

*State and Rural Society in China  
and India during the Anthropocene*

人类纪时期中国和印度的  
国家与农村社会

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# Goals 目标

- The paper is a historical narrative of the relations between state and rural society in the post-war era in China and India. 对战后中国和印度的国家与农村社会关系的历史叙事
- The wider goal of this narrative is to grasp the future options of these still significantly agricultural societies under the conditions of the Anthropocene. 通过这一叙事来把握中国和印度这两个依旧具有重要意义的农村社会在人类纪环境下的未来选择；
- The Anthropocene refers to the present era when human activity has become the dominant influence on the global eco-system. 人类纪指的是当下这个时代，人类活动已经成为影响全球生态系统的首要因素

- Today scientists debate whether the devastation of the planet caused by this activity—which has certainly advanced with neo-liberal globalization over the last several decades-- has already advanced towards irreversibility or whether humans can still do something about it. 人类活动导致了地球的灾难，过去几十年间新自由主义的全球化无疑加剧了这一趋势。今天，科学家争论的焦点在于，这一灾难是否已经无可挽回，亦或人类仍有回旋余地。
- How will these conditions affect the goals of the founders of these modern nations who sought to bring their populations out of centuries of poverty and indignities of exploitation? 对于创建了现代国家、希望使其民众摆脱几个世纪的贫困和被剥削屈辱命运的开国者，当下的这种环境将如何影响他们的建国目标？

# Visionary Founders: Mao and Gandhi

## 有远见的开国者：毛泽东与甘地

The visionary leaders of mid-century China and India such as Mao and Gandhi were of course vastly different in their assessment of what modernity could yield – the former seeing it as ultimately liberating whereas the other saw it as impending disaster. 20世纪中期中国和印度有远见卓识的领导人——毛泽东和甘地对于现代性能够产生的后果显然有着截然不同的判断，前者认为现代性能带来最终的解放，而后者则将其视为灾难。

But both Maoist and Gandhian thought were built upon the notion of agricultural society as representing naturalistic and communitarian ideals. They saw rural communities as the source of alternative ideals of community and equality. 但是毛泽东和甘地的思想都是建立在以自然主义和共产主义理想为表征的农业社会基础上的。他们认为农村社区是实现另一种共同体和平等理想的途径。

Although they were deeply romanticized, these ideals may still be better suited to the needs of society in the Anthropocene than the model of industrialized agriculture and consumer driven growth that exists today. 尽管他们的想法极为浪漫化，但是他们的理想可能比当前农业工业化和消费者驱动的经济增长模型更符合人类纪社会的需求。

While these ideals may be easier to recognize in the Gandhian system, let us not forget that Mao's conception of the "poor and blank" peasants formed the basis of a deep and originary, albeit eroded, communalism that represented the ideological basis of collectivization and the Great Leap Forward. This is particularly clear to see in literary and artistic works about rural solidarity in the 1950s, for instance in the rural idylls of the Hu county paintings. 这些理想或许在甘地的体系中体现得更加清晰，但是别忘了，毛泽东也构想过通过“一穷二白”的农民形成一个深刻的、原初（尽管受到了腐蚀）共产主义的根基，这表现为集体化和大跃进时期的意识形态基础。在20世纪50年代关于乡村团结的文学艺术作品中体现得尤为清晰，例如户县农民画中展现的乡村田园诗。

In the Gandhian view, the restoration of the peasant "kingdom of Rama" did not demand the kind of institutional revolution as in China, but rather reform of the unpleasant accretions of later ages such as untouchability and land accumulation. Society to be based on 'needs' rather than GDP and consumption driven. 在甘地看来，农民“罗摩王国”的重建不需要经历像中国那样的制度革命，但是需要对以往时代形成的不良积淀进行改革，例如贱民制度和土地积聚。社会要建立在“需求”的基础上，而不是由GDP和消费所驱动。

# Global Urbanization and the Anthropocene

## 全球城市化和人类纪

Both nation-states have succumbed to the global paradigm regarding the role of agriculture in the modern transformation which tends to posit or assume the end of agricultural and even rural society as the telos or result of modernity. 这两个民族国家都屈服于当下的全球范式，就农业在现代转型中的角色而言，全球范式倾向于假定农业甚至农村社会的终结，而这正是现代性的目的或结果。

Thus the ‘demographic transition’ paradigm posits a transition from a high birth and death rate agricultural society to a low birth and death rate urban society where most of the working population moves away from agriculture. Modernization theory presupposes the goal of urbanism that took contemporary capitalist Western societies as the model. 因此“人口转型”范式设定了一个由高出生率、高死亡率的农业社会向低出生率、低死亡率的城市社会转型的过程；在城市社会中，大部分劳动人口转移出了农业。现代化理论以当代西方资本主义社会为模板预设了城市化的目标。

