



AGRICULTURE FIRST? DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES and RURAL-URBAN SYNERGIES

发展战略中的农业与工业——孰先孰后？

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Outline 讲座纲要

- Introduction. 引言
- Two types of development strategies: the debate between 'agrarianists' & 'industrialists'. 两种发展战略：“农业主义”与“工业主义”之间的论争
- A synergetic development strategy: proposal and requirements. 一个协同的发展战略：建议与所需条件
- Discussion of the agrarianist position of the *World Development Report 2008: Agriculture for Development*. 对《2008年世界发展报告：以农业促发展》中农业主义地位的讨论
- Conclusions. 结论

Development Strategies: Agrarianists vs. Industrialists 发展战略：农业主义vs.工业主义

Simplifying, it is possible to distinguish between two types of development strategies:

简单地说，我们可以区分出两种发展战略：

- ‘Agriculture first’: the agrarianists prioritize agriculture’s development and argue that growth will trickle down to the poor. Problem: industrial development is neglected thereby limiting overall growth and trickle down may not happen.

“农业为先”：农业主义者以农业的发展为优先考虑，认为这种增长可以通过涓流效应惠及穷人。

存在的问题是：工业发展被忽视并因此制约了整体增长，涓流效应可能不会出现。

Development Strategies: Agrarianists vs. Industrialists 发展战略：农业主义vs.工业主义

- ‘Industry first’: the industrialisers prioritize industrial development and argue that growth will trickle down to the poor. Problem: agricultural development is neglected thereby limiting overall growth and trickle down may not happen.

“工业为先”：工业主义者以工业的发展为优先，认为这种增长可以通过涓流效应惠及穷人。

存在的问题是：农业发展被忽视并因此制约了整体增长，涓流效应可能不会出现。

Historical Controversies About Sequence of Development 关于发展顺序的历史论战

There is a controversy among economic historians about the timing, magnitude & flow of resources from agriculture to industry & the linkages between these two sectors in the process of economic development. 经济史学家之间围绕资源从农业向工业的流动、流动的时机与规模以及两个部门在经济发展过程中的关联展开了一场论战。

In the case of Great Britain one group of historians argues that the agrarian revolution happened well before the industrial revolution while another group argues that both revolutions were more or less contemporaneous. But nobody argues that industry developed before agriculture. 在英国的案例中，一群史学家认为农业革命的发生远在工业革命之前，而另一群史学家认为两个革命几乎同时发生。但是没有人认为工业是先于农业发展的。

The 'Soviet Industrialisation Debate' 苏联的工业化论争

The 'Soviet industrialisation debate' between Nikolai Bukharin (1888-1938) & Evgeny Preobrazhensky (1886-1937) during the 1920s in the Soviet Union (URSS). “苏联的工业化论争”是20世纪20年代的苏联在尼古拉·布哈林（1888-1938）与叶夫根尼·普列奥布拉任斯基（1886-1937）之间的论战。

The 'New Economic Policy' (NEP) 1921-1929. 苏联于1921-1929年期间实施的“新经济政策”

A pioneering & influential debate in development. 发展领域中的一个开创性的、有影响力的论战

The 'Soviet Industrialisation Debate' 苏联的工业化论争

Bukharin: 布哈林的观点:

- Stimulate agricultural investment & production by allowing free markets & higher agricultural prices. 通过开放自由市场和较高的农产品价格来刺激农业投资与生产。
- Industrialisation has to satisfy the needs of the peasantry otherwise they will not sell their agricultural surplus. 工业化必须满足农民阶级的需求，否则他们将不会出售自己的农业剩余。
- Industrialisation can only advance at the pace at which the agricultural sector is able to grow & the peasants are willing to sell their agricultural surplus in the market. 工业化的推进速度必须符合两个条件：农业部门能够实现增长，农民愿意在市场上出售他们的农业剩余。

The 'Soviet Industrialisation Debate' 苏联的工业化论争

- 'The greater the accumulation in our peasant economy ..., the sooner the peasants overcome their poverty, the richer they become ... the more they are able to purchase the commodities made by urban industry & the more rapidly the accumulation in our industry takes place'.

“我们的小农经济积累得越多……，小农摆脱贫困越早、变得越富有，他们就越能够去购买由城市工业制造的商品，我们的工业就会越快实现积累”。

The 'Soviet Industrialisation Debate' 苏联的工业化论争

Preobrazhensky replied that Bukharin's policy favours the rich peasants ('*kulaks*') whose aim was to become capitalist farmers & who would thus oppose any socialist transition.

普列奥布拉任斯基回应道，布哈林的政策对那些想要成为资本家农民并因此反对任何社会主义变革的富农 (*kulaks*) 有利。他的观点包括：

- Peasant farming is not efficient & thus agricultural production will not expand quickly enough for the requirements of a rapid industrialisation process.

小农农作效率低下，因此农业生产的扩张速度不足以满足快速工业化过程的需求。

The 'Soviet Industrialisation Debate' 苏联的工业化论争

- The transition to socialism requires its own 'primitive socialist accumulation' by manipulating the terms of trade against agriculture & in favour of industry.

