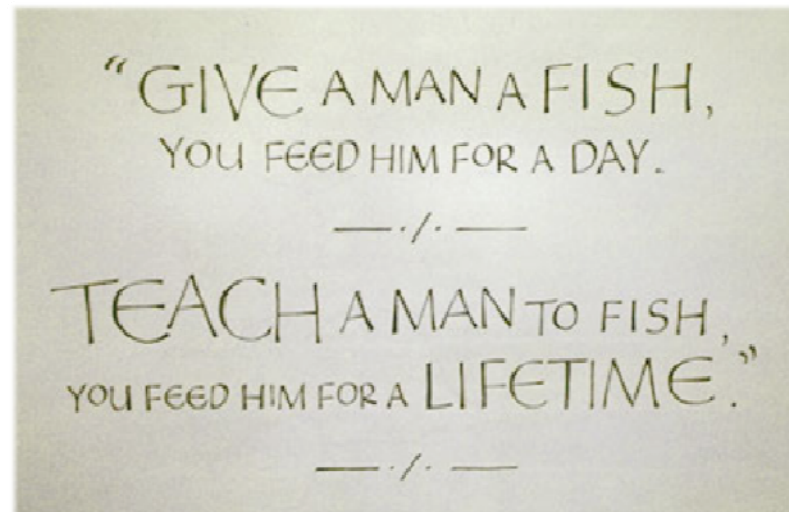




## Give a Man a Fish: The new politics of distribution in southern Africa (and beyond)

授人以鱼：关于分配的新政治学



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# A development cliché 关于发展的陈词滥调

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- **Give a man a fish, and you feed him for a day**
  - **Teach a man to fish, and you feed him for a lifetime**
  - **Transformation instead of Charity**
  - **Get productive skills and the opportunity to work, not handouts and dependency**
- **授人以鱼，一日之需。**
  - **授人以渔，终生之用。**
  - **转型而非施舍**
  - **获得生产性技能与工作机会，而非救济品和形成依赖。**

# Critiques on the cliché 各种批判

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- **Gender issues: why assuming the fisher is a “man”?**
- **Political economy: more likely lack the material means to enter an industry**
- **Indigenous knowledge: local people knows more (how to fish)!**
- **研究性别问题的专家：为何假定渔夫是男性？**
- **来自政治经济学的批判：更可能缺少的是进入行业所需的生产资料。**
- **研究乡土知识的学者：当地人（对如何捕鱼）懂得更多！**

# More fundamental critique 更本质的批判

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- ❑ **The problem of poverty is assumed to be a problem of production.**
  - ❑ **The solution is to bring the hungry poor into the world of production.**
  - ❑ **Catching, and not just eating fish**
- ❑ **这一话语假定了贫困是源于生产不足。**
  - ❑ **解决之道便是让挨饿的穷人进入生产领域。**
  - ❑ **去抓鱼，而不是吃鱼。**

# Problems in the world of production

## 生产领域的问题

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- **Less labor, highly capitalized private corporations**
- **Increase the size of fishing enterprises to a “financially viable level”: 25% permits for fishing**
- **The Atlantic coast swarm with unemployed fishermen**
- **资本密集型私有企业雇工减少**
- **扩大企业，使其规模达到可盈利的水平: 只有25%的申请人获得了渔业许可证。**
- **大西洋海岸现在挤满了失业的渔民**

# Problems in the world of production

## 生产领域的问题

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- **Being fed for a lifetime or trained for non-existent job?**
- **授人以渔之后是终生受用，还是无工可做？**
- **What about the global ecosystem? What about fish?**
- **全球生态系统会怎样？鱼儿会怎样？**
- **Do we really need to catch more fish?**
- **我们真的需要抓更多的鱼吗？**

## the realm of distribution 分配领域

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- ❑ **Massive over-production and widespread poverty**
- ❑ **Give a man his share**

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- ❑ **一方面是大规模的生产过度，另一方面是广泛蔓延的贫困**
  - ❑ **让穷人获得一份属于他的（鱼）。**

# Existing distribution plans 已有的一些分配方案

	Essence 实质	What' s missing 缺陷
<b>Keynesian Welfare State</b>	The distributional compact between capital and organized labor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>□ only a small proportion of workers in formal sectors can benefit.</li> <li>□ The growing urban poor: “the Lumpenproletariat” , “the Youth” (many at their 40s or 50s)</li> </ul>
<b>凯恩斯型福利国家</b>	资本家与有组织的劳工之间的分配协议	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>□ 只有少部分有正式工作的工人可以受惠。</li> <li>□ 不断增多的城市贫民：“流氓无产者”；“年轻人”（很多其实是中年人）</li> </ul>