In 1900, only 10% of the world was occupied by urban dwellers; in 2008, it crossed 50%. Cities are capable of much higher levels of growth, productivity and innovation than other spaces. 1900年，全球人口中只有10%在城市居住；到2008年，这一比例超过了50%。城市比其他空间更有能力实现更高水平的增长、生产力和创新。

But if China and India try to follow Western models of growth, consumption & urbanization, there will be serious consequences. Although urban growth has occurred only over about 3% of global surface, yet cities are responsible for 78% of carbon emissions; 60% of residential water use, and 76% of wood used. **但是如果中国和印度试图遵循西方的增长、消费与城市化的发展模式，将会出现严重后果。尽管城市的经济增长只出现在地球表面大约3%的土地上，但是城市却制造了全球78%的碳排放、60%的居民用水和76%的木材使用。**

The ecological footprints of cities are in many cases hundreds of times the area occupied by the city. For eg, 20 of the largest US cities each year contribute more carbon dioxide to the global atmosphere than the volume that can be absorbed by total land area of the US. **在很多情况下，城市的生态足迹要数百倍于它所占据的地理面积。例如，美国最大的20个城市每年向大气层排放的二氧化碳数量超过了整个美国土地面积所能吸纳的数量。**

# 1950s—1980s: Early Institutional Reforms and Investments

## 早期制度改革和投资

- India and China are comparable because of common initial conditions; also convergent geopolitical historical forces and global discourses. 印度和中国可以进行比较，因为它们具有相同的初始环境，以及趋同的地缘政治、历史力量和全球话语。
- Overwhelming agr in 1950; By 2010, 45% of the Chinese labour force remains in agriculture contributing 12% to the GDP; whereas in India, 55% remains in agriculture and contributes 18% to GDP. 20世纪50年代势不可挡的农业发展。到2010年，中国的农业部门吸纳了45%的劳动力，对GDP的贡献率是12%；在印度，农业部门吸纳了55%的劳动力，对GDP贡献率为18%
- Land reform: justice for dispossessed and right of citizen to livelihood; ownership by individual or collective ownership. Ultimate goal is also to increase productivity. 土地改革：维护被剥夺者的公正和公民的生计权利；个体所有或集体所有。最终目标是提高生产力。

**China** land reform and collectivization process is basically completed by 1956. 中国的土地改革和集体化过程基本上在1956年完成。

- **India:** Initial progress 1<sup>st</sup> 5YP '51-'55: invests 31% of the budget in agriculture. Land laws allowing enlarging the base of landownership. 40% of the land came to be owned by direct producers while over 12 million tenant farmers acquired secure rights over 4.4% of the arable land of India 印度：在第一个五年计划（1951-1955）中的初步进展是将31%的财政预算用于农业。土地法允许扩大土地所有权的基础。40%的土地由直接生产者所有，超过1200万的租佃农民在印度4.4%的可耕地上获得了稳定的使用权。



- Tenant holdings gradually declined until the 1990s, but 33% (or roughly 70 million) of the agricultural workforce of 242 million was classified as casual wage labourers in the same period. 佃户持有土地到20世纪90年代逐渐减少，但是在2.42亿农业劳动力中有33%（大约7000万）在这一时期成为非正式的雇佣劳工。
- After mid1950s, both societies see agricultural investment as drain on resources for industrialization. Both CCP and Congress committed to heavy industrialization. 20世纪50年代中期之后，两个国家都将农业投资视为对工业化资源的浪费。中国共产党和印度国民大会党都致力于重工业化的发展。
- In China never more than 8% of gross KI is in agr till 1980s. Soviet notion of primitive capital accumulation from peasants. 在中国，直到20世纪80年代之前，用于农业的国家总投资从未超过8%。苏联从农民身上获得原始资本积累的观念。
- 1955 Indian team visits Chinese agriculture; impressed with minimal diversion of available capital to agriculture. 1955年，印度代表团参观了中国农业，对于中国将可用资本最低限度向农业转移的做法印象深刻。

# Heavy Industry and problems of low investment and weak reforms I

## 重工业、低投资的问题与脆弱的改革（1）

- Great Leap Forward is effort for agriculture to continue to provide its own infrastructural investments through organizational efforts and non-material incentives and thus make vast sacrifices (including the blockage of exit represented by the *hukou* system) for modernity. Moderated after the crisis of the GLF and the great famine. 大跃进是通过组织化的方式和非物质性的激励让农业继续提供自身的基础设施投入，从而使农业为现代性做出了巨大牺牲（包括户口制度所体现的退出机制的堵塞）。在大跃进暴露出危机和经历了大饥荒之后有所缓和。
- Productivity increases in collective agr are hampered by free-rider problem in collective agriculture although there is much experimentation (piece-rates, time-rates, scale of team/brigade). 尽管有很多尝试和管理办法（例如计件、计时、划分队/组等），集体化农业存在的搭便车问题仍然限制了生产力的提高。