向社会主义的过渡需要通过操纵一些对工业有利、于农业不利的贸易条件来实现自身的“社会主义原始积累”。

- Entice peasants to join collectives via mechanisation & provision of fertilisers.

通过机械化和提供化肥的形式吸引小农加入合作社。

- Collective farming achieves economies of scale enabling faster growth in agricultural output. Agriculture's surplus can be transferred to industry via unequal exchange.

集体农作实现了规模经济，促成了农业产出的更快速增长。农业中的剩余可以通过不平等交换进入到工业领域。

The 'Soviet Industrialisation Debate' 苏联的工业化论争



Evgeny Preobrazhensky (1886-1937)
叶夫根尼·普列奥布拉任斯基



Nikolai Bukharin (1888-1938)
尼古拉·布哈林



Alexander V. Chayanov
(1888-1937)

A. V. 恰亚诺夫

Some followers of Bukharin within the leadership of the Communist Party of the USSR were influenced by the ideas of Alexander Chayanov, professor of agricultural economics, who was a leading advocate of peasant farming & the most outstanding 'neopopulist' as well as agrarianist.

布哈林在共产党内领导阶层的一些追随者受到了亚历山大·恰亚诺夫思想的影响。恰亚诺夫是农业经济学教授、小农农作的主要倡导者、最著名的“新民粹主义者”以及农业主义者。

Development Strategies: Industrialists

发展战略：工业主义者

The view of the industrialists predominated from 1950s to 1970s. Industrialisation signified growth & modernity for developing countries. 工业主义的观点在20世纪50-70年代占据主导地位，工业化意味着在发展中国家实现增长和现代性。一些代表观点：

- The ‘structuralist’ model of Raúl Prebisch & the CEPAL (ECLAC in English) school of development: from ‘outward-oriented’ to ‘inward-directed’ development via import-substitution industrialisation (ISI). 劳尔·普雷维什的“结构主义”模型和拉美经委会的发展学派：通过进口替代的工业化实现从“外向型”向“内向型”发展战略的转变。

Development Strategies: Industrialists

发展战略：工业主义者

- The classical model of Sir Arthur Lewis (1954): ‘Economic development with unlimited supplies of labour’. 阿瑟·刘易斯爵士（1954）的经典模型：“劳动无限供给条件下的经济发展”
- Gustav Ranis & John C.H. Fei (1961), ‘A theory of economic development’. 古斯塔夫·拉尼斯和费景汉（1961）的《经济发展原理》
- Bruce F. Johnston & John W. Mellor (1961) ‘The role of agriculture in economic development’. To provide food, raw materials, capital, labour & a market for industry. To transfer an agrarian economic surplus for industrial development.

布鲁斯 F. 约翰逊和约翰·梅勒（1961）的《农业在经济发展中的作用》，农业为工业提供粮食、原材料、资本、劳动力和市场，为工业发展转移农业经济剩余。

Raúl Prebisch and Arthur Lewis

劳尔·普雷维什和阿瑟·刘易斯



Raúl Prebisch (1901-1986)

劳尔·普雷维什



Sir W. Arthur Lewis (1915-1991)

威廉·阿瑟·刘易斯爵士

Development Strategies: Agrarianists 发展战略：农业主义者



The counter-offensive of the agrarianists against the industrialists. 农业主义者向工业主义者的反击

Michael Lipton 迈克尔·立普顿

***Why Poor People Stay Poor:
Urban Bias in World Development,***

London, 1967, 467 pp.

《穷人为何总穷：世界发展中的城市偏向》，
伦敦，1967年，共467页

Urban Bias (UB) Thesis of Lipton 立普顿的城市偏向论

‘The most important class conflict in the poor countries of the world today is not between labour and capital. Nor is it between foreign and national interests. It is between the rural classes and the urban classes.’ (Lipton 1977: 13).

“当今世界，贫穷国家中最重要的阶级冲突不是在劳动力与资本之间，也不是在外国利益和民族利益之间，而是存在于农村阶级与城市阶级之间”（1977：13）。

Urban Bias (UB) Thesis of Lipton 立普顿的城市偏向论

‘Governments are responsible for ‘urban bias’ (UB) in their development policies as they:

政府要对发展政策中的“城市偏向”负责，因为它们：

- (1) Distort prices in favour of the industrial sector (*‘price twists’*) & 扭曲价格以利于工业部门（“价格扭曲”）和
- (2) Allocate government expenditure in favour of the urban sector. 分配政府支出以利于城市部门

Urban Bias (UB) Thesis 城市偏向论

UB has negative consequences for economic growth as well as for equity: 城市偏向对经济增长和公平产生了消极影响:

(1) The marginal productivity of capital is higher in agriculture compared to industry. 农业中的资本边际生产率要高于工业。

(2) The trickle down of agricultural growth is higher compared to industrial growth as agriculture creates more employment per unit of investment & as income is distributed more equally in rural areas as compared to urban areas. 农业增长所产生的涓流效应要高于工业增长，因为农业中的每单位投资创造了更多就业，且农村地区比之城市地区收入分配更公平。

