

**THE NEW EXTRACTIVISM:
AN ECONOMIC MODEL FOR INCLUSIVE
DEVELOPMENT
OR
THE NEW IMPERIALISM?**

资源采掘——包容性发展抑或新帝国主义？

Henry Veltmeyer

亨利·费尔特迈尔

2013年4月11日

Capitalism and Imperialism as Looting and Pillage

资本主义和帝国主义的洗劫与掠夺

- | ‘Extractivism’ and ‘primary commodity exports’ have played an important role in the history of capitalism and imperialism
在资本主义和帝国主义的历史中，“资源采掘”及“初级产品的出口”起到了重要作用
- | Imperialism = the looting and plunder of a society’s stock of natural wealth, and the transfer of this wealth to the centre of the system for the purpose of capital accumulation and personal enrichment
帝国主义 = 洗劫和掠夺一个社会积累的自然财富，并将这些财富用于资本积累，或据为己有。

The New Extractivism vs. Classical Extractivism:

新资源采掘主义与传统的资源采掘主义之比较

- | Rise of China as a motor of global economic growth and the ‘emerging markets’ (BRICs) + the global middle class 中国崛起，成为全球经济增长的动力；新兴市场兴起（金砖五国）；全球中产阶级的形成
- | Demand for natural resources and primary commodities boom (rising prices...) 对自然资源和初级产品的渴求不断增长（价格上扬.....）
- | Rejection of the neoliberal model and the ‘new world order’ of neoliberal globalization 拒绝新自由主义模式，拒绝新自由主义全球化带来的“新世界秩序”
- | The post-Washington Consensus (PWC) and the ‘new developmentalism’ 后华盛顿共识和“新发展主义”
- | Formation of a post-neoliberal state in Latin America 拉丁美洲后新自由主义国家的形成

The Political Economy of Development in the New Millennium 新千年关于发展的政治经济学

- | Reconfiguration of global economic
全球经济重构
- | Post-Washington Consensus to bring the state back in for
inclusive development
后华盛顿共识：政府回归、包容性发展
- | The demise of neoliberalism: a ‘red’ and ‘pink’ tide of
progressive regime change
新自由主义的终结：进步性体制变化中的“赤”潮与“粉”潮
- | Primary commodities ‘boom’ and the reprimarization of
exports
初级产品“热销”与出口产品的再初级化
- | The new extractivism—large-scale foreign direct investment in
the extraction of natural resources
新采掘主义：国外资本对自然资源采掘的大规模直接投资

The New Extractivism

新资源采掘主义

- | Are conditions sufficiently different as to warrant or justify governments turning towards extractive capital and primary commodity exports as a national development strategy? 难道形势真的已经不同了？难道国家就此可以将自然资源采掘和初级产品出口变成一种国家发展战略？
- | All of the ‘progressive’ (centre-left) post-neoliberal regimes established over the past decade in South America have turned towards extractivism (natural resource extraction) and the primarization of exports 过去十年间建立起来的所有南美“进步的”（中间偏左）后新自由主义政体均已转向采掘主义（即自然资源的采掘），其出口产品也初级化了。

Extractivism, Classical and New

古老与新兴的资源采掘主义

- | **Nothing new in a national development strategy based on the export of raw material or primary commodities from the periphery to the centre.**

国家的发展战略建立在从边缘地区向中心地区出口原材料或初级产品基础之上，这不足为奇。

- | **Was a basic feature of what Lenin described as imperialism, which also included:**

这是列宁所描述的帝国主义的一个基本特征，它还包括：

Extractivism, Classical and New **古老与新兴的采掘主义**

- | **(i) the fusion of industrial and financial capital
(finance or monopoly capital);
工业资本与金融资本（金融或垄断资本）的融合**
- | **(ii) the export of capital (investments seeking
higher rates of return overseas); and
资本的出口（投资海外，寻求更高的回报率）**
- | **(iii) the territorial division of the world in a
project of colonization
世界在资本主义国家向外殖民的过程中被瓜分**

Post-World War II World Order

二战后的世界秩序

- **Bretton Woods system: World Bank, IMF, GATT...布雷顿森林体系：世界银行、国际货币基金组织、关贸总协定... ..**
- **The UN system (security, development) 联合国体系（安全，发展）**
- **Decolonization and national liberation movements 去殖民化与民族解放运动**
- **East-West ideological conflict (beginnings of the cold War) 东西方意识形态的交锋（冷战开始）**
- **The Keynesian welfare-development state 凯恩斯式福利发展型国家**
- **International cooperation for development 国际发展合作**
- **North-South International division of labour 南北国家的国际分工**

Developmentalism and Primary commodity exports

发展主义与初级产品的出口

- The export of natural resources in primary commodity form in exchange for goods manufactured in the centre of the system is also a key element of the economic structure of international relations at the end of World War II, in conditions of (i) an emerging rivalry between the US and the USSR (ii) a decolonization process**

因为美苏之间的竞争以及去殖民化的过程，以自然资源（初级产品）换取世界体系的中心地区的制成品也成为了二战后国际经济结构中的关键部分。

Developmentalism and Primary commodity exports

发展主义与初级产品的出口

- **Developmentalism as a strategy designed to prevent countries engaged in the decolonization (national liberalization) process from opting for socialism as an alternative system.**
发展主义是一种为了防止国家在去殖民化过程中（或民族独立过程中）倒向社会主义的战略安排。