# Existing distribution plans 已有的一些分配方案

	Essence 实质	What' s missing 缺陷
<p><b>New forms of welfare state in the global south ( welfare 2.0)</b></p>	<p>Social pension and funds for the elderly, the disabled, mothers, and children (covering 30 percent of entire population in South Africa)</p>	<p>cash support only for traditionally recognized "dependents"            Give a woman a fish: legitimate provisioning            Great a man a fish (especially the able-bodied, working-age men): the taboo</p>
<p><b>南半球的新型福利国家 (福利计划2.0)</b></p>	<p>国家为老人、残疾人、母亲，儿童提供养老金和其他基金（在南非，全国约有30%的人受惠）</p>	<p>只为长期被视为无力独自谋生的人提供支持。            授妇人以鱼：合情合理            授男子以鱼（尤其是有劳动能力、处于工作年龄段的男性）：一种禁忌</p>

# Existing distribution plans 已有的一些分配方案

	Essence 实质	What' s promising 优势
<b>Basic Income Grant (BIG)</b>	A basic and unconditional income to all South Africans (\$16 per person per month)	it recognizes that many millions of healthy young people will not have access to formal-sector employment
<b>基本收入转移</b>	为所有南非人提供的基本的、无条件的收入保障（每人每月16美元）	它认识到数百万的健康的年轻人无法获得正式工作。

## Legitimizing distribution: a rightful share 分配合法化：有权获得的份额

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- ❑ **Allocation in a capitalist society: a matter of exchange**
- ❑ **The dangers of simply “giving”: creating dependency**
- ❑ **On what grounds will necessary goods be distributed to people, if not as an exchange for labor?**
  
- ❑ **在资本主义社会：分配意味着交换**
- ❑ **“给予”带来的风险：形成依赖性**
- ❑ **如果不是购买劳动力，凭什么要分配那些必需品给他人？**

# The concept of sharing 分享的概念

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**□ A share is neither an exchange nor a gift.**

**□ Shares belong to owners**

**□ The share is a capitalist form: accounting, auditing, shareholder meetings and elections etc.**

**□ 份额不是交换，也不是礼物。**

**□ 有权属关系，才有份额。**

**□ 份额是资本主义的一种形式：会计，审计，股东大会，股东选举等等**

# The concept of sharing 分享的概念

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**□ Who really owns or ought to own, the vast wealth produced by our advanced industrial society?**

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**□ 谁真正（应当）拥有我们发达的工业社会所创造出来的庞大财富？**

## The concept of sharing 分享的概念

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**“For thousands of years millions of men have labored to clear the forests, to drain the marshes, and to open up highways by land and water. Every rood of soil we cultivate in Europe has been watered by the sweat of several races of men.**

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**“几千年以来，因为无数人的努力我们才采伐了森林，排干了沼泽，在陆地和水上建起了通路。在欧洲大陆上，我们耕种的每一寸土地都洒满了各个种族人民的汗水。**

## The concept of sharing 分享的概念

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**“Every acre has its story of enforced labor, of intolerable toil, of the people’s suffering. Every mile of railway, every yard of tunnel, has received its share of human blood. [...] Millions of human beings have labored to create this civilization on which we pride ourselves today. Other millions, scattered through the globe, labor to maintain it.**

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**“每一英亩土地都述说着受奴役人们的故事，他们历尽艰辛，忍受苦难，劳作其上。每一里铁路，每一码隧道都浸染了人民的鲜血……无数人的劳动成就了如今我们引以为傲的文明。还有无数人，他们在地球的每个角落，努力延续着这一文明。**

## The concept of sharing 分享的概念

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**“Without them, nothing would be left in fifty years but ruins. [...] There is not even a thought, or an invention, which is not common property, born of the past and the present [...] By what right then can anyone whatever appropriate the least morsel of this immense whole and say – this is mine, not yours?”**

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**“如果没有他们，只要50年，我们的文明就会只剩下一堆废墟.....任何一种思想，一样发明，都是人类的共同财富，它们源于过去，成熟于当代.....既然如此，那面对如此恢宏的文明，任何一个人有什么资格指着哪怕是最小的一部分说，这是我的，不是你的？”**