Limitations of the Urban Bias (UB) Thesis 城市偏向论的局限性

- Empirical (limitation of data) & methodological problems (urban poor are classified as rural & landlords as urban) 实证（数据的局限）和方法论的问题（城市贫民被划分为农村居民，而地主被划分为城市居民）。
- ‘UB and its underpinning class analysis simply serve to conceal the true class antagonism and to divert attention away from the class struggle which is actually taking place’ (T.J. Byres 1979: 240). “城市偏向以及支撑它的阶级分析其实隐藏了真正的阶级对立，并且将注意力从真实发生着的阶级冲突中转移开去” (T. J. Byres 1979:240)。

Limitations of the Urban Bias (UB) Thesis 城市偏向论的局限性

- Class analysis: instead of UB there is mainly a pro-landlord bias & an anti-peasant bias. 阶级分析：主要是一种对地主的偏向和反农民的偏向，而不是城市偏向
- ‘Lipton tries to explain too much, indeed virtually everything, in terms of urban bias. In the end it becomes a brilliant obsession’ (K. Griffin 1977: 108). “立普顿试图用城市偏向解释得过多，几乎每一个事物都用城市偏向来解释。最终着魔了！”（K. 格里芬 1977：108）

Limitations of the Urban Bias (UB) Thesis 城市偏向论的局限性

- International factors & their negative impact on agriculture in developing countries are not considered (subsidized agriculture & exports in rich countries, distorted world markets, unequal exchange, etc.). 并未考查国际因素及其对发展中国家农业的负面影响（富裕国家的农业补贴和出口、扭曲的世界市场、不平等交换等等）。
- Would abolishing UB eliminate rural poverty? How to explain the persistence of urban poverty? 废除城市偏向就会消除农村贫困吗？如何解释城市贫困现象的持续存在？
- Does not analyse the dynamic impacts of industrialisation due to economies of scale, technological innovations, etc. & their spill-over effects on agriculture. 对规模经济、技术创新等因素带来的工业化的积极影响及其对农业的溢出效应未进行分析。
- Fails to analyse the positive contribution which industry can make to agriculture's development. 工业对农业发展能够带来的积极贡献未能加以分析。

Synergetic Perspective on Development: Agriculture-Industry Relations 关于发展的协同观点：农业-工业关系

1950 to 1970s countries in Latin America (LA) mostly followed an industrialist development strategy via import-substitution industrialisation (ISI). 20世纪50-70年代拉美国家大多奉行以进口替代工业化为途径的工业主义发展战略。

1980s the 'lost decade' of development in LA: 'structural adjustment' & transition to a neoliberalism. 20世纪80年代拉美发展中“失落的十年”：结构调整与新自由主义的转向。

1990-present: LA mainly follows an agrarianist & extractivist development strategy focused on agricultural, forestry, mineral & oil exports. 20世纪90年代至今：拉美主要遵行一种农业主义和采掘主义的发展战略，侧重于农业、林业、矿业和石油的出口。

Synergetic Perspective on Development: Agriculture-Industry Relations 关于发展的协同观点：农业-工业关系

Neither the 'industrialist' nor the 'agrarianist' development strategies have been able to fundamentally reduce the high levels of inequality & poverty in LA. 无论是工业主义还是农业主义的发展战略都没有能够从根本上降低拉美地区高度的不平等和贫困水平。

Hence, the need for an alternative development strategy. 因此，我们需要另一种发展战略。

See data on income inequality, poverty & land distribution in the next three slides. 参见后三张幻灯片中关于收入不平等、贫困和土地分配的数据。

Income Inequality in Latina America 拉丁美洲的收入不平等

Gini Coefficient of Income Distribution (decennial averages of 1970, 1980 & 1990) 收入分配的基尼系数 (1970、1980和1990年的十年平均值)

Regions地区	1970s	1980s	1990s
OECD经合组织	32,3	32,5	34,2
Asia 亚洲	40,2	40,4	41,2
Latin America拉美	48,4	50,8	52,2

Latin America has the most unequal distribution of income in the world
拉丁美洲是全球收入分配最不平等的地方

Source: PNUD (UNDP), *Informe Regional sobre Desarrollo Humano para América Latina y el Caribe 2010*, San José, Costa Rica: PNUD, 2010, p. 26.