The Post War International Division of labour (IDOL)

战后国际分工 (IDOL)

- **Countries on the periphery nominally ‘free’ to export or import...within the Bretton Woods System which provided the rules governing international trade**
处于边缘的国家名义上可以根据布雷顿森林体系中的国际贸易规则“自由”地出口或进口产品
- **Encouraged, if not forced, to export their natural resources in exchange for goods manufactured at the centre**
即便不是被迫，它们也是被诱导着出口自己的自然资源，以换取中心地区国家的制成品

The Post War International Division of labour (IDOL)

战后国际分工 (IDOL)

- 1 The ‘newly-industrializing countries’ (NICs) of East/South-East Asia and Latin America (Brazil, Mexico) broke out of this IDOL via a strategy of state-led development
东亚、东南亚和拉丁美洲的新兴工业化国家（如巴西、墨西哥），通过国家主导的发展战略从这样的国际劳动分工（IDOL）中突围而出。

The International Division of labour

国际分工

- Countries on the periphery of the system were locked into an international division of labour that reproduced the structure of international relations of the imperialist phase of capitalist development—which theorists of ‘Latin American structuralism’ determined was disadvantageous for countries on the periphery

处在体系外围的国家被锁入国际劳动分工之中，这种分工再生产了资本主义发展到帝国主义阶段时的国际关系结构——“拉美结构主义者”认为这种结构不利于外围国家的发展。

The International Division of labour

国际分工

- Dependency theorists argued that this economic structure functioned as a mechanism of exploitation, allowing capitalists to extract and transfer vital economic resources from the periphery to the centre for the purpose of accumulation

依附理论认为，这种经济结构是一种剥削机制，它使资本家得以攫取外围的关键经济资源并转移到中心，用于资本积累。

Development in the Post-War World Order

战后世界秩序中的发展

- | **State-led: 国家主导**
- | **Based on capitalist development, modernization, industrialization**
以资本主义发展、现代化和工业化为基础
- | **Industrialization strategy based on: (i) separating direct agricultural producers from the land; (ii) increasing the rate of savings and productive investment (to 'take-off' point) based on the exploitation of the 'unlimited supply of surplus agricultural labour' and technological advances**
工业化策略的基础: (1) 迫使直接农业生产者与土地分离; (2) 通过剥削“无限供给的农业剩余劳动力”和技术进步提高积累率, 加大生产性投资 (以达到“经济起飞”临界点)

Developmentalism

发展主义

- Development originally meant (i) ‘accumulation by dispossession’—separating the direct producers (the peasant farmers) from the land and their means of production; (ii) encouraging the proletarianized peasants to take the labour-migration pathway out of rural poverty, capacitating them for entry into the urban labour market; and (iii) human resource and social development

发展最初的含义为：（1）“剥夺式积累”——将直接生产者（农民）和土地及其他生产资料分离开来；（2）鼓励已经被无产阶级化的农民通过外出务工的方式摆脱贫困状况，并使他们具备进入城市劳动力市场的能力；（3）人力资源和社会的发展

Developmentalism

发展主义

- Within the confines of the Bretton Woods system and the liberal capitalist world order, 'development' = industrialization (via the exploitation of the 'unlimited supplies of labour' released in the capitalist development of agriculture).
- 在布雷顿森林体系和自由资本主义世界体系中，“发展” = 工业化（通过剥削农业资本主义发展过程中释放出来的“无限供给的劳动力”）

Developmentalism

发展主义

- | **The capitalist development of industry resulted in a process of productive and social transformation in which the peasant farmers were separated from the land/their means of production, proletarianized and converted into a class for hire by capital (via participation in the labour market and human resource development)**

工业资本主义的发展带来了生产和社会的转型，在这一过程中，农民被迫与土地（生产资料）分离，他们被无产阶级化，并转变为一个可供资本雇用的阶级（通过进入劳动力市场和人力资源开发）

Dynamics of Capitalist Development

资本主义发展的动力

- | **Accumulation by dispossession**
通过剥夺进行积累
- | **Productive and social transformation: proletarianization of the direct producer (the small landholding peasantry) and the making of the working class**
生产与社会转型：直接生产者（小农）的无产阶级化与工人阶级的形成
- | **Enclosure of the global commons: contemporary dynamics of land grabbing, water grabbing and resource grabbing**
对全球公共物品的圈占：当前土地、水资源与其他自然资源攫取的种种乱象

Developmentalism

发展主义

- | The resulting process (‘development’) has been theorised from both a development and a critical political economy perspective, but in retrospect it is evident that development based on the exploitation of labour and HRD resulted in a broad development dynamic, with social and economic dimensions—

发展和批判的政治经济学都提出了理论，总结（“发展”）带来的结果。而反躬自问，基于剥削劳动力和人力资源开发的发展显然带来了广泛的社会和经济层面的变化：

Developmentalism

发展主义

- | i.e., it trickled down to other economic and social sectors and classes, with backward and forward linkages and a generalized expansion of the domestic market fuelled by the growth of a middle class (defined by their relation to the market—capacity to consume--not production).

即：通过（产业间的）前后链接、通过中产阶级的成长所带来的国内市场的总体扩大，发展（的效益）滴流到其他经济社会部门和阶级。这里中产阶级是根据他们与市场的关系来界定的，即他们的消费能力而非生产能力。

Developmentalism

发展主义

- | The pioneers of development theory in the 1950s and 1960s prioritized industry over agriculture and natural resource extraction for investment, in the belief that investment in industry would have a much greater payoff than investment in agriculture or in the extraction of resources--a form of development that is highly localised, with very few linkages and spin-offs or anticipated development spread-effects.

