈省：调查了400个农户，177例深度访谈，120份生活史（运用了2006年的一些农户调查数据）
- Book published in 2010, with wide impact 2010年出版，产生了广泛的影响
- 3 more books since then, with broadly similar findings 之后又出版了3本书，研究发现基本类似。

Beneficiaries in Masvingo research sites
马斯温戈省的受益者

- Communal area farmers: 64% 生活在共居地的农民：64%
- Farm workers: 7% 农场工人：7%
- War veterans: 7% 退伍老兵：7%
- Civil servants: 14% (eg teachers, extension workers) 公务员：14%（如教师、推广工作者）
- Business people (5%) 商人（5%）
- Political connections (3%) 与当权者有关系的人：3%

Differentiation and production
(bags of maize sold in 2009 by 'success group')
分化与产量（“成功组”在2009年出售的玉米数量）

		2008-09		
Scheme Type 方案类型	(SG) 成功组	0 bags 0袋	1-20 bags 1—20袋	21+ bags 21袋以上
A1 self-contained 独立经营	1	26.1	8.7	**65.2**
	2	51.9	22.2	25.9
	3	58.6	24.1	17.2
A1 villagised 形成村落	1	38.9	29.6	**31.5**
	2	52.8	35.8	11.3
	3	67.9	19.7	10.7
A2	1	60.0	20.0	**20.0**
	2	70.0	10.0	20.0
	3	90.0	0.0	10.0
Informal非正式	1	84.2	15.8	0.0
	2	96.6	3.4	0.0
	3	100	0.0	0.0

Food security….?
(% of hh producing more than a tonne of maize)
粮食安全？（玉米产量在1吨以上的农户百分比

District 地区	Scheme Type	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09
Gutu 古图	A1 self-contained 独立经营	18.4	50.0	45.5	75.0	63.4	28.6	61.5
	A1 villagised 形成村落	13.3	39.1	24.0	79.3	63.3	36.7	78.6
	A2	0.0	0.0	44.4	75.0	66.7	-	63.6
Masvingo 马斯温戈	A1 self-contained 独立经营	55.3	63.2	56.4	100.0	100.0	51.3	100.0
	A1 villagised	28.0	38.1	45.8	95.7	91.2	15.8	77.9
	A2	0.0	25.0	25.0	XX	75.0	75.0	100.0
Chiredzi 奇雷芝	A2	14.3	38.5	46.2	50.0	66.7	50.0	88.9
	Informal 非正式	18.8	10.2	3.9	86.5	51.0	24.5	62.5
Mwenezi 姆文内兹	A1 villagised 形成村落	26.9	8.0	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0 (57)
	Informal 非正式	11.5	11.5	0.0	0.0	26.7	6.7	0.0 (73)

Category 类别	Livelihood Strategies 生计策略	Total总计
Dropping out (10.0%) 被迫退出	Exits 退出	4.4%
	(Chronically poor, destitute) 长期贫困，赤贫	3.3%
	(Ill health) 生病	2.2%
Hanging in (33.6%) 勉强维持	Asset poor farming, local labour 投入不多的耕作，本地劳工	17.8%
	Keeping the plot 保住土地	10.3%
	Straddling 观望	5.6%
Stepping out (21.4%) 主动退出	Survival diversification 生计多样化	2.8%
	Local off-farm activities 非农活动（当地）	5.3%
	Remittances from within Zimbabwe 国内汇款	5.0%
	Remittances from outside Zimbabwe 国外汇款	4.4%
	Cell phone farmers 不在地农场主（手机农场主）	3.9%
Stepping up (35.0%) 扩大规模	*Hurudza*	18.3%
	Part-time farmers 兼业农场主	10.6%
	New (semi-)commercial farmers 新（半）商业农场主	4.7%
	Farming from patronage 受资助的农场	1.4%