来源：拉丁美洲和加勒比地区人类发展报告2010，圣何塞，哥斯达黎加：UNDP，2010，p. 26

Poverty in Latina America 拉丁美洲的贫困

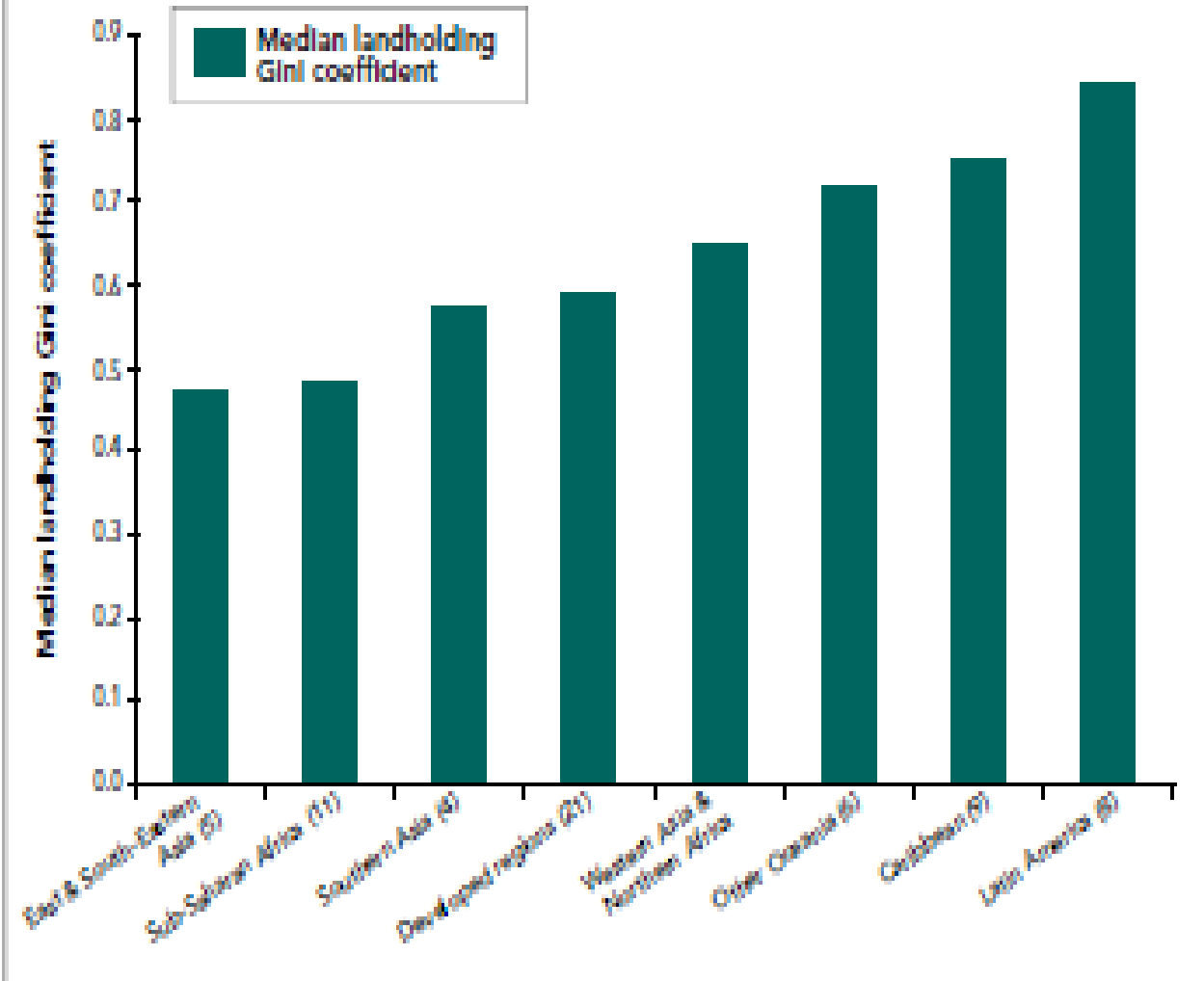
Incidence of Poverty in Latin America, 1980-2010 (percentage of population)
拉丁美洲的贫困发生率，1980-2010（人口比例）

Years 年份	Total 总数	Urban 城市	Rural 乡村
1980	40.5	29.8	59.9
1990	48.3	41.4	65.4
2000	42.5	35.9	62.5
2007	35.1	29.8	53.6

Source: CEPAL (ECLAC), *Panorama Social de América Latina 2007*,
Santiago: CEPAL, 2007, p. 5.

来源：拉美经委会，拉丁美洲社会全景2007，圣地亚哥：CEPAL，2007，p. 5

Distribution of agricultural landholdings (1990 round of agricultural censuses)



Source: FAO online agricultural census data.

Latin America has the worst land concentration in the world.

拉丁美洲是全球土地集中最严重的地方

A Synergetic Development Strategy 一种协同的发展战略

Dilemma of an extraction of an agrarian economic surplus & its transfer to industrial sector: 攫取农业经济剩余并转移到工业部门所存在的困境:

- If it is too high it will limit investment & growth in agriculture. Agricultural prices will rise.

如果攫取过多，将会制约农业的投资和增长，农业价格将上涨；

- If it is too low then industry will not have sufficient resources for investment & growth.

如果转移过低，工业用于投资和增长的资源就会不足。

A Synergetic Development Strategy

一种协同的发展战略

How to resolve the dilemma? 如何解决这一困境?

- Design & implement a development strategy which stimulates simultaneously both sectors & their interrelationships in such a way as to maximize total factor productivity growth across the economy while being mindful of equity issues, i.e. a synergetic development strategy.

设计并实施一种发展战略，对两个部门同时加以刺激，使两个部门的相互关系既能使整个经济行业的总要素生产率增长最大化、也能顾及到平等的问题，也就是一种协同的发展战略。

Five requirements for a synergetic development strategy.