20世纪50年代和60年代的早期发展理论认为，投资应该工业优先，而不是农业和自然资源采掘优先，因为投资于工业的回报要远远大于后两者。投资于农业和自然资源是相当本土化的策略，这种投资不能带动前后产业，没有什么派生产品，也不会带来人们所期望的发展的扩大效应。

Developmentalism

发展主义

- Utilizing very little labour in the development process, this form of development (extractivism) benefits relatively few social sectors, with most of the benefits accruing to investors, and providing few outlets for productive activity or opportunities for employment and income generation.

这种形式的发展（资源采掘）需要很少的劳动力，只能让相当少的部门受益，而大部分利益都被投资者拿走了。它只涉及极少的生产性活动，没有创造什么就业，也不能增加人们的收入。

Developmentalism

发展主义

- | Of course, if the returns on invested capital and technology rents are exported, and the State reverts to rentierism (use of resource rents for enrichment and minimal fiscal revenues drawn from these rents) then the dynamic of economic and social development would be correspondingly weaker.

当然，如果资本和技术的投资所带来的回报被用于出口，那么国家就转向了食利主义（用资源带来的租金来获取财富以及为数不多的财政收入）。这种经济和社会发展的动力也相应地更加不足。

The Resource Curse

资源的诅咒

- | The development dynamics of development based on the exploitation of labour vs. the extraction of wealth/natural resources can be traced out in the history of countries that pursued one approach or the other....in what economists have described as a ‘resource curse’...the paradox that countries rich in natural resources have not benefitted from the extraction and development of these resources (Auty, 2001; Sachs & Warner, 1997, 2001).

历史上，很多国家都曾通过剥削劳动力、掠夺财富或采掘自然资源等方式来发展。而它们遭受了经济学家所描述的“资源的诅咒”，即这些富有自然资源的国家反而并未能从采掘和开发自然资源中获益。(Auty, 2001; Sachs & Warner, 1997, 2001).

The Resource Curse

资源的诅咒

- Resource-rich countries have often failed to develop, whereas many resource-poor countries have succeeded in achieving a high level of capitalist development

富有自然资源的国家常常并不能实现发展，而资源贫乏的国家却能达到资本主义发展的较高层次。

Explaining the Resource Curse in LA

拉美地区的资源诅咒

The obstacles of NRBD (based on extractive capital) include:

以资源采掘为基础（或说以采掘资本为基础）的发展面临如下障碍：

1. an inherent tendency toward deteriorating terms of trade for primary commodity exports; 初级产品出口的贸易条件将趋于恶化
2. the lack of backward and forward linkages from a geographically localized enclave-based development to the rest of the economy; 资源采掘地区从地理上而言常属于飞地，与其他地区的经济无法构成前后（产业）链接。

The Resource Curse in LA

拉美地区的资源诅咒

3. the negative effects of primary commodity exports on the exchange rate for other sectors, stifling dynamism in these sectors (the 'Dutch disease'); a propensity towards unequal development and the concentration of benefits with few development spread effects into other social sectors; and

初级产品出口对其他部门的贸易条件产生了负面影响，扼杀了这些部门的发展动力（“荷兰病”）；发展趋于不平衡，发展带来的利益越来越集中，难以扩大到其他部门；

The Resource Curse in LA

拉美地区的资源诅咒

4. with its characteristic high organic composition of capital, and a low intensity in the use of labour in the production process, labour is apportioned a very low share of the social product—often less than 10% as in the case of mining in Peru, where mining accounts for up to 60% of total exports but the State shares in barely 3% of the world market value of the exported resources and labour participates (receives) an estimated 6-9% of the social product .

由于资本在生产过程中占据很高的比重，劳动力的使用并不密集，所以劳动力收入在社会产品中所占的份额很低——比如秘鲁的采矿业中，劳动力收入所占的比重不到10%。秘鲁在世界资源总出口额中占不到3%，矿产在该国的总出口额中占到了60%，劳动力收入在总社会产品中大约占了6—9%。

The Inclusive Wealth of Nations - 1

国家的总财富—1

- **The difference in the development path of resource-rich and resource-poor countries can also be traced out in a recent global report on Inclusive Wealth (UNU-IHDP & UNEP, 2012).**
最近一份关于包容性财富的世界报告中也反映了资源富足国与资源贫瘠国的发展路径的差异(UNU-IHDP & UNEP, 2012)。
- **The report classifies the wealth of nations in three categories: (1) natural, (2) manufactured, and (3) human.**
报告将国家财富区分为三类：（1）自然资源；（2）制成品；（3）人力（资源）。

The Inclusive Wealth of Nations – 1

国家的总财富—1

- **The evidence is clear: those countries with the greatest proportion of their accumulated wealth in the form of human capital are the richest overall, while those whose wealth is predominantly in the form of natural resources are among the poorest, least developed countries in the world**
有清晰的证据表明：总体而言，人力资源在国家积累财富中所占比重最高的国家也是最为富足的国家；而那些自然资源在国家积累的财富中所占比重最高的国家也是最贫穷、最不发达的国家。