- In **India**: early investment in agriculture and land reform reaches limit. Congress is made of big rural landowners ('socialist head and conservative body'). 在印度：早期的农业投资和土地改革达到了极限。国民大会是由农村大土地所有者组成的（“挂社会主义的羊头卖保守主义的狗肉”）。

- Answer to India is US food aid PL 480 (part of New Deal incentives for US farmers becomes tied to foreign policy). Third World imports of grain grew from 19% of world share to 50% from the late 1950s to the late 1960s. Allows India to invest more in industry and give up on agr. 印度从美国的粮食援助政策第480号公法（美国新政刺激的一部分，将美国农民与对外政策绑定在一起）找到了答案。从20世纪50年代末到60年代末，第三世界进口的谷物从全球出口份额的19%增加到了50%。这使得印度放弃了农业的发展，将更多投资用于工业。

# Heavy Industry and problems of low investment and weak reforms II

## 重工业、低投资的问题与脆弱的改革（2）

Green Revolution in **India** is because of realization of ‘tied aid’ (to anti-Soviet role) and search for self-sufficiency. 由于对限制性援助阴谋（反苏）的认识和对粮食自足的追求，印度进行了绿色革命。

GR mid-70s becomes tied to ‘intensive agr’ and heavy subsidies for inputs and minimum price supports. In 1991= 2% of total GDP. Creates its own problems. 20世纪70年代的绿色革命与“集约农业”、大量生产投入补贴、最低价格支持联系在一起。1991年，绿色革命带来了2%的GDP增长，同时也带来了一系列问题。

Thus, industrial growth in **China** was enabled by transferring resources from agriculture while sustaining agriculture through organization and mobilization techniques. 因此，中国通过将资源由农业转移到工业而实现了工业增长，并通过组织动员术维持着农业。

In India, aid and the Green Revolution allowed the state to focus its resources on industrial development. Much stagnation outside GR areas, and new problems in GR areas. 在印度，援助和绿色革命使国家得以将资源集中于工业发展。绿色革命之外的地区出现了严重停滞，而推行绿色革命的地区同样新困迭生。

# Liberalization and Agr: 1979/1991—present

## 自由化和农业：1979/1991至今

Since 1980s to 2005 or so, there has been a parallel shift among the two, from redistributive notions of justice to market efficiency models of justice and massive state withdrawal. 从20世纪80年代到2005年左右，两个国家都发生了相似的转变，从再分配式的正义转向了市场效率主导的正义，国家角色全面后撤。

But the historical legacy from the first period is still important to understand a range of issues particularly the market distortions in India through ‘unfair’ subsidies. 但是在第一个阶段形成的历史积淀对于理解这一时期的一系列问题仍然具有重要解释力，特别是印度由“不平等”补贴导致的市场扭曲。

In China, unlike India, reforms were initiated in and by the rural sector with great success. 中国与印度的情况不同，它的改革由农村部门启动，并且取得了巨大成功。

China also shows reverse pattern within agriculture reform: first implemented incrementally in the incentive structures with regard to land-use, prices and the operation of local and wider markets. 1980-1993: trade on rural markets rise by 12% a year. 中国的农业改革也呈现出相反的情况：它在涉及土地使用、价格、地方和区域市场运作的激励结构中渐进式推行。从1980到1993年，农村市场上的交易额以12%的年增长率增长。

Markets create basis for subsidiary rural enterprises (*fuye*) which in turn was an important condition for the tens of thousands of Township and Village Enterprises (TVEs). Their share of industrial production rose from 16% to 34% from 1985 to 1994. 市场为辅助性的乡村企业（副业）提供了基础，这也成为成千上万乡镇企业发展的重要前提。从1985年到1994年，乡镇企业在工业生产中的份额由16%增长到34%。

Interestingly, this was made possible not by legal framework or public investment which reduced radically, but by cultural nexus of power, which includes idea of ‘social capital’, especially rural and temple community, informal networks and family elasticity. Even in 2005, informal lending made up 69.41% of the total loans that those rural farm households received. 有趣的是，乡镇企业的崛起并不是由于法律框架的变化和公共投资的急剧减少，而是由权力的文化网络推动的，这个文化网络涵盖了“社会资本”（尤其是在乡村和寺庙社区）、非正式网络和家庭弹性。即便是在2005年，非正式借贷也占到了农村农业家庭贷款总额的69.41%。

