



A Political Economy of Agrarian Change

农政变迁的政治经济学

Henry Bernstein

29 September, 2011

亨利·伯恩斯坦

2011年9月29日

A. Political Economy 政治经济学

■ Four key questions:

- Who owns what?
- Who does what?
- Who gets what?
- What do they do with it?

■ 四个关键问题：

- 谁拥有什么？
- 谁从事什么？
- 谁得到了什么？
- 他们用获得物做了什么？

A. Political Economy 政治经济学

taken together =

**social relations and
processes/dynamics of
production and
reproduction**

四个问题汇总起来=

**生产与再生产中的社会关系
与社会过程**

A. Political Economy 政治经济学

What is distinctive about political economy as a theoretical framework and approach?

□ **作为理论框架以及研究路径，政治经济学有何独特之处？**

A. Political Economy 政治经济学

Everything that is produced must be reproduced

Uses of the social product as

- a consumption fund**
- a replacement fund**
- a ceremonial fund**

□ **一切被生产出来的东西必须要被再生产出来**

□ **社会产品的用途可能是：**

- 消费储备**
- 重置储备**
- 仪式储备**

B. 'Subsistence' societies 生存型社会

reproduce themselves at constant levels of consumption and typically generational reproduction (hence population size) as well.

-
- **在同一消费水平上，特别典型的是在同一代际再生产的水平上再生产出自身（因而人口规模是不变的）**

B. 'Subsistence' societies: a simple schema

		Social differentiation
Who owns what?	Land = 'common property' (and typically used nomadically)	—
Who does what?	→	Social divisions of labour by gender (and generation)
Who gets what?	Egalitarian distribution	Qualified by gender and generation
What do they do with it?		
Consumption:	•Simple reproduction	•Some effects of gender and generation differentiation
Replacement:	•Minimal (simple tools and weapons) + generational reproduction	•Some effects of gender and generation differentiation
Ceremonial:	•Can be a lot relative to total social product	•Often strong gender differences in complex rituals and other cultural practices

B. “生存型” 社会：一个简单的模型

		社会分化
谁拥有什么？	土地=“公共财产”（典型的例子：用于放牧）	—
谁从事什么？	→	劳动的性别分工，或代际劳动分工
谁得到了什么？	平等分配	按性别与长幼区分
他们用获得物做了什么？ 消费： 重置： 仪式：	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• 简单再生产• 最少（简单的工具和武器）+代际再生产• 可能与整个社会产品大有关联	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• 对性别与代际分化有所影响• 对性别与代际分化有所影响• 在复杂的仪式中有强烈的性别上的区分，也存在一些文化上的其他惯例

C. Agrarian class societies 农业阶级社会 (a)

	Peasants (classes of labour)	Lords ('plus' officials including military officers and tax collectors; merchants; priests)
Who owns what?	Instruments of labour	Land and appropriation of product of labour through rents, taxes, merchants' profit etc (and gendered property rights)
Who does what?	Work (including gendered divisions of labour)	Exploit and rule (including gendered divisions of authority and succession)
Who gets what?	'Necessary' product ↓	'Surplus' product = <u>fund of rent</u> ↓

	农民（劳动阶级）	地主（“加上”官员，包括军官，收税人，商人，牧师）
谁拥有什么？	劳动工具	土地，以及通过地租、税收、商业利润（和性别化的财产权）剥夺劳动产品
谁从事什么？	干活（包括劳动的性别分工）	剥削和统治（包括权威与继承上的性别分工）
谁得到了什么？	“必需”的产品 ↓	“ <u>剩余</u> ”产品 = <u>租用储备</u> ↓

C. Agrarian class societies 农业阶级社会 (b)

What do they do with it?	Peasants (classes of labour)	Lords ('plus')
Consumption	•(minimal) Simple reproduction	•Expanded reproduction of wealth and consumption (including gendered rules of inheritance) ↓
Replacement	•Object and instruments of labour + generational reproduction	•Expansion of wealth and power, including military spending
Ceremonial	•Community and family rites of passage etc (sometimes patronised by lords or their agents)	•Building palaces and temples, patronage of religion and the arts, elaborate court ceremonial , etc

他们用获得物做了什么？	农民（劳动阶级）	地主（及其他）
消费	•（最少的）简单再生产	• 财富与消费的扩大再生产（包括继承上的性别原则）↓
重置	• 劳动对象与工具+代际再生产	• 财富与权力扩大，包括军费开支
仪式	• 社区以及家庭的通过仪式等（有时是在地主或其代理人的庇护之下进行）	• 广建宫殿庙宇，光大宗教信仰，赞助艺术，精致繁复的宫廷仪式等

C. Agrarian class societies 农业阶级社会

- ❑ **Settled farming**
- ❑ **Most of recorded history**
- ❑ **Great agrarian civilisations**
- ❑ **But no systematic or sustained development of productive forces**

-
- ❑ **农耕**
 - ❑ **有史以来绝大部分时间**
 - ❑ **伟大的农业文明**
 - ❑ **但生产力没有系统地或持续地发展**

D. Capitalism 资本主义

Only capitalism able to generate ‘a process of self-sustaining economic development characterized by rising labour productivity in farming’ [Robert Brenner].