# The concept of sharing 分享的概念

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- ❑ **The right to live vs. the right to work**
  - ❑ **The worker vs. the inheritor of a great common estate**
  - ❑ **The notion of citizenship: Namibia case**
  - ❑ **Where this claim has been legitimately accepted: mineral wealth ( Alaska, Norway, South Africa and Namibia )**
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- ❑ **生存权之于工作权**
- ❑ **工人之于共同财富的继承者**
- ❑ **公民权的概念：纳米比亚案例**
- ❑ **目前什么情况下这一说法被认为是合理的：矿业获得的财富，如阿拉斯加，挪威，南非和纳米比亚。**

## Political traction of the concept: 这一概念的政治力量

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- ❑ **The idea of a right to distribution has to be legitimated: distributive labor**
  - ❑ **Frames of political and ethical reference that would allow for shares to be considered rightful has to be developed : a global “citizens income”**
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- ❑ **有权分享的概念必须被合法化: 为了获得分配的行动**
- ❑ **让分享这一概念合法的政治和伦理框架必须被建立起来 : 全球性的 “公民收入”**

## Distributive labor: 为了获得分配的行动

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□ **A windshield washer who provides unsolicited windshield washes at intersections, in hopes of receiving a tip**

□ **A pan-handler**

□ **A pick-pocket**

□ **A loving mother who visits her employed urban son and returned with money and gifts for people back home**

□ **擦车玻璃的人（在交通路口主动擦车窗，希望获得小费）**

□ **乞丐**

□ **小偷**

□ **充满爱心的母亲，探望城里工作的儿子，为家乡人带回现金和礼物**

## In conventional terms: 常规的解释

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- ❑ **The window-washer is vending a service; self employed , even see him as a micro-entrepreneur**
- ❑ **The pan-handler, is unemployed, idle, and seeking charity**
- ❑ **A pick-pocket is a predator committing a crime**
- ❑ **A loving mother performing a kinship role and invoking traditional morality**

- ❑ **擦车玻璃的人：提供一种服务，是服务行业的、自雇的、个体经营者**
- ❑ **乞丐：失业者、懒散人、寻求救济**
- ❑ **小偷：蚕食他人，是犯罪**
- ❑ **充满爱心的母亲：血缘义务，传统道德的需要**

# Distributive point : 分配主义解释

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- ❑ **The window-washer is not really selling a service (doesn't the motorist really wish he would just go away?)**
- ❑ **The pickpocket/pan-handler is neither producing a good nor performing a service**
- ❑ **The mother is not just being a mother**

**BUT: They are all working hard to press a distributive claim**

- ❑ **擦车玻璃的人：并非出售服务（开车的人难道不都是希望他们滚开吗？）**
- ❑ **乞丐/小偷：不生产物品也不提供服务**
- ❑ **充满爱心的母亲：就是一位母亲**

**但是：他们都在努力表达分配的诉求**

## Conclusion: 结论

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**A revitalized distributionist tradition (flowing from heterodox socialist thinkers like Kropotkin, through latter-day currents such as autonomism and distributive justice) may here be able to intersect the new fissures and possibilities appearing in the new welfare states of the South to create the conditions for a new kind of progressive politics.**

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**分配主义（从非正统社会主义思想家克鲁泡特金到之后的自主论和分配公正）传统的复兴或许能够针对南半球新型福利国家中新出现的裂隙和机会，来创造一种新的进步政治学。**

## Conclusion: 结论

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**Are cash transfer a route to the elimination of poverty or just a cheap and easy way to manage it? Are they a progressive response to the legitimate distributive demands of the poor, or do they rather undermine and domesticate what might otherwise become more radical political pressures from below? Direct state payments to society's poorest may create new engagements and mobilizations among precisely those ragged classes of people that the traditional left has never known quite what to do with.**

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**发放现金是消除贫困的一种途径还是一种控制贫困的廉价简单的方式？是对穷人合法的分配需求的积极响应，还是破坏或驯服了原本可能更为激进的底层政治压力？政府给社会中最穷困的群体分发现金可能让参差不齐的各阶级人民联合起来，动员起来，而传统的左翼人士是不知道拿这些群体怎么办的。**

Thank you!  
谢谢!

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