Team is still important in periodic re-allocation of land rights-despite law banning it in 2003. Customary practices still hold. 生产队在周期性的土地使用权再分配中仍然具有重要地位，尽管2003年时法律曾禁止过。惯常做法依然存在。

# Success and transformation of Chinese Rural Society 中国农村社会的成功与转型

- Success of Chinese rural society in reviving agriculture and new types of enterprise (see Victor Nee 2012) has much to do with community structures, trust and social capital. 中国农村社会在恢复农业和发展新型企业方面取得的成功（ see Victor Nee 2012）与农村社区的结构、信任和社会资本有着密切关系。
- This was based on the cultural nexus which mediated most economic relations as well through guaranteeing contracts, market exchanges and flexible family structures. 这种成功建立在乡村的文化网络之上，它通过担保契约、市场交换和灵活的家庭结构调和了大多数经济关系。
- Work of Adam Chau, Lily Tsai, Kenneth Dean and others show how cultural and religious networks have activated community activism and collective development. 周越、蔡莉莉、丁荷生以及其他学者的研究指出了文化和宗教网络是如何触发了社区的能动性与集体发展的。

- Wenzhou example is particularly important for showing how informal credit is built upon important foundations of ‘social capital’ requiring fairly tightly knit groups of people, often based on kin and temple associations, grassroots organizations and networks that assume reciprocity, trust and financial credibility. 温州的例子就特别体现出了非正式信贷是如何在“社会资本”的重要基础上建立起来的，这种社会资本需要在关系极为紧密的人群（通常是以亲属和寺庙关系为基础）、草根组织和网络中形成，他们能够彼此信任、互惠、恪守金融诚信。
- What is also very interesting is to see how socialist period collective organizations and leadership values can be re-absorbed into the cultural nexus. Collectives can serve as units for individual rights to land-use and village leaders can serve as protective brokers for the community against market and political forces, in some cases. 观察社会主义时期集体组织和领导人的价值观是怎样被重新吸纳进文化网络的，这一点也很有意思。村集体可以作为个体土地使用权的集合单元；在某些情况下，村干部起到了保护型经纪的作用，为社区抵挡来自市场和政治力量的冲击。
- I am suggesting here like Fei Xiaotong in the 1930s that rural communities immersed in cultural, religious and natural ties can be powerful forces of social regeneration under proper circumstances. 我在这里提出的观点和费孝通在上世纪30年代提出的类似，在适宜的环境下，浸润在文化、宗教和自然连结中的农村社区能够成为社会革新的强大力量。



# Weakness of Indian Agriculture

## 印度农业的缺陷

- In **India**, the incentive structure – given the high subsidies, minimum support price for grain and market restrictions—was distorted at the beginning of the reforms. 在印度，由于高补贴、谷物最低价格支持和市场制约，激励结构在改革之初就被严重扭曲。
- Liberalization also led to weakening of public investments. 自由化也导致公共投资削弱
- However, trade liberalization with 1991 reforms did result in a new export orientation for agriculture. India became the second largest rice exporter in the world in 1995-1996. 然而，伴随1991年农业改革开始的贸易自由化确实导致了一个新的出口导向的农业。印度成为1995-1996年间全球第二大大米出口国。
- But the high agricultural growth rates fell after the Asian financial crisis and growth in agriculture has remained meagre since then. 但是在亚洲金融危机之后，农业高速增长开始回落，自此之后，农业增长率始终处于低位。

- Reason is lack of internal reforms in ownership and management structures, incentives and investments in public works and education before the opening of Indian markets. 原因是由于在开放印度市场之前缺少对所有权和管理结构、激励、公共建设和教育投资方面的内部改革。
- Marketization has also led to rural indebtedness and farmer suicides—also because of weakening of public expend in irrigation. 市场化还导致了乡村债务和农民自杀现象，这也是由于政府削弱了水利灌溉的公共投入。

# The Consequences of State Withdrawal and Neo-liberal Policies in China

## 国家退出和新自由主义政策在中国的影响

- TVEs and private enterprise has given way to massive out-migration and growing domination of agriculture by agri-businesses. Given the *hukou* system this has led to massive inter-sectoral and inter-regional inequalities. 乡镇企业和私营企业被农村劳动力大规模外出和农业企业日益主导的农业所取代。由于户籍制度的制约，这也导致部门之间和地区之间的诸多不平等。
- Also tendency towards land-grab and power abuse: by 2006, more than 60 million farmers had lost their land to demands of commercialization without adequate compensation. This is linked to larger issue of centre-state relations and local government incentive structures. 土地攫取和权力滥用的趋势：截至2006年，超过6000万农民因商品化需要被迫失去土地，且没有得到合理的补偿。这与中央-地方关系和地方政府的激励机制相联系。
- Low compensation to farmers; re-sale price of land can be as much as 40 times compensation value to farmers. 农民获得的补偿低，土地再次销售的价格是农民补偿款的40倍。