Scoones et al: dispute 5 widely held myths about Zimbabwe's land reform

斯库恩斯等人讨论了5个与津巴布韦土改有关的谜团

- 'Land reform has been a total failure' (reality: mix of success & failure; an emerging new agrarian structure) 土改完全失败了（现实：部分成功，部分失败，出现了新的土地结构）
- 'Beneficiaries have been largely political cronies' (reality in Masvingo Province: 3% = cronies) 受益者大部分是当权者的密友（现实：在马斯温戈省3%的受益者是当权者的密友）
- 'There has been no investment in the new resettlements' (reality is clearing, building, herd growth, especially A1) 对新定居点没有投入（现实：清空土地，搭建房屋，牲畜增多，尤其是A1类农民）
- 'Agriculture is in complete ruins' (reality: collapse of some forms of commercial production & some successes by new, small-scale producers) 农业全垮了（现实：某些形式的商业生产无力为继，一些新的小规模生产者获得成功）
- 'The rural economy has collapsed' (reality: the restructuring of value chains eg beef production in Masvingo) 农村经济崩溃了（现实：价值链的重组：如马斯温戈省的牛肉生产）

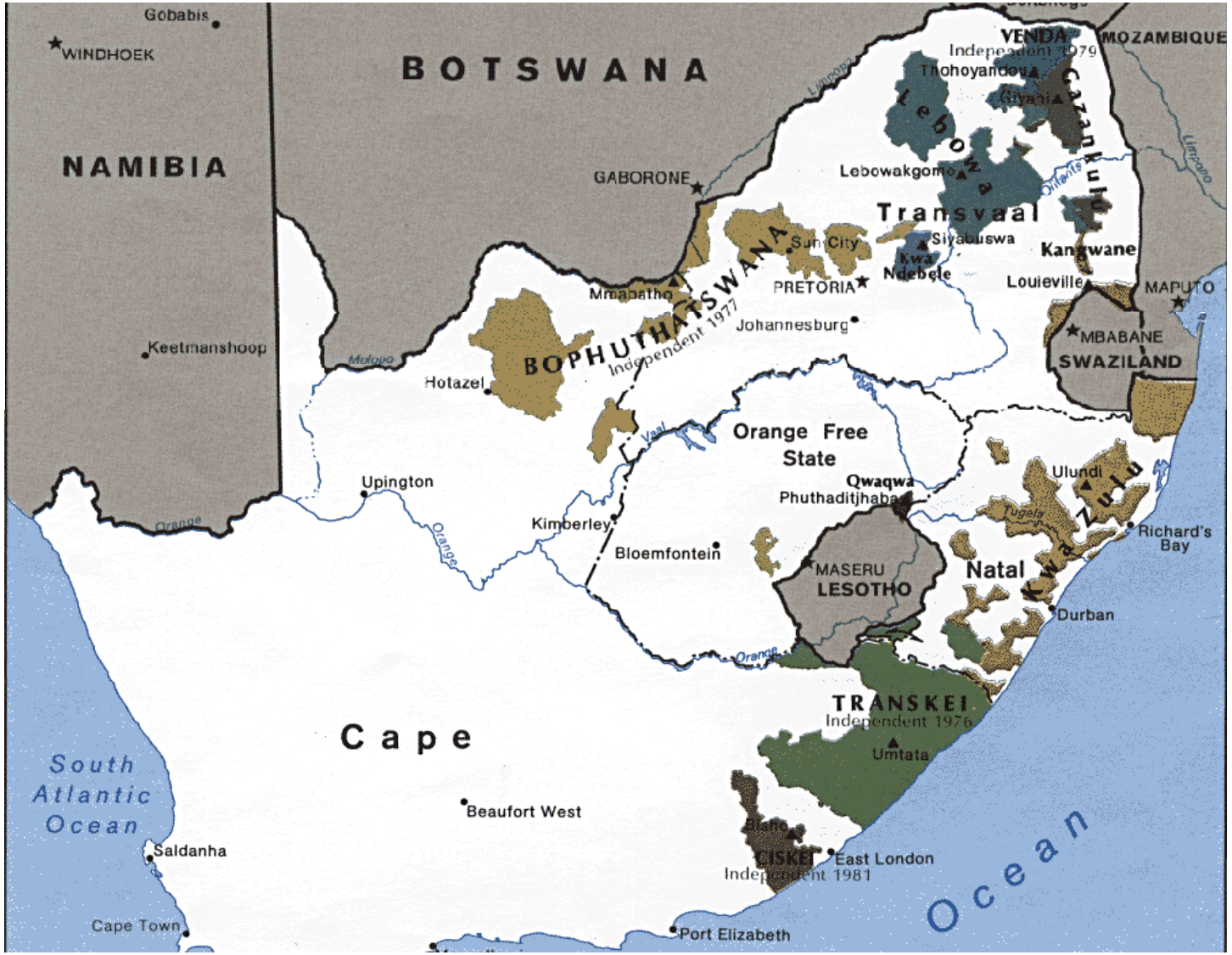
Land policy under power sharing government
共同执政时期的土地政策

