



**To Make Live or Let Die?**  
**Rural Dispossession and the Protection**  
**of Surplus Populations**

使其生，任其死？  
——乡村土地的流失与剩余人口的保护

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The image is a black and white architectural drawing. The top half shows a cross-section of a large, multi-story building with a classical facade, featuring a series of arched windows and a central entrance. The bottom half shows a cross-section of a semi-circular theater or arena with tiered seating and a stage at the bottom. The text is overlaid in the center of the image.

**I. Make Live, Let Die**  
**使其生，任其死**



- **Let live, Make Die** = rule of the sovereign  
“任其生，使其死” = 统治的规则
- **Make live** = biopolitics  
“使其生” = 生命政治

Managing populations 管理人口

Worrying about their wellbeing, their longevity 为他们的幸福、寿命所忧虑



- **Let Die 任其死**

Raises spectre of **Let Die** = abandonment

释放出“任其死”的幽灵=遗弃

Not intervening when one could **力所能及时不予帮助**

Selecting some for life enhancement, abandoning others **挑选出某些生命加以改善，而遗弃其他生命**

Use criteria: **进行挑选的标准**

- race, nationality, virtue, efficiency, the greater good **种族、国籍、美德、效率、更大的利益**



- **Letting die is here “任其死” 的现象就在我们身边**

Life expectancy below 55 in parts of Africa, Asia **在非洲和亚洲的部分地区，居民的预期寿命不足55岁**

Within one city **在同一个城市当中**

- poor/black in Chicago die at age 60 **芝加哥的黑人贫民死于60岁**

- rich/white at age 77 **富有的白人平均寿命则是77岁**

One billion people live on less than \$1/day **世界上有10亿人口每天生活费用不足1美元**

Not famine - but short, limited lives **并非饥荒造成的短暂、有限的生命**



- **What are conjunctures at which “make live” arises?**  
**“使其生” 出现在怎样的情势中？**

Making live – also here. **“使其生” 的例子同样存在**

In welfare states of global north – also in global south. **在北半球的一些福利国家，以及南半球**

Outcome of political struggles and calculations **政治斗争与算计的结果**

Take care of potentially “dangerous classes” **顾及一些潜在的“危险阶层”**



- Kerala in India 印度的喀拉拉邦

Kerala life expectancy is 73 喀拉拉邦居民的预期寿命是73岁

India average is 63 印度的平均水平是63岁

Due to investment in public health and education 高寿命水平缘于对公共卫生和教育的投入

Rates of pay for agricultural workers that are 100% higher 农业工人的收入水平是印度农业工人平均水平的两倍

Strong labour unions 强大的工会

Communist party, democratic elections, active civil society 共产党、民主选举和活跃的公民社会

## II. Dispossession

剥夺







Making live – as a role of government

使其生——作为政府的职能与作用

Critical when people cannot sustain themselves.

Removed from direct access to land

Unable to earn a living wage.

当人们无法养活自己、被割断了对土地的直接使用权、无法获得糊口工资的时候，这一职能尤为关键。



- **Dispossession: mechanisms 剥夺的机制**

Assigning land for mining; plantations; conservation; industry. 将土地指定用于采矿、种植园、资源保护和工业

Low productivity, low investment in agriculture, competition 农业竞争中的低生产率、低投资

Cannot survive in countryside, wages too low 工资水平太低，在乡村无法生存

Exit to cities to find work? 到城市寻找工作？

FREE  
WORKERS

FREE  
INDUSTRY



**III. Surplus  
Population**  
**剩余人口**



- Not Malthus, too many people, not enough food 并非马尔萨斯所言的人口过多、食物不足
- Marx - relative surplus population 而是马克思所说的相对过剩人口
- Surplus in relation to needs of capital 相对于资本的需求而言是“过剩”的



- **Against Transition Narrative** 以转型叙事为背景

Agriculture to industry 农业向工业的转变

Country to city 乡村向城市的转变

Assumes linear path 转型叙事预设了线性路径

Modernization will be the same in each country 每个国家的现代化都将是同一模式



- Capital is mobile around the globe 资本在全球范围内流动

Looks for cheap land, cheap workers 寻找更廉价的土地和工人

Needs fewer workers - replace with machines 资本需要的工人更少——以机器替代人工

Many people need work - but factory installs robots 很多人需要工作——但是工厂却安装了自动化机器



- Surplus population is not a labour reserve 剩余人口  
并不是劳动力蓄水池

Will not be needed in future 将来不会需要这些人口

If economy is organized for maximum profit 如果经济  
是以利润最大化为目标

Cannot rely on “the market” to solve the problem 不能  
依靠“市场”来解决这个问题



- **Example of transition thinking: 转型思维的一些例子:**

World Development on Agriculture 2008 2008年的世界发展报告  
Recommends increased efficiency in agriculture 建议在农业中提高效率