- Indeed, Gini coefficient of consumption inequality is higher for China over India (nationally), although the inequality of land and education is much higher in India making for significant inequalities of opportunity. 的确，中国消费不平等的基尼系数高于印度（从全国来看），尽管印度土地和教育的不平等程度更高，这也造成了机会的严重不平等。
- Given harsh consequences, China central govt first abolishes rural taxes in 2005 (Rural Tax and Fee Reforms) and subsequently, implements policies to enhance social welfare, public infrastructure programs and boost rural consumer demand (since 2008). 鉴于这些严峻后果，中国中央政府在2005年首次废除了农村税费（税费改革），此后又实施了一系列政策加强农村社会福利、公共基础设施建设、刺激农村消费需求（2008年之后）。

# Post Neo-liberal Policies after 2005

## 2005年之后的后新自由主义政策

- Abolitions of taxes also reduce local government revenues. This constrains expenses of local govt and also increases hostility between farmers and local cadres. Grandfather/father paternalism. 废除农村税费也导致地方政府收入减少。这限制了地方政府的公共投入，加剧了地方的干群矛盾。
- The Construct Socialist New Village movement of 2006 seeks to address that. This sees cadres as facilitators of central govt schemes/insurance to raise peasant quality of life. Does not demonize rural cadres nor exercise too much oversight. 2006年的“建设社会主义新农村”运动旨在解决这一问题。这一政策将地方干部视为实施中央政府项目、提高农民生活质量的协助者。既未将乡村干部妖魔化，也没有进行过多监察。
- But in general the policies are towards marketization and financialization of rural dweller with targeted interventions to provide safety nets for very poor and weak. (health, food subsidies)但是总体来看，这项政策在对农村贫弱群体进行瞄准性干预、提供安全网（健康、食品、补贴）的同时，推动了农村居民的市场化和金融化。

- Some aspects of financialization: Rural real estate boom in Pearl River delta controlled by collectives who have become property companies (Unger). But this is not a generalized story. 金融化的一些表现：珠三角地区农村房地产业兴起，这些产业由已经变身为地产公司的村集体控制。但是这种情况并不普遍。
- How critical is collective ownership of land and property in China which allows an individual to use his or her right as security or insurance in seeking other sources of livelihood and enterprise? 中国的集体土地所有权对于个体以自己的使用权作为保障去寻求其他生计来源和营生具有什么作用？
- China seems undecided about this. The party deliberated on the rights of farmers to buy and sell their land-use rights in 2008, but perhaps because of the deep division of opinion on the matter, the Act has remained on the books. 中国对于这一点似乎并不确定。中国共产党在2008年考虑过允许农民买卖土地使用权，但是或许由于存在很大分歧，这项法案只停留在了文本上。

# India: After 2005

## 印度：2005年之后

- Market distortions (skewed towards rich) and poor public works continue to hamper rural development. Moreover, industrial development in India has not led to high levels of industrial employment (capital intensive industrialization); so there is a problem of underemployment in rural sector. 市场扭曲（向富人倾斜）和落后的公共建设一直阻碍着农村发展。然而，印度的工业发展并未带来高水平的工业就业（资本密集型的工业化）；因此，农村部门存在就业不足的问题。
- As in China the govt has responded with policy to raise the poverty floor, especially after 2005. 与中国一样，作为应对，印度政府制定政策提高了贫困线，特别是在2005年之后。
- Panchayati Raj (1993): about 3 million non-partisan elected representatives, one third of which are women, and covers over 99% of rural dwellers (funds still not controlled by Panchayats). Similar to Chinese village elections. 潘查亚特制度（1993年进入宪法）：大约300万由非党员选出的代表，三分之一是妇女，覆盖了99%的农村居民（资金仍然不能由“五老”控制）。与中国的村委选举类似。

- Rural credit (NABARD), As of 2009-10, about 7 million self-help groups (of which over 5 million were exclusively women's groups) and 5 million credit-linked self-help groups distributed credit to 97 million households with average loan amounts of approximately \$100 per borrower. 农村信贷（印度农业和农村发展银行）：2009-2010年间，大约700万个自助组（其中超过500万个小组完全由妇女组成）和500万个与信贷挂钩的自助组将贷款发放给9700万农户，平均每户的贷款额约为100美元。
- Biometric Unique Identification Card to ensure delivery of low price grain and other subsidies to poor and include in financial services. Over 600 million people are now enrolled. 使用生物信息识别卡确保将低价谷物和其他补贴发放给穷人、并把他们纳入金融服务对象。这项政策现已覆盖6亿用户。