- **Broad agreement: 广泛共识：**
  - Land Commission and land audit, to see who owns what (especially 'cronies') 土地委员会的土地审计，看谁拥有什么（特别是当权者的密友们）
  - Most redistribution seen as 'irreversible' 大部分再分配了的土地不可能再收回
  - Donor support to help revitalize agricultural sector 援助机构支持农业的复兴

Land policy under power sharing government
共同执政时期的土地政策

- **Contestation: 争论：**
  - Compensation to farm owners who lost land; who will pay? 对失去土地的农场主如何赔偿，谁来赔偿？
  - Focus of agricultural reconstruction: large or small farms? New or old value chains? 农业重建的关键：小农场还是大农场？新的价值链还是原来的？
  - Property rights: improved form of state leasehold, or private ownership? 产权：改进现有的国有土地出让的形式，还是实行私有制？
- **In practice: little change since 2010 实际上：从2010年以后少有变化**

South Africa 南非



South Africa: legacies of colonial & apartheid rule

南非：殖民与种族隔离制度的遗产

- Dispossession: 13% of land for blacks ('reserves' > 'homelands'); subversion of peasantry & massive subsidies to white farmers > dominant LSCF sector; migrant labour & proletarianization > smallholder agric in decline 剥夺： 13%的土地分给了黑人（从保留地到家园）；农民阶级的颠覆 & 对白人农场主的丰厚补贴 > 大规模商业农场占主导地位；外出劳工& 无产阶级化 > 小农衰落
- Apartheid and forced removals to 'ethnic zones': 2.5 million people between 1955 and 1989; resistance with help of NGOs 种族隔离，被迫迁往"部落区"：1955 - 1989年间250万人；在非政府组织的帮组下进行了反抗
- 1 million exploited and abused farm workers; 20000 labour tenants on some white LSCFs 100万人是受剥削、被虐待的农场工人；2万是一些商业大农场主（白人）手下的佃农
- Deep poverty & racialized inequality 极度贫困& 种族不平等

Land reform policies, 1994-2005

1994 - 2005年土改政策

- Land *restitution*: restoration of land, or compensation, for lands lost through racially discriminatory laws after 1913 土地赔偿：归还土地，或者对1913年后种族歧视法实行后失去土地的农民进行补偿
- Land *tenure reform*: (a) tenure security for labour tenants & farm workers; (b) strengthen rights in former reserves ('communal areas') 地权改革：（a）保证佃农和农场工人的土地使用权；（b）加强之前保留地（共居地）居民的土地权
- Land *redistribution*: address racial inequality in land ownership 土地再分配：解决地权中的种族不平等问题
- Restitution and tenure reform are rights-based; Bill of Rights protects property rights but also allows expropriation in 'public interest' (includes land reform) 土地赔偿和地权改革是以权利为基础的；《人权法案》保护了财产权，但也允许政府以"公共利益"（和土地改革）之名征用土地

Land restitution 土地赔偿

- 79,696 claims by 1998 (88% urban) 1998年有79,696起申诉（88%来自城市居民）
- 74,417 claims settled by 2007, 1.2 million beneficiaries, mostly urban claims/cash compensation 2007年有74,417起申诉得到解决，使120万人受益，大部分是城市居民的申诉，以现金作为补偿。
- 233 restitution 'projects' (3000 claimants) involve land restoration; affects 1.6 million ha 233个赔偿计划（涉及到3000人）复垦了约160万公顷土地
- Over 3000 claims, almost all rural, still to be settled 超过3000起申诉（其中绝大多数是农村居民）有待解决。
- Claims on large proportion of agric land in Limpopo & Mpumalanga provinces (60-80%) 约有60－80%的申诉是关于林波波省和普马兰加省的大片农田
- Major problem in rural claims: lack of post-settlement support, project failure 主要问题是来自农村地区的申诉：没有后续的支持，计划失败