2008 Inclusive Wealth Rankings (by IWI)

2008年总财富排行榜（总财富指数）

	IWI (Millions) 总财富指数 (百万)	Human Capital % 人力资本	Manufactured Capital % 制成品资本	Natural Capital % 自然资本
United States	117,832,867	75.42	18.96	5.62
Germany	19,473,621	68.57	25.21	6.22
United Kingdom	13,423,672	88.07	11.13	0.8
France	12,955,131	73.91	24.82	1.27
Canada	11,062,192	51.81	17.03	31.16
Russia	10,885,180	19.62	12.27	62.99
Saudi Arabia	4,946,619	35.11	10.30	54.59%
Norway	1,565,688	24.89%	61.46%	10.98%

2008 Inclusive Wealth Rankings (by IWI)

2008总财富排行榜（总财富指数）

	IWI (Millions) 总财富指数 (百万)	Human Capital % 人力资本	Manufactured Capital % 制成品资本	Natural Capital % 自然资本
China	19,960,009	43.73%	30.86%	25.41%
India	6,163,963	46.13%	28.17%	25.7%
Brazil	7,413,777	61.5%	19.75%	18.75%
Venezuela	3,093,738	50.65%	12.81%	36.54%
Colombia	1,205,200	41.27%	23.81%	34.92%
Chile	1,018,637	57.86%	21.44%	20.7%
South Africa	1,846,068	56.5%	17.41%	26.1%
Nigeria	892,512	24.89%	6.55%	68.56%

Annual growth rates of GDP, %, LA

拉丁美洲年均国内生产总值增长率 (%)

	2004	2006	2008	2009	2010	2011
Argentina	9.0	8.5	6.8	0.9	9.2	8.9
Bolivia	4.2	4.8	6.1	3.4	4.1	5.2
Brazil	5.7	4.0	5.2	-0.3	7.5	2.7
Chile	6.0	4.6	3.7	-1.0	6.1	6.0
Columbia	5.3	6.7	3.5	1.7	4.0	5.9
Ecuador	8.2	4.4	6.4	1.0	3.3	8.0
Mexico	4.1	5.1	1.2	-6.0	5.6	3.9
Peru	5.0	7.7	9.8	0.9	8.8	6.9
Venezuela	18.3	9.9	5.3	-3.2	6.0	4.3
LA	5.9	5.5	4.0	-1.9	6.0	4.3

Source: ECLAC, Statistical Yearbook for LAC, 2012

资料来源：联合国拉丁美洲和加勒比经济委员会，拉美和加勒比地区统计年鉴，2012

Exports of primary products, % of total exports

初级产品的出口在总出口额中的比重（%）

	2004	2006	2008	2010
Andean Community (安第斯社区)	76.1	79.6	81.0	85.1
Mercosur (南方共同市场)	54.1	54.9	59.8	65.3

Source: ECLAC, Statistical Yearbook 2011: 97

资料来源：联合国拉丁美洲和加勒比经济委员会，拉美和加勒比地区统计年鉴，2011:97

安第斯共同体（CAN）：成立于1969年的贸易合作组织，成员国历经变更，现由南美洲的玻利维亚、哥伦比亚、厄瓜多尔和秘鲁四个国家组成。

南方共同市场（Mercosur）：南美地区最大的经济一体化组织，也是世界上第一个完全由发展中国家组成的共同市场。最初由阿根廷、巴西、乌拉圭、巴拉圭四国组建，后接纳智利、玻利维亚、秘鲁、厄瓜多尔、哥伦比亚五国。1995年1月1日正式启动。

Exports of primary products,

% of total exports

初级产品的出口占总出口额的比重 (%)

	2004	2006	2008	2011
Argentina	71.2	68.2	69.1	68.5
Bolivia	86.7	89.8	92.8	95.5
Brazil	47.0	49.5	55.4	66.2
Chile	86.8	89.0	88.0	89.2
Colombia	62.9	64.4	68.5	82.5
Ecuador	90.7	90.4	91.3	92.0
Mexico	20.2	24.3	27.1	29.3
Peru	83.1	88.0	86.6	89.3
Venezuela	86.9	89.6	92.3	95.5
LA	46.2	51.3	56.7	60.9

| Source: ECLAC, Statistical Yearbook for LAC, 2012

| 资料来源：联合国拉丁美洲和加勒比经济委员会，拉美和加勒比地区统计年鉴，2012

The PE of Progressive Extractivism – 1

资源采掘主义的政治经济学—1

- Governments in South America have steered away from the Washington Consensus re (1) the virtues of a market freed from regulatory constraint and a more inclusive form of development (Sunkel & Infante, 2009); (2) a ‘neoextractivist’ model of national development (Svampa, 2012); and (3) the reprimarization of exports (Cypher, 2010).

南美国家开始远离华盛顿共识，运用了：（1）从规制中解放出来的市场具有的优势以及一种更有包容性的发展方式；（2）国家发展的“新资源采掘主义”的模式；（3）出口产品的再初级化。

The PE of Progressive Extractivism – 1

资源采掘主义的政治经济学—1

- I These governments are generally more ‘progressive’ than their predecessors in terms of rejecting ‘neoliberal’ policies that have generated an unsustainable level of social inequalities and ingovernability (Grugel, & Riggirozzi, 2009; Petras & Veltmeyer, 2011a).