# Post-neo liberal reforms in India

## 印度的后新自由主义改革

- Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGA) which represents perhaps the widest safety net ever implemented in the world. An unskilled worker representing one family is provided a minimum wage for a hundred days a year for labor on public works projects (often related to water harvesting and rural infrastructure, participatory watershed schemes etc.) “圣雄甘地国家农村就业保障计划”可能是全世界迄今覆盖最广的安全网项目。一个家庭中的一个非技术工人每年能够获得100天的最低工资，作为他参加公共建设项目（通常与集水、农村基础设施、参与式流域计划等有关）的酬劳。
- Employment to 46 million households including large numbers of women and scheduled tribes and castes 这项计划为4600万个家庭提供了就业，其中包括大量妇女、在册的部落和种姓。
- Also private Coops and ITC. In 2010, the Panchayati Raj ministry implemented a pilot system of ‘rural business hubs’ which draws on the Chinese TVE and Thai OTOP programs that seek to add value to rural produce and skills. 私人合作社和国际贸易委员会。2010年，潘查亚特部实施了一项“乡村商业中心”的试点制度，从中国的乡镇企业和泰国的“一村一品”项目中吸取经验，自在为农产产品和技艺提高附加值。

- However, many policy makers believe that without permitting foreign direct investment in comprehensive retail – ie from plough to plate—the incentives for large corporations to invest along the supply chain from procurement to cold-storage to retail (Walmart, Carrefour etc), diversification and vertical integration will be incomplete. 然而，很多政策制定者相信，如果不放开综合零售业中的国外直接投资（也就是从田间到餐桌，激励大公司在供应链条中对采购、冷藏到销售各个环节进行投资，如沃尔玛和家乐福），多元化和纵向一体化将是不完整的。
- Contract farming has recently begun in India and it is hoped that it will make rapid progress as in China where roughly one-fifth of farming families have entered contract farming with agribusinesses. 订单农业最近在印度出现，人们寄望于它能够像在中国那样快速增长。在中国，大约五分之一的农业家庭与农业企业签订了农业合同。

# Characterizing state interventions esp after 2005?

## 国家干预（尤其是在2005年之后）的特征是什么？

- Preliminary generalizations: Both states respond to increasing inequalities but not by returning to state redistribution policies alone. They seek to extend neo-liberal principles by programs of financial inclusion, enhancing role of private or social intermediation (including PPP) and technological interventions. **初步概括：两个国家对不断扩大的不平等现象加以应对，但不是单单借助国家再分配政策，还通过金融服务普及、强化私营或社会中介交易（包括公私合作）和技术干预等手段推广新自由主义原则。**
- Chinese state massively reduce burdens and increase transfers from central government via cadres and subsidized-market agencies for medical insurance, educational benefits to poor, etc. **中国政府大大减少了百姓的负担，并通过由中央政府向地方干部的转移支付、政府补贴的市场机构增加了对贫困人群的医疗教育等投入。**
- CSNV involves more financial inclusion and raise market savvy peasants; increase agri-biz. Also involves more technological interventions (Chongqing/Chengdu land exchange etc). Backtrack from rural informal enterprise and accountability reforms? **新农村建设的内容包括更多金融服务普及、培养适应市场的农民、增加农业企业。还包括更多技术干预（重庆/成都的土地交易等）。增加农村非正式企业和责任制改革的道路？**

- Indian state also increases central govt outlays on NREGA, build more rural roads, food security bill; seek to enhance financial inclusion of peasants and expand the role of market. Also massive techno intervention in UID. 印度同样增加了中央政府在全国农村就业保障法案中的开支，修建了更多农村道路，通过了粮食安全条例；旨在加强农村的金融服务普及，扩展市场地位。在生物信息识别卡中进行大量技术干预。
- As in China, the state seeks to extend basic neoliberal strategy of expansion of private capital. In India, underemployed rural work force economic problem is greater and delivery systems are weak. 和中国一样，印度通过扩大私人资本来推行新自由主义基本策略。在印度，失业农村劳动力的经济问题更加严重，而服务体系却极为脆弱。
- But these policies of addressing through market-driven approaches alone can not address the long term problems either of social equality or environmental sustainability. 但是，仅仅以市场驱动的方法制定政策无法解决社会平等和环境可持续这些长远问题。