- ❑ **只有资本主义能够带来“自行持续的经济 development 过程，其标志是农业生产的劳动生产率不断提高”。（罗伯特·勃伦纳）**

D. The capitalist mode of production

	Labour	Capital
Who owns what?	The capacity to work (= 'labour power')	The means of production: objects and instruments of labour
Who does what?	Works (and gendered divisions of labour)	Exploits; organises and manages processes of production (and circulation)
Who gets what?	Wages to obtain the means of subsistence (= 'necessary' labour)	'Surplus' labour in the form of surplus value = the source of profit
What do they do with it?		
Consumption:	Simple reproduction (gendered)	Simple reproduction at higher levels of wealth and consumption
Replacement:	Generational reproduction (thus including gendered divisions of labour)	Expanded reproduction or accumulation = investment of profit in order to make more profit

D. 资本主义的生产方式

	劳动力	资本
谁拥有什么	劳动的能力 (= “劳动力”)	生产资料：劳动的对象与工具
谁从事什么？	干活（包括劳动的性别分工）	剥削；组织与管理生产（和流通）的过程
谁得到了什么？	用于维持生存的工资（“必要”劳动）	以剩余价值为表现的“剩余”劳动 = 利润的源泉
他们用获得物做了什么？ 消费： 重置：	（性别化了的）简单再生产 代际再生产（因此包括了劳动的性别分工）	高水准的财富与消费的简单再生产 扩大再生产或积累 = 将利润投资以获得更多的利润

D. Three Themes / Areas 三个主题 / 领域

□ **(agrarian) origins of capitalism**

□ **world-historical shift from farming to agriculture in industrial capitalism**

□ **fate(s) of the peasantry in the modern world**

□ **资本主义的（农政）起源**

□ **工业资本主义时期从农耕到农业的世界历史变迁**

□ **农民群体在现代社会的（不同）命运**

D1. The (agrarian) origins of capitalism

资本主义的（农政）起源

Two basic views:

- (a) the first/original transition from feudalism to capitalism in England**
- (b) the formation of a capitalist world market (or world system)**

□ 两个基本观点

- ✓ 英格兰是第一个从封建主义向资本主义过渡的国家（起源地）
- ✓ 资本主义世界市场（或世界体系）的形成

D2. The world-historical shift from farming to agriculture in industrial capitalism

工业资本主义时期从农耕到农业的世界历史变迁

Farming = what farmers do, and have always done for most of history, a highly localised activity and way of life

- **农耕 = 农民（长期以来）的活动 → 在漫长的历史时期，是一种高度地方化的活动与生活方式**

D2. The world-historical shift from farming to agriculture in industrial capitalism

工业资本主义时期从农耕到农业的世界历史变迁

‘Agriculture’ emerged only in modern (industrial) capitalism as an

(a) ‘agricultural sector’ with key economic interests ‘upstream’ and ‘downstream’ of farming

(b) an object of public policy, hence of organised politics.

-
- **“农业”是在现代（工业）资本主义时期出现的，它是**
 - ✓ 一个“农业部门”，有“上游”与“下游”的农业经济利益集团
 - ✓ 是公共政策的对象，因此也是有组织的政治行动的对象

D3. Fate(s) of the peasantry

农民群体的（不同）命运

- ❑ **‘commodification of subsistence’**
- ❑ **petty commodity production**
- ❑ **class differentiation**

-
- ❑ **“生活资料商品化”**
 - ❑ **小商品生产**
 - ❑ **阶级分化**

D3. Fate(s) of the peasantry

农民群体的（不同）命运

**Investigating the fate(s) of the
peasantry**

□ 考察农民群体的（不同）命运

Thank you!
谢谢!

China Agricultural University, Beijing

29 September, 2011

中国农业大学·北京

2011年9月29日



COHD SEMINAR SERIES - Critical Issues in Agrarian and Development Studies (CIADS)

“农政与发展”系列讲座