Tenure reform 地权改革

- Farm workers/dwellers and labour tenants protected against arbitrary eviction by legislation; also includes redistributive measures 农场工人/居民和佃农反对以法律的形式（和再分配的措施）任意驱逐人民离开土地。
- Both legal and illegal evictions have continued (1 million people lost access to land 1994-2004); redistributive measures ineffective 合法和不合法的驱逐一直持续到现在，1994到2004年间有100万人失去了土地；再分配措施没有成效
- Communal tenure: upgrading of 'customary' land rights of rural communities, not individual titling 共居地地权：提高农村“习惯”法地权的地位，而非个体确权
- Key challenges: powers of chiefs vs democratization; gender equality; allowing for dynamic versions of 'custom' 主要挑战：酋长的权力与民主化进程；性别平等；允许“习惯法”的多种形式存在

Land redistribution 土地再分配

- Based on purchase of land on market; principle of 'willing buyer, willing seller'. Grants from R20,000 to R100,000 per applicant, based on the value of 'own contribution' 以市场购买土地为基础；遵循“愿买愿卖”的原则；按照“个人贡献”的价值，每位申请人可获得2万到10万兰特的资助
- Groups of applicants pooled grants to buy whole farms, due to the small size of the grants relative to the cost of farms and barriers to sub-division 申请者组团购买整个农场，因为购买整个农场的费用对小规模投资者来说太高，农场也不好分成小块。
- State purchases on behalf of applicants (but inefficiently) 政府以申请者的名义购买（但很低效）
- Pro-active Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS): leasehold, aimed at relatively wealthy people with other sources of income supported by 're-capitalisation' grants 事先获得土地的战略（PLAS）：租用，针对相对富有、得到“再资本主义化”资助的、具备其他收入来源的富人。
- 1994 target: 30% of white-owned farmland (25 mill ha) within 5 years. Extended to 20 years; unlikely to be met 1994年的目标：5年内得到30%的白人农场主的土地（2500万公顷）。延长到20年；还是不太可能实现
- By 2012: about 8 million ha transferred through all forms of land reform, or 7.5% of white-owned agric land 到2012年：有800万公顷的土地通过各种形式的土改转移到其他人手中，占白人拥有的土地的7.5%。

Problems in using land productively
有效使用土地时存在的问题

- **Lack of post-settlement support: credit, training, extension advice, transport and ploughing services, vet services, access to input and produce markets 缺少后续支持：缺少信贷，培训，（技术）推广，缺少交通、耕地、兽医等方面的服务，难以获得农业投入，没有产品市场**
- **Beneficiaries required to step into shoes of former white owners and continue to manage farms as a unitary, commercially-oriented enterprises; alternative models, based on lower inputs/smaller units, actively discouraged 受益者被要求按之前的白人农场主那样耕作农场，即大型的商业化农场。基于低投入、小单位的替代生产模式被打压。**
- **Impact of land reform on agricultural production and local economies: limited improvements in livelihoods of beneficiaries but no increase in employment or land productivity 土改对农业生产和当地经济的影响：受益者的生计略有改善，但就业没有增加，土地生产率几乎没有提高**
- **Missing is a 'small-farmer' developmental path: land and agricultural policies remain disconnected 缺少“小农”的发展道路：土地政策与农业政策脱节**

Failing land reform: debates about new policy directions ….失败的土改：讨论新政策的方向

- **Mounting public criticism > National Land Summit of 2005 and subsequent debates: 公众对土改的批评越来越多>2005年的全国土地峰会及之后的讨论**
  - **Scrapping of 'willing buyer, willing seller' 摒弃“愿买愿卖”原则**
  - **Restrictions on foreign ownership of land 限制外资购买土地**
  - **Introduction of a land tax 引入土地税**
  - **Allow subdivision of farms 允许农场细分**
  - **Proactive Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS) 事先获得土地的战略**
  - **Area-based planning 区域规划**
  - **Moratorium on farm worker evictions 暂停对农场工人的驱逐**
  - **Agricultural Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment (Agri-BEE) 农业为广泛基础的黑人经济振兴政策**