# Emergent conditions for re-conceptualizing rural-urban relations

## 重新构思城乡关系的迫切现实

- Negative effects of intensive agriculture (eg. chemical fertilizers, pesticides, mechanization, water and land overuse), increased global demand for food and rising agr prices, and rise of research intensive investments in agriculture can lead to agriculture becoming a more viable occupation. 集约化农业的负面影响（例如化肥、农药、机械化、水土过度利用）、全球对食物需求的增加与价格上涨，在农业中提高科研投入可以使农业成为一个更可依存的职业。
- The imperative to develop more sustainable and renewable forms of agriculture such as organic farming, integrated farming, ecological farming, and agricultural and rural diversification have begun to be felt. These forms tend to be more labour intensive than forms of intensive agriculture from the industrial era. 当务之急是发展更加可持续的、可再生的农业形式，例如有机农业、综合农业、生态农业，人们已经开始感受农业和农村的多元性。与工业化时代的集约农业相比，这些农业形式表现为劳动力主导的集约化。。

- This trend does not represent a simplistic return to an earlier form of production but can combine with more scientific use of scarce resources – including research on transgenic plants, drip irrigation systems, watershed development etc—to produce value added but sustainable agriculture. 这种趋势不是对以前生产形式的简单回归，而是融合了对稀缺资源更加科学的使用（包括对转基因作物、滴灌系统、流域发展等的研究）来进行高附加值的、可持续的农业生产
- Urban agriculture and new, clean rural industry is possible. The provision of many services – including medical, educational, business, financial, social, governmental and entertainment—can be achieved through cyber-technologies including the cell-phone. Growing evidence of a re-spatialization and a growing interlocking of the urban-rural spaces. 都市农业和新型、环保的乡村工业也是可能实现的。很多服务（包括医疗、教育、商业、金融、社会、政府和娱乐）可以通过手机等网络技术来获取。出现了越来越多再空间化的例子，城乡空间的互锁联系在加强。

# Stakeholders in alternative paths

## 可替代路径中的利益相关者

- Different social groups have emerged to address both problems. Average of 180, 000 episodes of disputes from the mid-2000s, especially over land. 问题的解决过程中出现了不同的社会群体。自本世纪初，平均有18万起纠纷事件，尤其是围绕土地问题。
- Also 2768 Environment NGOs in 2008 employing 224,000 staff members. There are many thousands of others which are not formally registered as ENGOs. 在中国，2008年有2768个环保非政府组织雇用了22.4万工作人员。此外，还有上千家没有作为环保非政府组织正式注册的机构。
- Both groups have also emerged in India and are often combined for social and environmental equity. In India these NGOs – said to be more than 3 million--are increasingly influential, though most are not very effective or transparent. 印度也出现了这两个群体，它们常常结合在一起，共同追求社会和环境平等。在印度，这些非政府组织（据说已超过300万家）的影响力不断在提高，尽管大多数组织并不十分高效、透明。

# Alternative Paths: China 可替代路径：中国

- China has several intellectual reformers often supported by central govt to develop alternative paths within limits, of course. 中国已经有一些由中央政府支持的知识分子改革家在困境中设计可替代路径了。
- New reforms *xin xiangcun jianshe yundong* figures like Wen Tiejun, Cao Jingqing, Li Yuanxing and Li Changping have linked their movement to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century tradition of Liang Shuming et al. 新乡村建设运动改革中的倡导者，如温铁军、曹锦清、李远行和李昌平将他们的运动与20世纪初梁漱溟的乡村建设传统相联系。
- Land as a subsistence need and rural cooperatives as protective strategy should not to be trumped by efficiency considerations and both tasks require strong initial government support. 作为生存需求的土地和作为保护机制的农村合作不应该以经济效率来考量，这两个任务都需要政府强有力的先期支持。



- Low consumption/high welfare model. 低消费/高福利模型
- Yu Jianrong (of sheke) establishment of peasant associations (*nongmin xiehui* 农民协会), which should be clearly separated and independent from all state organs and build on voluntary membership 于建嵘创建了农民协会，这个组织应该明确区别并独立于所有的国家机构，它应该以自愿加入为基础。
- He Xuefeng suggests taking social and cultural associations as starting points for a spiritual revival. Rebuilding of social capital. Wen Tiejun also sees need for stronger economic organizations in rural society. 贺雪峰提出以社会和文化协会作为精神复兴的起点。重建社会资本。温铁军还指出农村社会需要更强大的经济组织。

# Alternate Paths: India 替代路径：印度

- In India, although the state investment is directed towards financialization and consumer markets, there have been three developments, which like in China can work with segments of the state that support them.在印度，虽然国家投资导向金融化和消费者市场，但是有三个发展方向可以与政府部门进行合作。
- 1)Rural cooperative. Eg Dairy Dev Board; For instance the National Dairy Development Board has a co-operative for procuring and marketing milk without middlemen. They are also moving into fruits and vegetable and have developed 275 retail outlets in Delhi itself. The co-op has also set up an export processing unit in Mumbai. (1) 农村合作。例如奶业发展委员会。全国奶业发展委员会有一个不经中间人直接进行牛奶采购和销售的合作社。它们还向水果和蔬菜领域发展，仅在德里就建立了275个销售点。合作社还在孟买建立一个出口加工厂。