这些国家的政府一般比它们的前任更加“进步”，它们拒绝采用导致了社会不平等、导致国家不可控的“新自由主义”政策。

The PE of Progressive Extractivism -2

资源采掘主义的政治经济学—2

- Resistance to neoliberalism in the form of social movements with their social base in the organizations of rural landless ‘workers’, semi-proletarianized ‘peasant’ farmers and indigenous communities, brought to power governments committed to a post-neoliberal policy regime and the ‘new developmentalism’—a strategy of inclusive development and poverty reduction (Grugel & Riggirozzi, 2009; Macdonald & Ruckert, 2009; Yashar, 2005). 以农村无地“工人”、半无产阶级化的“农民”和地方社区为基础的社会运动对新自由主义的抵抗，促使国家采用后新自由主义的政策体制以及“新发展主义”——这是一种包容性发展和减贫的。

The New Model -1

新模式—1

- 1 The post-neoliberal regimes (PNLRs) turned to a new economic development model shaped by a strategic response to changes in the political system (widespread dissatisfaction with policies perceived to be inequitable) and changes in the world economy that include the rise of China as an economic power and a growing demand for energy and fossil fuels, minerals and other non-renewable resources—and, in recent years, diverse agricultural commodities.

后新自由主义的政体（PNLRs）是一种新的经济发展模式，是对政治体系内和世界经济中的种种变化的战略性回应。这些变化包括对不公平政策的普遍不满，中国的崛起，世界对能源、化石燃料、矿产、其他不可再生资源以及最近对各种农产品的需求日益增长。

The New Model: Three Pillars

新模式：三极

- (1) *extractivism*—reliance on large-scale foreign investment in the extraction of natural resources and their exportation in ‘primary’ form, to take advantage of the demand for these resources and to generate the fiscal resources to finance inclusive development;

资源采掘——利用（别国）对自然资源的需求，依靠大规模国外投资开采自然资源，以“初级”产品的形式出口，获取财政收入，用于促进包容性发展。

The New Model: Three Pillars

新模式：三极

- | (2) *inclusionary state activism*—for the state to regulate the operations of extractive capital in the public interest, giving the State a fair share of the resource rents, accountability of the transnational corporations for environmental damage, and prudent management of society's non-renewable resources; and 确保包容性发展的国家行动——国家为公共利益规范采掘资本的运作，确保国家从资源收益中获取相当份额的回报，监督跨国公司，使其对自身造成的环境破坏负责，谨慎管理社会的不可再生资源；
- | (3) *inclusive development—development*—ensure an equitable distribution of the social product and poverty reduction 包容性发展——确保社会产品的公平分配，实现减贫。

The Debate on Extractivism

关于资源采掘主义的争论

1. The advent of the post-neoliberal state and construction of this new development model have generated a major debate about ‘extractivism’—as to whether (1) like classical extractivism it implies a curse and a development trap, or (2) as argued by economists at the World Bank that it constitutes an ‘economic opportunity’, but that it requires ‘prudent resource management’ as well as a ‘good governance’ regime based on the ‘private sector’ rather than the State as the driving force of the development process.

后新自由主义国家的出现和这种新发展模式的形成引发了关于“资源采掘主义”的热烈争论——比如它（1）是如古老的采掘主义所暗示的一个诅咒或发展的陷阱；（2）还是如经济学家在世界银行所争论的，它构成了一个“经济机会”，但需要有建立在“私有部门”而非国家作为发展动力的基础上的“谨慎的资源管理”体系和“善治”体系。

The Debate on Extractivism

关于资源采掘主义的争论

2. Policymakers of these post-neoliberal states believe that extractivism (natural resource extraction based on FDI) constitutes an ‘economic opportunity’ and that it provides a viable model as long as the operations of extractive capital are regulated in the national interest under a regime that ensures for the State a fair share of the profits. Basically the belief of policymakers in these post-neoliberal regimes is that they can strike a better deal with extractive capital than their neoliberal predecessors—a deal that will lead to economic growth and inclusive development .

这些后新自由主义国家的政策制定者认为，资源采掘（基于国外直接投资的自然资源采掘）是一个“经济机会”。只要有体制确保国家能够从中获取相当份额的利润，只要为国家利益来对采掘资本的运作进行规制，那么资源采掘主义就能够提供一个可行的（发展）模型。他们相信，与前任政府相比，自己能够和采掘资本达成更好的交易——这个交易会带来经济的增长和包容性发展。

A Fourfold Argument

一个包含四层意义的观点

The argument is that the ‘new extractivism’ is best viewed as a new form of imperialism, serving to advance the interests of the empire based on the dominion of capital, than a new development model.

这种观点就是：我们最好将新资源采掘主义视为一种新的帝国主义形式，而不是一个新的发展模式。它为帝国主义争取更多的利益服务，其基础是资本的统治地位。

Argument 1

第一层含义

1. Extractivism is a *backward form of capitalism*, unable to generate a sustainable process of economic and social development—and unable to replicate the development dynamic associated with the agency of the development state:

资源采掘主义是一种落后的资本主义形式，不能带来经济和社会的可持续性发展——也不具有和发展型国家相媲美的、与国家能动性相关的发展动力。

Argument 2

第二层含义

2. The new extractivism is subject to the same structural problems that beset classical extractivism, converting what should be a blessing into a curse:

Deteriorating terms of trade for commodity exports in the long term

The susceptibility of commodity-exporting countries to volatile movements in prices and price shocks