协同的发展战略所需的五个条件

(1) State Capacity & Class Relations 国家能力与阶级关系

State & class: in Latin America (LA) the State has been & is largely dominated by upper class interests, capturing rents ('mining' the economy), unstable, wasteful, dysfunctional, often lacking in legitimacy but at times developmentalist & populist.

国家与阶级：在拉丁美洲，国家一直以来都由上流阶层的利益集团所主导，其特点表现为寻租（破坏经济）、不稳定、浪费、功能失调、通常缺少合法性，但又时常是发展主义与民粹主义的。

(1) State Capacity & Class Relations 国家能力与阶级关系

What is required?:

An enlightened political leadership, a State with a developmentalist vision for the whole society, able to overcome specific class interests, with legitimacy & administrative capacity. An entrepreneurial, efficient & 'catalytic' State able to create & release synergies within the economy. This requires increasing the revenue capacity of the State & public investment to be financed by higher productivity & rates of growth.

需要什么条件？

一个开明的政治领导层，一个对社会整体有着发展主义愿景的国家，能够克服特定集团的利益，具有合法性和行政能力。一个具有企业家精神的、高效的、有“催化作用”的国家能够创造并释放出经济中的协同效应。这需要提高国家的税收能力，并且需要较高的生产率和增长率来为公共投资提供资金。

(2) Agrarian Reform: Unfinished Task 农业改革：未完成的任务

LA has the highest land concentration in the world: 0.81 Gini coefficient (K. Deininger & P. Olinto, 'Asset distribution, inequality, and growth', World Bank Policy Research Paper 2375, Washington, D.C., 2000.) It has a 'bimodal' instead of a 'unimodal' agrarian structure originating in the 'latifundia-minifundia' system. 拉丁美洲的土地集中程度是全球最高的：基尼系数为0.81（K. Deininger & P. Olinto, “资产分配、不平等与增长”，世界银行政策研究报告2375，华盛顿，2000）。由于“大型庄园-小土地持有”体系，它呈现出“双峰”的而不是“单峰”的农业结构。

Consequences: low productivity, highly unequal income distribution, high levels of poverty, limited demand for industrial commodities, etc. in the rural sector. 结果：农村部门的低生产率、高度的收入不平等、贫困水平高和对工业商品的有限需求。

(2) Agrarian Reform: Unfinished Task

农业改革：未完成的任务

Land reforms were implemented in several LA countries, mainly in the 1960s & 1970s but these were limited (land expropriated & beneficiaries). Sometimes they were followed by counter-reforms & land concentration increased again. Most peasants remained landless or with insufficient land. 一些拉美国家实施了土地改革，主要是在20世纪60和70年代，但是这些改革受到了限制（土地被征占和受益人）。有时，这些改革遭遇了抵制并且使土地集中程度再次提高。大多数小农仍然处于无地状态或者土地数量很少。

(2) Agrarian Reform: Timing & Sequence 农业改革：时间与顺序

Timing of land reforms: in LA land reforms were implemented decades after the start of industrialisation. Hence productivity remained low & agriculture was unable to fully support the industrialisation process. 土地改革的时间：在拉美，土地改革是在开始工业化进程的几十年后开始的。因此生产率仍然很低，农业仍然不能全面支持工业化进程。

What is required: a systematic redistributive agrarian reform with sustained State support for the peasant beneficiaries (diffusion of productivity enhancing technologies, provision of credit & marketing, etc.). 需要的条件：一个系统性的、再分配式的农业改革以及对小农持续的国家支持（生产率增强型技术的传播、提供信贷和市场营销支持，等等）。

(2) Agrarian Reform: Timing & Sequence

农业改革：时间与顺序

Sequence: such an agrarian reform should have been implemented before or at the start of industrialisation so as to develop early on synergies between agrarian & industrial sectors. Ongoing reforms in Brazil, Bolivia & Venezuela.

顺序：这样的农业改革本应在工业化开始之前或是开始时进行，以便提早在农业部门和工业部门之间形成协同作用。巴西、玻利维亚和委内瑞拉正在进行的改革。

Haciendas or latifundios (large landed estates) in Mexico
墨西哥的大庄园主



Emiliano Zapata by Diego Rivera



Peasants marching for an agrarian reform in Chile (1960s)

智利农民为农业改革举行游行（1960s）



Members of the landless peasants movement (MST) demanding agrarian reform in Brazil (1980s-90s) 巴西的无地农民运动成员呼吁农业改革（1980s-90s）



Peasant rally in support of an agrarian reform in Peru (1970s)

秘鲁农民举行集会来支持农业改革（1970s）

(3) Agriculture – Industry Links 农业-工业的关联

In LA the domestic market for industry was limited due to high income inequality & levels of poverty. This created a highly concentrated & inefficient industrial structure requiring increasing levels of protection. Industry had few backward & forward linkages with agriculture & vice versa. 在拉丁美洲，国内工业市场由于高度的收入不平等和高贫困率而受到制约，这产生了一个高度集中的、低效的工业结构，且需要愈来愈多的保护。工业与农业之间几乎没有后向和前向连结，反之亦然。