2011: Green Paper on Land Policy
2011年：土地政策绿皮书

- **Four-tier system of land tenure, comprising state land (to be leased out), privately owned freehold (with 'limited extent'), land owned by foreigners (with 'precarious tenure') &'communal tenure') 四级土地权属体系，包括国有土地（可出让），私有土地（“有限地区”），外国人持有的土地（“不确定地权”）和共有土地**
- **Land Rights Management Board to develop systems to record and register land rights, and to provide legal representation 土地权利管理委员会：开发土地登记系统，提供法律援助**
- **Land Management Commission to advise, provide guidelines, coordinate, regulate, audit and act as a reference point for the Ministry 土地管理委员会：为国家部委提供建议和指导原则，进行土地协调、规制和审计**
- **Land Valuer-General to provide fair and consistent land values for rating and tax purposes, and determining compensation where land is expropriated 土地评估总局：为土地评级、征税以及土地征用时制定赔偿标准提供公正、一贯的评估服务**

What key questions does the Green Paper not address? 绿皮书没有提到的关键问题

1. Who should benefit from land reform? 谁应当从土地改革中受益？
2. What changes should land reform bring about in land uses and farm sizes? 土地改革应该为土地使用和农场面积带来怎样的变化？
3. What land should be prioritised for redistribution, and who should determine this? 哪些土地应当优先被重新分配？谁来作出这样的决定？
4. How can projects be better designed to ensure that redistributed land is well used and improves livelihoods? 如何更好地设计项目，以确保重新分配的土地得到妥善利用并改善人民的生计？
5. How can tenure rights be secured? 如何保护土地权？
6. How will land be acquired for redistribution? 如何获得可以用来重新分配的土地？

Social movements? 社会运动？

- National Land Committee (network of land NGOs formed in late 1980s), helped formulate post-1994 policies > internal differences > collapsed in 2004 全国土地委员会（建立于20世纪80年代晚期的以土地为中心的非政府组织网络）协助制定了1994年之后的政策>内部分歧>2004年瓦解
- Landless People's Movement formed in 2001, centred on labour tenant struggles, assisted by NLC 2001年形成了无地农民运动，以农业雇工的斗争为核心，得到了全国土地委员会的帮助
- Challenged ANC government at WSSD in 2002, ("No land, no vote") but poorly organized; in decline 2003-2005 > collapsed by 2006 在2002年世界可持续发展峰会上抗议非洲民族会议政府（不给土地，就没有选票），但组织不善，2003 - 2005年陷入低潮，最终在2006年平息

Social movements? 社会运动？

- **Problems: inadequate attention to social difference; populism that believes its own strategic essentialisms? 问题：对社会差异缺乏足够关注；是坚信自身战略本质论的民粹主义？**
- **Informal settlement residents/shack dwellers > struggles over land and housing in urban areas 非正式定居点居民/棚户居民 > 为城市地区的土地和住所而斗争**

New directions for agrarian reform?
土地改革的新方向？

- Depends on the politics, not theoretical arguments 取决于政治，而非理论的论战
- Key interest groups: 关键利益群体
  - Rural poor (but no social movement to represent them) 农村穷人（但没有代表他们的社会运动）
  - Emerging entrepreneurs (rich peasants) 新兴企业家（富农）
  - Black business class (BEE beneficiaries) 黑人商人阶层（黑人经济振兴政策受益者）
  - White farmers 白人农场主
  - Agri-business (local and transnational) 农业企业（本地与跨国的）
  - Political parties and factions (eg Zuma grouping in ANC, reformers in ZANU-PF) 政党与派别（如非洲民族会议中的祖玛派和民盟党中的改革派）
  - Conservative vs progressive state officials 保守的政府官员—进步的政府官员
- An uncertain future ……一个不确定的未来