Large-scale agribusiness, will employ workers 大型农业企业会雇佣更多工人

But plantation agriculture - oil palm - needs 1 person/10 hectares  
但是种植园农业，例如油棕，每10公顷仅需要一个劳动力

Large scale soy and wheat farming - 1 person per 100 hectares  
大规模的大豆和小麦种植—100公顷需要一个劳动力

The land is needed, but the people are not needed 需要的是土地，而不是人





- **Where are the jobs? 哪里有工作?**

High levels of growth in India and in Indonesia, 1990-2010 印度和印尼在1990-2010年间实现了高水平增长

But very few jobs 但是创造的工作机会非常少

New economic sectors do not need many workers 新的经济部门不需要很多工人

Labour markets segmented (age, sex, location, ethnicity) 劳动力市场被分割（年龄、性别、地域、种族）

## IV. Protection of surplus population

### 剩余人口的保护





- 1) Leave it to the market means abandonment 将其交由市场就意味着遗弃
- 2) Do not dispossess people from land - unless there are jobs 不要剥夺人们的土地——除非能给他们提供工作
- 3) Build “make live” thinking into planning 将“使其生”的思维带入社会发展规划中
- 4) Expand welfare provisions, basic income grants 扩大福利供给，提供基本收入转移
- 5) Consider modes of distribution not tied to work 采取不与工作相关联的分配模式



- Transnational Arena: tensions, contradictions **国际舞台上的张力与矛盾**

UN system: **联合国系统:**

Economic and Social Rights **经济与社会权利**

Right to food **食物权**

A “rights based approach” to development **一种“权利为基础”的发展视角**

Also: **以及**

Investment Banks, IMF - promote growth **投资银行、国际货币基金组织—推动增长**

Assume poor will eventually benefit. **假定穷人会最终受益**

Market will take care of problem **市场会解决一切问题**



## • National Experiences, Experiments 各国的经验和试验

Brazil, Mexico: 巴西、墨西哥

Conditional transfers - support families if send children to school 有条件的现金转移——对那些送子女入学的家庭给予支持

Ecuador, Namibia: 厄瓜多尔、纳米比亚

Distribute profits from mining - each citizen has a “rightful share” 对从矿业获得的利润进行分配——每个公民都拥有“合法份额”

South Africa, Denmark: 南非、丹麦

Debating a “basic income grant” 围绕“基本收入转移”展开讨论

- rich countries, not enough work, should people starve? 富裕国家，没有足够的工作机会，应该让人民忍受饥饿吗？
- distribute national wealth to all citizens - enough to live on 将国家财富分配给所有公民——让人们足够维持生活



- **India: 印度**

Right to food movement, legal challenge - and rural uprisings **食物权运动、法律上的挑战，以及农村暴动**

- adequate food is a constitutionally guaranteed right **充足的食物是一项由宪法保障的权利**
- sue government for failure to ensure people have adequate food **控诉政府不能确保人民拥有充足食物**
- National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme **全国乡村就业保障计划**
- Free food in rural schools **农村学校的免费食物提供**
- subsidized rice **补贴稻米**



- **Indonesia: 印尼**

Lack of debate about fate of rural poor 对农村贫民的命运缺少讨论

Large scale dispossession in rural areas 农村地区的大规模剥夺

Jobs concentrated in Java - or in China 工作机会集中在爪哇岛，或者在中国

“Safety net” weak, incomplete 安全网的脆弱、不完善

Government relies on “village myth” 政府依赖于“村庄的迷思”

Families, villages will take care of their own 家庭、村庄会照顾他们自己

But families are landless; villages flooded by dams 但是家庭失去了土地，村庄也被大坝所淹没

## Rural Dispossession: 农村剥夺

- Loss of land in countryside, low investment 乡村失去了土地，投入很低
- Rural people cannot sustain themselves, must exit 农村人口无法养活自己，必须离开

## Surplus Population: 剩余人口

- Lack of labour absorption 缺乏劳动力吸纳
- Jobless growth 无就业的增长
- Market does not provide 市场不提供机会



## Make Live Interventions: “使其生”的干预措施

- Needed everywhere 全球各地普遍需要
- Will take different forms 会呈现出不同形式