What is required: creation of mutually reinforcing dynamic linkages between agricultural & industrial sectors (including services); a more equal distribution of income which provides a larger domestic market for industry as well as a more balanced industrial structure allowing to reap the benefits of economies of scale. 需要的条件：在农业和工业部门间（包括服务业）建立相互强化的动态连结；更加公平的收入分配来为工业提供更大的国内市场，以及一个更加平衡的工业结构来实现规模经济效益。

(3) Agriculture – Industry Links

农业-工业的关联

A more egalitarian land distribution will create a wider demand for industrial inputs such as fertilizers, equipment & appropriate machinery thereby boosting industrial production as well as agricultural productivity. 一个更加公平的土地分配将为诸如化肥、生产设备和适当的机械等工业投入品带来更广泛的需求，从而提高工业生产和农业生产率。

(4) Agrarian Surplus: Creation

农业剩余：创造

In LA the creation of an agrarian surplus was limited due to the highly unequal dualist or bimodal latifundia-minifundia agrarian structure which failed to fully develop agriculture's potential. Modern technology was concentrated on the capitalist farms, often capital intensive with the use of largely imported tractors & harvest combines & requiring scarce foreign exchange. Agriculture's balance of foreign trade declined or became negative. 在拉丁美洲，由于高度不平等的二元式或大型庄园-小土地持有的双峰式农业结构，农业剩余的产生是极为有限的，这使得农业的潜力不能得到充分发展。现代技术都集中于资本主义农场中，这些农场通常是资本密集型的、主要使用进口的拖拉机、联合收割机，并且要使用稀缺的外汇。农业的外贸平衡出现下滑或者呈现负数。

(4) Agrarian Surplus: Creation

农业剩余：创造

What is required is the widespread use by all peasant producers of productivity enhancing technologies which require less capital & foreign exchange than the technologies used by large scale capitalist farms. Switch to higher value crops, increase processing & move upwards in the value added commodity chain.

所需要的条件是所有小农生产者都广泛采用生产率增强型的技术，这些技术要比大型资本主义农场采用的技术对资本和外汇的需求少得多。小农要转向价值更高的作物类型生产，提高深加工并且向附加值商品链的上端移动。

(4) Agrarian Surplus: Use 农业剩余：利用

Due to landlord bias policies in LA the State only captured part of the agrarian surplus & often failed to use it for developmental purposes or efficiently. Landlords also wasted part of the agrarian surplus in luxury consumption instead of reinvesting it.

由于拉丁美洲地主偏向的政策，国家只掌握了一部分农业剩余且常常无法或者无法有效地将其用于发展。地主也将部分农业剩余挥霍在奢侈消费上，而不是进行再投资。

(4) Agrarian Surplus: Use 农业剩余：利用

What is required: State policies which promote productivity enhancing measures directed mainly at peasant farmers. This should reduce poverty & widen the domestic market for industry. State should capture only part of the increased agrarian surplus & use it to promote the synergies between the economic sectors by, for example, supporting rural industries & industries geared to improve agriculture's productivity (ploughs, fertilizers) & value added through agro-industrial processing, etc.

需要的条件：主要瞄准小农的、推动生产率增强型措施的国家政策。这会降低贫困水平、拓宽国内工业市场。国家应该只获取农业剩余增加中的一部分，并通过一些方式来促进经济部门间的协同作用，例如支持乡村工业和那些能够提高农业生产率（耕犁和化肥）和通过农业企业加工提高附加值的工业，等等。

(5) Industrialisation: Sequence & Competitiveness

工业化：顺序和竞争力

Industrialisation in LA went through a dynamic but ‘easy phase’ of ISI (1950s-60s) which after a couple of decades was ‘exhausted’. Vicious circle of ever-increasing lack of industry’s competitiveness requiring more protectionism thereby furthering its inefficiency. Lack of foreign exchange (‘external strangulation’) & inability to make the transition from ISI to export-oriented-industrialisation (EOI) prevented industry to reap economies of scale & to move to the higher value added stage of industrialisation.

拉丁美洲的工业化经历了一个多变但又“平稳”的进口替代工业化阶段（20世纪50-60年代），这一过程在几十年后变得千疮百孔。工业竞争力日益匮乏的恶性循环需要更多的保护主义，从而加剧了它的低效。缺少外汇（“外部扼杀”）以及没有能力从进口替代工业化向出口导向工业化转变，这阻碍了工业实现规模经济并向工业化的更高附加值阶段迈进。