新资源采掘主义同样受制于传统资源采掘主义的一些结构性问题，使原本的福祉成了诅咒：

长远来讲，出口商品的贸易条件趋于恶化

商品出口国对价格的急剧起伏和震荡变化极为敏感

Argument 3

第三层含义

3. The new extractivism, like classical extractivism, is predicated on a dependence on large-scale profit-seeking foreign direct investment, which places the development state in a disadvantageous position vis-à-vis global extractive capital:

新资源采掘主义与传统的资源采掘主义一样，十分依赖具有逐利本质的大规模海外直接投资，这使发展型国家在应对全球采掘资本时处于下风。

Argument 3

第三层含义

In the new association formed between the State and Capital (the private sector) production remains under the effective control of the transnational corporation, and the State is reduced to the residual role of ‘regulator’, obliged to protect the property rights of the company and foreign investors, and to guarantee their right to repatriate any profits on investments and sales.

跨国公司有效地控制着国家与资本（私有部门）生产之间的新的结盟，而国家被削弱，成为一个可有可无的“管理者”，被迫保护跨国公司和外国投资者的资产，保障它们有权将投资和出售产品的全部收益运回本国。

Argument 3

第三层含义

Because of its relation of dependency with Capital the State receives a relatively minimal share of the resource rents (royalties and taxes).

the share of the State in resource rents tends to be somewhat higher in the *Type I* (resource nationalist / socialist) form of the extractivist PNL state (Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador) than in the more pragmatic centre-left *Type II* (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay) or the neoliberal state (Colombia, Mexico), which is more open and ‘friendly’ (less regulatory) in its relation to capital.

因为对（国外）资本的依赖，国家只能从资源收益中获取极少的收益（特许权使用费和税金）

第一类资源采掘国（奉行资源国家主义或社会主义的国家）在资源收益中占有的份额相对较高（如委内瑞拉、玻利维亚、厄瓜多尔），第二类国家（中偏左的、更奉行实用主义的阿根廷、巴西、智利和乌拉圭以及奉行新自由主义的国家（如哥伦比亚和墨西哥）所占的份额则相对较低，它们对资本更加开放和“友好”（规制较少）。

Argument 3

第三层含义

For example,

Mexico has ceded up to 23% of its natural territory to foreign mining companies (mostly Canadian—up to 70%) for exploration and the exploitation of the country's reserves of natural resources in the form of minerals and metals. But Mexico has not established a royalty payment regime in the mining sector, where the effective tax rate on export sales of extracted minerals and metals for companies is only 1.2% (Barcena, 2010). Moreover, the regulatory and accounting procedures are so lax that there is no evidence that taxes have even been paid at this rate.

例如：墨西哥将23%的国土转让给了他国的矿业公司（其中绝大多数公司隶属加拿大，约有70%），任其勘探和开采本国的矿产与金属等自然资源。但墨西哥在矿业部门并没有建立起特许使用权的收费制度，矿物和金属的出口税率仅有1.2%。更有甚者，管理和审计程序十分松弛，哪怕是这么低的税也没有证据表明跨国矿业公司是交了的。

Argument 3

第三层含义

In Colombia, another case of a neoliberal state, up to 40% of the national territory has been ceded to foreign oil and mining companies for exploration under a long-term lease of 30+ years.

In Peru, the case of a neoliberal regime (Garcia, Fujimori, Toledo), having been succeeded by a self-declared resource nationalist regime (Humala), up to 70% of the national territory has been ceded to foreign oil and mining companies for exploration under a long-term lease of 30+ years.

另外一个奉行新自由主义的国家哥伦比亚将40%以上的国土转让给了国外石油和矿业公司来开采资源，转让期长达30年以上。

而秘鲁在奉行新自由主义（加西亚、藤森、托莱多政权）之后，又倒向了资源国家主义（乌马拉政权）。总共有70%以上的国土转让给了国外石油和矿业公司，转让期也是长达30年以上，用于资源开采。

Argument 3

第三层含义

As in the case of Mexico, where the government—under pressure from the World Bank to lower or eliminate royalty payments in the mining sector—eliminated its royalty regime in the mining law of 1991, in Peru currently there are no royalty payment requirements for the foreign companies in the mining sector; but the tax rate in the mining sector ranges from around 3 to 5%, which is the regional average in the mining sector.

至于墨西哥，该国政府在世行的压力下被迫降低或取消矿业部门的特许使用费。它在1991年的矿业法中最终取消了这一费用。在秘鲁，外国公司在矿业领域投资无需任何特许使用费，但矿业部门的税率达到3—5%，这在拉美地区还是处于平均水平的。

The Argument 3

第三层含义

Bolivia, as a paradigmatic case of the resource nationalist form of a post-neoliberal regime, provides the best example of the limits of progressive extractivism--an extractivist development strategy based on a fundamental reliance on foreign direct investment and a relation of dependence on global capital.

玻利维亚是奉行后新自由主义的政体国家，采用了资源国家主义的范式。它能极好地说明积极的资源采掘主义所面临的局限——这是一种极度依赖国外直接投资和国际资本的资源采掘式的发展战略。

Argument 3

第三层含义

FDI, even when its inflows and outflows are regulated, have been shown to have overall a negative economic impact on the development of the forces of production (relation of dependency—capital export, low level of technological capacity creation, lack of human resource development/capability expansion, etc.), social inequalities in the distribution, imperialist intervention, distorted fiscal expenditures...