- 2)NGOs – especially Gandhian based civil society groups committed to rural regeneration through avoiding large capital investments but small scientific approaches to community resource development and traditional agriculture and agricultural knowledge: Baba Amte, Sunderlal Bahuguna, Anna Hazare; and  
(2) 非政府组织，特别是以甘地思想为基础的致力于乡村重建的公民社会组织，它们避免大型资本投资，采用小型的、科学的手段进行社区资源发展、传统农业和农业知识的复兴，例如：巴巴·艾特、桑德拉·巴哈古纳、安娜·哈扎尔
- 3)new types of social media NGOs intervening through new social media and other forms of internet activism; best example is Swarnet and RTI groups. (3) 社会新媒体。非政府组织通过社会新媒体和其他互联网行动形式，最好的例子就是语音投诉网（目不识丁的人也可将投诉声音上传互联网）和投诉反馈法（要求官员在指定时间内回复投诉处理结果）。

# Concluding examples 结尾案例

- The state of Chattisgarh in central India is a mineral-rich, forested region with a large indigenous or *adivasi* population who have been deeply exploited over the years and especially recently with the deepening penetration for mineral resources. There is an active Maoist movement in the region. 恰蒂斯加尔邦是印度中部一个矿产丰富、森林茂密的地区，这里生活着大量阿迪瓦西土著人，他们长期以来受到了严重剥夺，尤其是最近随着矿产资源的不断向下渗透。这个地区出现一个活跃的毛主义运动。
- Recently an NGO set up a cell-phone based electronic platform—Chattisgarh *netswara* (netvoice) -- in far-away Bangalore. Ordinary villagers make an inexpensive cell-phone call to register their complaints to the NGO centre. The NGO publicizes the message over the net at <http://www.cgnetswara.org/>. Once the message is relayed, other organizations concerned with transparency issues can and do begin to make inquiries about the relevant official or event. 最近一个非政府组织在遥远的班加拉邦建立了一个以手机为基础的电信平台——恰蒂斯加尔邦网络语音。普通村民打一通便宜的手机电话，就可以在这个非政府组织的中心登记他们的投诉问题。这个组织在网站上将投诉信息公开。一旦这个信息被转发，其他组织会考虑公开透明的问題，并开始追究相关官员或事件。

- My second case is taken from work by Griffiths et al who have explored the recent revival of the romantic appeal of the rural (*nongjiale*) among middle class urban Chinese consumers. While the movement to savour authentic simplicity is doubtless a life-style and recreational pastime, the authors argue that it reflects a genuine need to re-connect with perceived lost connections to the simple and natural. Moreover, they suggest that the effort to lure the urban consumer of rural values to the *nongjiayuan* (countryhouse) is a thriving and competitive business among peasant entrepreneurs that extends quite deep into the hinterland. 我的第二个例子来自格里菲思等人的研究，他们探讨了最近在中国城市中产消费者中出现的乡村浪漫魅力的复兴（农家乐）。这场体会简单正宗乡间生活的运动无疑是一种生活方式和消遣活动，作者认为它体现了人们与已经失落的简单自然重新建立连接的本真需求。然而，他们指出，以乡村价值吸引消费者来到农家是农民创业者当中一项兴旺的、竞争力很强的商业活动，它已经延伸到了中国内陆农村。

- Still more recent reports suggest that this new urban-rural space is not simply recreational. The negative effects of intensive agriculture and fear of toxic agricultural products in China are turning urban dwellers back to organic farming and natural solutions. Health conscious young Chinese with money to spare are joining the so-called “happy farms” proliferating by the thousands across the country. They contract with management companies which rent the land, provide seeds, equipment and the customized requirements of the urban dwellers to the farmers. The urban dwellers not only short-circuit the supply chain, but many also visit their “happy farms” on weekends and pick up the shovel. 更多近期的报道表明，这个新的城乡空间并不只是简单的休闲娱乐。在中国，集约农业的负面影响和对有毒农产品的忧虑使城市居民重新回到有机农业和自然的生活方式上。有钱、关注健康的中国年轻人加入了所谓的“开心农场”，这种形式在全国农村地区已经迅速增至几千家。他们与管理公司签订合同，后者租赁土地、提供种子、设备，并将城市居民的要求告诉农民。城市居民不只是缩短了供应链条，很多人还在周末看望他们的“开心农场”，操起农具亲自农作。
- Is it too far fetched to hope that these may become trends and that the rural urban relationship can itself be re-configured for a more sustainable future? 这些也许会成为普遍趋势，城乡关系也许可以朝着一个更加可持续的未来进行重塑，这样的希望还会远吗？