(5) Industrialisation: Sequence & Competitiveness

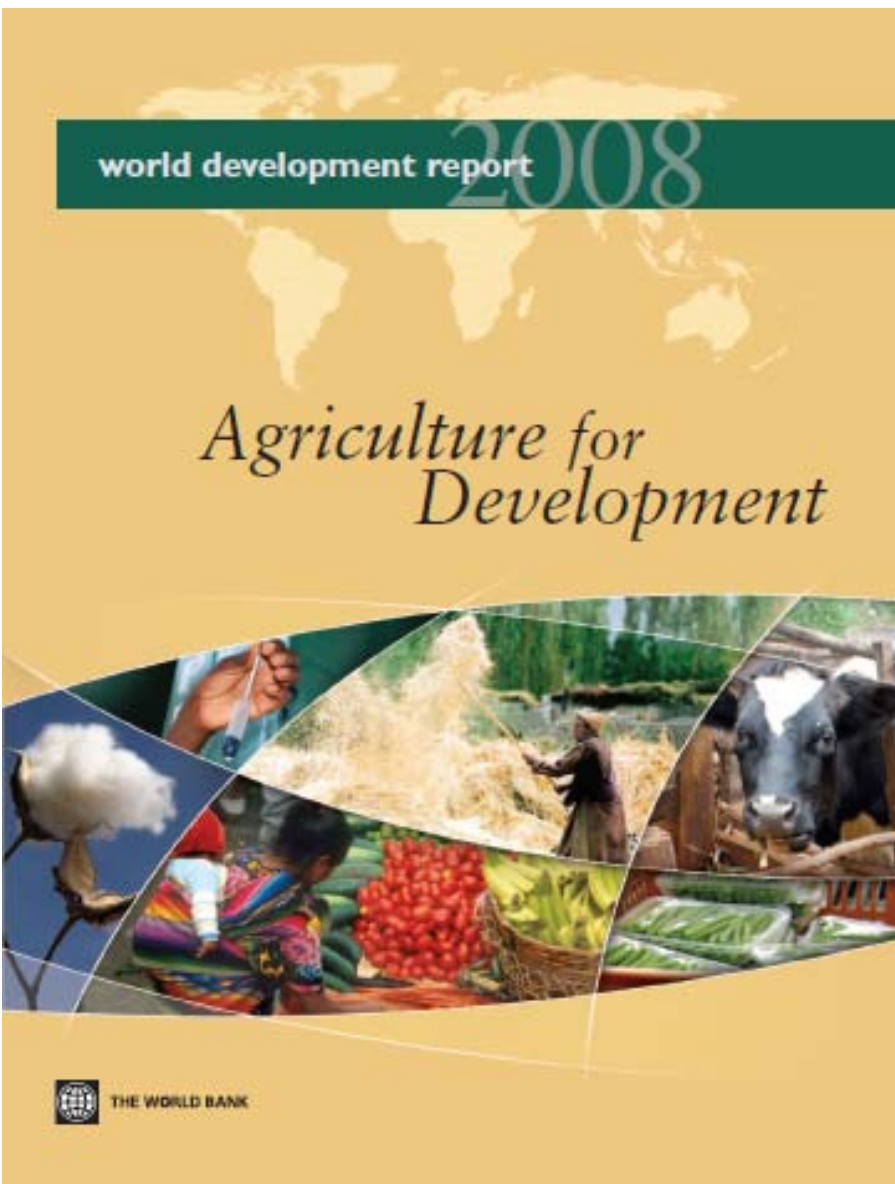
工业化：顺序和竞争力

What is required: an industrial policy which promotes industry's competitiveness by supporting an early sequence from ISI to EOI, technological innovation (increasing R&D expenditure) & shifting to higher value added industrial commodities. Promoting industries & services which support agriculture.

需要的条件：一项有利于提高工业竞争力的工业政策，支持进口替代工业化向出口导向工业化的早期过渡、支持技术创新（增加研发经费）并转向更高附加值的工业商品生产。推动有助农业发展的工业和服务业。

The World Bank: A Surprising (& Temporary?) Agrarianist

世界银行：令人惊讶的（而且是临时的？）农业主义者



The WDR 2008 asks three questions:

2008年世界发展报告中提出的三个问题

(1) What can agriculture do for development?

农业能为发展做些什么？

(2) What are effective instruments for using agriculture for development?

利用农业促进发展的有效手段是什么？

(3) How can agriculture-for-development agendas best be implemented?

以农业促发展的议程如何得到最好实施？

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WDR 2008 'Agriculture for Development' 2008年世界发展报告“以农业促发展”

These 3 questions reveal the agrarianist position of the WDR 2008. The Report is most welcome as it is the first time since 1982 that the yearly WDRs focus on agriculture. 这三个问题揭示了2008年世行报告中的农业主义立场。这项报告广受欢迎，因为这是自1982年以来世行年度报告首次聚焦农业。

- But it fails to ask the question what can the industrial & service sectors do for agriculture's development? 但是它并未提到一个问题，即工业和服务业能为农业的发展做些什么？
- Nor does it propose a synergetic development strategy. 也没有提出协同的发展战略。

WDR 2008 'Agriculture for Development' 2008年世界发展报告“以农业促发展”

- Instead it proposes to develop markets by 'getting prices right', creating 'level playing fields' & 'securing private property rights', which are also advocated by neoliberals. 相反，它提出通过“使价格回归正确轨道”、创造“公平的竞争环境”和“保障私有产权”来发展市场，这些也是新自由主义所倡导的。
- But it acknowledges that neoliberal policies have failed to give a new impetus to agriculture & above all to reduce rural poverty. 但是它又承认新自由主义政策没有能够为农业注入新的动力、未能从根本上减少农村贫困。

WDR 2008: In the Shadow of the UB Thesis 2008年世界发展报告：在城市偏向论的阴影下

The WDR 2008 is imbued with Lipton's urban bias thesis.
It refers in a Liptonian manner to:

2008年世行报告中也充斥着立普顿的城市偏向论调。它以立普顿的方式提到：

- 'macroeconomic, price, and trade policies [that] unduly discriminate against agriculture' (p. 38) “宏观经济、价格和贸易政策过度歧视农业” (p. 38)
- 'urban bias in the allocation of public investment' (p. 38) “公共投资分配中的城市偏向” (p. 38)
- 'reduced but continuing policy biases against agriculture' (p.226) “对农业不利的政策偏向虽有减少但仍在持续” (p. 226)

WDR 2008: In the Shadow of the UB Thesis 2008年世界发展报告：在城市偏向论的阴影下

- ‘underinvestment and poor investment of public resources in agriculture’ (p. 226) “公共资源在农业中的投资不足、投资薄弱” (p. 226)
- situations were ‘smallholder interests tend to be poorly represented, and policy is biased toward urban interests and those of the landed elite’ (p. 43). 情况是“小规模土地持有者的利益未得到充分代表，政策偏向于那些拥有土地的精英和城市的利益” (p. 43)

Limitations of Dualist Visions 二元化愿景的局限性

The dualistic vision of ‘agrarianists’, ‘industrialists’ & the UB thesis is increasingly unhelpful for thinking about development.

For Lipton the rural-urban divide is profound & persistent.

“农业主义”、“工业主义”和城市偏向论这种二元化的愿景愈加无益于发展。对于立普顿来说，城乡的二元划分是深刻而持续存在的。

Yet in recent decades there is a growing interaction between rural-urban sectors:

然而，在最近几十年中，城乡部门间的互动日渐增多：

- Ruralisation of the urban & urbanisation of the rural. The emergence of peri-urban agriculture. 城市的乡村化和农村的城镇化，城郊（都市）农业的出现。
- Agriculture’s rising need of inputs from industry. 农业对工业投入的需求增加。

Limitations of Dualist Visions 二元化愿景的局限性

- Increasing processing of food, spread of agroindustries, integration of farmers into global commodity chains & intrusion of urban & global supermarkets into rural areas. 越来越多的食品加工、农业工业的扩散、农民在全球商品链中的融入以及城市和全球性超市向农村地区的侵入。
- Rural household employment & incomes increasingly depend on non-agricultural & non-rural activities as well as on remittances from migrant family members (urban work). 农村家庭的就业和收入愈加依赖非农业、非农村的活动和来自外出务工成员的汇款（城市工作）。

Limitations of Dualist Visions 二元化愿景的局限性

- Rural & urban labour straddle progressively more the rural-urban sectors through migration, often of a circular kind. 城乡劳动力逐渐通过流动（且通常是循环式流动）穿梭于城市和乡村之间
- Growing rural-urban flows of commodities, services, capital & people as well as increasing entanglements between rural & urban activities erode the division & rigid distinction between the urban & rural sectors. 城乡间商品、服务、资本和人口的流动增多，城乡活动的相互交叉日益增加，这些都削弱了城乡部门间的分隔和严格区分

In short, development strategies should overcome dualist proposals & instead promote the synergies between agriculture-industry & rural-urban areas. 简言之，发展战略应该摆脱二元化思维，而代之以推动农业-工业、农村-城市间的协同作用。

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SYMPOSIUM: THE WORLD DEVELOPMENT REPORT 2008

Carlos Oya	Introduction to a Symposium on the <i>World Development Report 2008: Agriculture for Development?</i>
Philip McMichael	Banking on Agriculture: A Review of the <i>World Development Report 2008</i>
Kojo Sebastian Amanor	Global Food Chains, African Smallholders and World Bank Governance
Philip Woodhouse	Technology, Environment and the Productivity Problem in African Agriculture: Comment on the <i>World Development Report 2008</i>
Matteo Rizzo	The Struggle for Alternatives: NGOs' Responses to the <i>World Development Report 2008</i>

Symposium on the
World Development Report 2008: Agriculture for Development,
Journal of Agrarian Change, 9 (2),
2009.

《农政变迁》杂志
刊载关于2008年世界
发展报告的研讨会
论文
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Conclusions: Synergies First! 结论：协同为先！

The advantages of designing & implementing a development strategy that exploits the dynamic synergies between agriculture & industry.

设计和实施一项能够对农业和工业有机协同性加以发掘利用的发展战略的优势。

Proposals for prioritizing agriculture over industry or vice versa will not be able to achieve the productivity & growth enhancing outcomes that are desirable & possible.

只优先发展农业或是只优先发展工业的计划，将无法取得理想的和可能的生产率，无法实现稳固的增长。

Conclusions: Synergies First! 结论：协同为先！

I am aware that it is only under particular social & political circumstances that such synergies can be created & that the obstacles can be formidable. But I am also aware that neoliberal policies have not provided a solution to the problems of poverty & inequality. Therefore the importance of enabling the State to design & implement synergetic development strategies.

我很清楚，只有在特定的社会和政治环境下才能跨越障碍、创造出这样的协同作用。但我也知道，新自由主义政策没能为贫困和不平等问题提供一个解决方案。因此，重要之处就在于使国家有能力来设计和实施协同性的发展战略。