即便流入和流出受到规制，国外直接投资也会对生产力的发展产生经济上的负面影响，因为（国家与它形成了）依附关系：比如资本出口了，技术能力的培育处于较低层次，缺少人力资源的开发和能力拓展，社会分配出现了不平等，帝国主义插手进来，财政开支被扭曲等等，不一而足。

Argument 3

第三层含义

Because of a coincidence in economic interest (profits for the companies, resource rents and additional fiscal revenues for the State) the government tends to side with capital in the conflict of the mining companies with the communities negatively affected by their extractive operations.

因为有着共同的经济利益（对跨国公司来说是为了利润，对国家来说是为了资源收益和额外的财政收入），当矿业公司和地方社区因为前者的开采活动带来的负面影响而发生冲突时，政府往往站在资本的那一边。

Argument 3

第三层含义

Thus, for e.g. President Humala, when faced with...

Another example of this problematic relation and situation is the case of Ecuador, where President Correa, has been in the forefront of the effort to regulate extractive capital, both in the oil sector and in the mining sector

因此比如说，当乌马拉总统面临... ..

另外一个遭遇类似困境的就是厄瓜多尔的总统科雷亚，他不得不亲自出马，规制石油和矿业部门的采掘资本。

Argument 4

第四层含义

4. Another critical dimension of extractivism as an economic model / development strategy is the vulnerability of the State vis-à-vis the projection of imperial power in support of extractive capital—what we might call ‘extractivist imperialism’ (the imperialism of the XXI century).

作为一种经济模式或发展战略，资源采掘主义还有一个关键的方面，即（采用这一发展模式的）国家在给采掘资本撑腰的帝国主义国家面前是十分脆弱的。我们将这些国家称为“采掘帝国主义”（或二十一世纪的帝国主义）。

Argument 4

第四层含义

- | **The best example and paradigmatic case of this form of imperialism is the Canadian State in its activist intervention in support of the Canadian mining companies that represent up to 60% of the capital invested globally in this sector, and 70% of the global operations of mining capital.**

加拿大就是这种类型的帝国主义国家的最好范例。它积极地干预和支持加拿大的矿业公司，这些公司在投资于矿业部门的全球资本中的份额高达60%，在全球矿业运营资本中占70%。

On the Resource Curse

关于资源的诅咒

- Even in Bolivia, where the government has ‘nationalized’ ownership of the country’s reserves of fossil fuels and sub-soil mineral resources, it is estimated that labour receives less than 10% of the world market value of exported minerals. This contrasts with ‘labour-seeking’ FDI and industrial development based on the exploitation of labour, where the share of labour in the social product tends to be much higher—as much as 60%.

即便是玻利维亚已经将化石燃料、地下矿产都已经国有化了，该国劳动力的收入在世界矿产出口额中大约也只占到不足10%。这不同于“寻求劳动力”的海外直接投资，也不同于以剥削劳动力为基础的工业发展，其中劳动力在社会产品中占有的份额要高得多——高达60%。

Explaining the Resource Curse in LA

拉美地区的资源诅咒

The obstacles of NRBD (based on extractive capital) include:

以资源采掘为基础（或说以采掘资本为基础）的发展面临如下障碍：

1. an inherent tendency toward deteriorating terms of trade for primary commodity exports; 初级产品出口的贸易条件将趋于恶化
2. the lack of backward and forward linkages from a geographically localized enclave-based development to the rest of the economy; 资源采掘地区从地理上而言常属于飞地，与其他地区的经济无法构成前后（产业）链接。

The Resource Curse in LA

拉美地区的资源诅咒

3. the negative effects of primary commodity exports on the exchange rate for other sectors, stifling dynamism in these sectors (the 'Dutch disease'); a propensity towards unequal development and the concentration of benefits with few development spread effects into other social sectors; and

初级产品出口对其他部门的贸易条件产生了负面影响，扼杀了这些部门的发展动力（“荷兰病”）；发展趋于不平衡，发展带来的利益越来越集中，难以扩大到其他部门；

The Resource Curse in LA

拉美地区的资源诅咒

4. with its characteristic high organic composition of capital, and a low intensity in the use of labour in the production process, labour is apportioned a very low share of the social product—often less than 10% as in the case of mining in Peru, where mining accounts for up to 60% of total exports but the State shares in barely 3% of the world market value of the exported resources and labour participates (receives) an estimated 6-9% of the social product .

由于资本在生产过程中占据很高的比重，劳动力的使用并不密集，所以劳动力收入在社会产品中所占的份额很低——比如秘鲁的采矿业中，劳动力收入所占的比重不到10%。秘鲁在世界资源总出口额中占不到3%，矿产在该国的总出口额中占到了60%，劳动力收入在总社会产品中大约占了6—9%。

Sharing the social product: Extractivism and the working class

分享社会产品：资源采掘与工人阶级

- Thus, workers have not benefitted from the wave of mining-related activities and developments. In Argentina and Chile wages are estimated to be 6% of the value of mining exports (Solanas, 2007: 2). In spite of the commodities boom, workers have received little in terms of wage increases.

因此，工人并不能从采矿活动及其发展中获益。在阿根廷和智利，工人的薪水大约占矿产出口价值的6%左右（Solanas, 2007:2）。尽管生产的产品越来越多，工人的工资却几乎没有什么提高。

Sharing the social product: Extractivism and the working class

分享社会产品：资源采掘与工人阶级

- An index of real average wages in the formal sector in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Peru and Venezuela shows some discouraging results. ECLAC data yield a cumulative increase in average wages of just 0.46% by 2006 (ECLAC 2007, Table A-28). In short, workers have received nothing from the commodities boom.

阿根廷、玻利维亚、巴西、智利、哥伦比亚、墨西哥、秘鲁和委内瑞拉正式部门的实际平均工资指数揭示出来的结果让人沮丧。联合国拉丁美洲和加勒比经济委员会（ECLAC）的数据表明，到2006年为止，工人平均工资累计增长比例仅有0.46%（ECLAC 2007, 表A-28）。简言之，工人从蓬勃发展的采矿业中几乎没有获得任何好处。

Canadian Extractivist imperialism

加拿大的采掘帝国主义

- **75% of the world's mining companies have their headquarters in Canada and almost 60% are registered on the Toronto Stock Exchange. 全球75%的矿业公司总部设在加拿大，60%以上的公司在多伦多股票交易所上市。**
- **90% of the world's mineral equity financings happen on the Toronto Stock Exchange and the TSX Venture Exchange, making up nearly 40% of the world's mining capital (Mining Association of Canada, 2011: 48). 全球90%的矿业股权交易在多伦多股票交易所和多伦多创业板市场进行，占全球矿业资本总额的40%（加拿大矿业协会，2011：48）**

Canadian Extractivist imperialism

加拿大的采掘帝国主义

• Canadian companies, accounting for 40% of global investment in mineral exploration and 60% of operations, have 1,817 projects in Latin America and the Caribbean, with invested capital of CAD 57 billion (Keenan, 2010).

加拿大公司在全球探矿业中占40%的投资份额，占采矿业中的60%。它在拉美和加勒比海地区投资了1817个项目，投资总额达570亿加元。

Mechanisms of Canadian Extractivist imperialism

加拿大采掘帝国主义的机制

- Promotion of neoliberal reforms, conditioning ‘aid’ on these reforms (1991-2012, Canada signed 32 bilateral Foreign Investment Promotion and Protection Agreements (FIPAs)
推动新自由主义改革，为这些改革提供有条件的“援助”（1991—2012年间，加拿大签署了32个双边海外投资促进和保护协议）。
- Architect and major promotor of a ‘private sector’ model of ‘inclusive growth (Canada, House of Commons, 2012)
加拿大是以私有部门带动“包容性增长”这一发展模式的建筑师和主要推手。

Mechanisms of Canadian Extractivist imperialism

加拿大采掘帝国主义的机制

- **Canada a major legal haven for mining companies, and the TSX in particular stands out for being subject to ambiguous and lax regulation (Denault & Sacher, 2012, *Imperial Canada Inc.*).**
加拿大是矿业公司的主要的、合法的避难所，多伦多创业板市场因管理松散，规则含糊而著称。
- **Direct intervention in the administration of the mining sector**
直接干预矿业部门的管理
- **Underwriting the legislation in a developing country designed to regulate mining activities.**
帮助发展中国家确立管理采矿活动的法规。

Mechanisms of Canadian Extractivist imperialism

加拿大采掘帝国主义的机制

- **Refusal to regulate Canadian-based mining companies operating abroad.**
拒绝规制加拿大投资于海外的矿产开采公司
- **Provision of tax benefits and subsidies**
(为它们) 提供税收优惠和补贴
- **Direct financial support (e.g. Export Development Canada (EDC) grants re insurance.**
直接的财政支持 (如加拿大出口发展公司提供的保险金)
- **Diplomatic promotion of CSR.**
极富外交手腕地倡导企业的社会责任

CONCLUSION 结论

- | Capitalist development based on (and advanced via) the exploitation of labour (of the unlimited supply of agricultural rural labour released by the capitalist development process) 资本主义的发展建立在剥削发展过程中释放出来的无限供给的农村劳动力的基础之上。
- | Capitalism of the 21st century increasingly based on large-scale foreign investment in the acquisition of land and the extraction of natural resources 二十一世纪的资本主义越来越依靠通过大规模海外投资来攫取土地和自然资源。
- | Consequence: a new form of ‘primitive accumulation’ (accumulation by dispossession) and class struggle based on the resistance of rural communities against the enclosure of the global commons (land, water, natural resources)...and the degradation of the environment and livelihoods 后果：新的“原始积累”形式（剥削式积累）；建立在农村社区对全球公共品圈占的抵抗基础之上的阶级斗争，以及环境和生计的退化。

Conclusion – At issue: 3 models

结论：仍有争议的三个模型

1. **Extractive capital and inclusive growth (foreign investment, private sector development, imperialism): 采掘资本与包容性增长（海外投资、私有部门的发展、帝国主义）**
2. **Progressive extractivism and inclusive development (resource nationalism, inclusionary state activism) 积极的采掘主义和包容性发展（资源国家主义、促进包容性发展的国家行动）**
3. **Socialism of the 21st century (nationalization & socialization of large-scale production, alternative trade—ALBA, grassroots organization + communalism-cooperativism, small-scale non-capitalist production for local markets, food sovereignty) 二十一世纪的社会主义（国有化和大规模生产的社会化，替代性贸易——美洲玻利瓦尔替代计划、草根组织、地方自治主义、合作主义、针对本地市场的非资本主义式的小规模生产、粮食主权）**

THE END

谢谢！