

A LIBRARY OF
DOCTORAL
DISSERTATIONS
IN SOCIAL SCIENCES IN CHINA

中国
社会科学
博士论文
文库

压力与共生

——动变中的生态系统与
近代东北农民经济

王大任 著

中国社会科学出版社

A LIBRARY OF
DOCTORAL
DISSERTATIONS
IN SOCIAL SCIENCES IN CHINA

中国
社会科学
博士论文
文库

师范大学
压力★与共生
藏书

——动变中的生态系统与
近代东北农民经济

王大任 著

导师 夏明方

中国社会科学出版社

图书在版编目 (CIP) 数据

压力与共生：动变中的生态系统与近代东北农民经济/王大任著.
—北京：中国社会科学出版社，2014. 5
ISBN 978 - 7 - 5161 - 4227 - 1

I. ①压… II. ①王… III. ①农业生态系统—影响—农业经济发展—研究—东北地区—近代 IV. ①F327. 3

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2014)第 083572 号

出版人	赵剑英
责任编辑	卢小生
责任校对	周 昊
责任印制	王 超
出版	中国社会科学出版社
社 址	北京鼓楼西大街甲 158 号
邮 编	100720
网 址	http: //www. csspw. cn
发行部	010 - 84083685
门市部	010 - 84029450
经 销	新华书店及其他书店
印 刷	北京君升印刷有限公司
装 订	廊坊市广阳区广增装订厂
版 次	2014 年 5 月第 1 版
印 次	2014 年 5 月第 1 次印刷
开 本	710 × 1000 1/16
印 张	28
插 页	2
字 数	434 千字
定 价	98.00 元

凡购买中国社会科学出版社图书，如有质量问题请与本社营销中心联系调换
电话：010 - 84083683
版权所有 侵权必究

《中国社会科学博士论文文库》 编辑委员会

主 任：李铁映

副 主 任：汝 信 江蓝生 陈佳贵

委 员：（按姓氏笔画为序）

王洛林 王家福 王缉思

冯广裕 任继愈 江蓝生

汝 信 刘庆柱 刘树成

李茂生 李铁映 杨 义

何秉孟 邹东涛 余永定

沈家煊 张树相 陈佳贵

陈祖武 武 寅 郝时远

信春鹰 黄宝生 黄浩涛

总 编 辑：赵剑英

学术秘书：冯广裕

总 序

在胡绳同志倡导和主持下，中国社会科学院组成编委会，从全国每年毕业并通过答辩的社会科学博士论文中遴选优秀者纳入《中国社会科学博士论文文库》，由中国社会科学出版社正式出版，这项工作已持续了12年。这12年所出版的论文，代表了这一时期中国社会科学各学科博士学位论文水平，较好地实现了本文库编辑出版的初衷。

编辑出版博士文库，既是培养社会科学各学科学术带头人的有效举措，又是一种重要的文化积累，很有意义。在到中国社会科学院之前，我就曾饶有兴趣地看过文库中的部分论文，到社科院以后，也一直关注和支持文库的出版。新旧世纪之交，原编委会主任胡绳同志仙逝，社科院希望我主持文库编委会的工作，我同意了。社会科学博士都是青年社会科学研究人员，青年是国家的未来，青年社科学者是我们社会科学的未来，我们有责任支持他们更快地成长。

每一个时代总有属于它们自己的问题，“问题就是时代的声音”（马克思语）。坚持理论联系实际，注意研究带全局性的战略问题，是我们党的优良传统。我希望包括博士在内的青年社会科学工作者继承和发扬这一优良传统，密切关注、深入研究21世纪初中国面临的重大时代问题。离开了时代性，脱离了社会潮流，社会科学研究的价值就要受到影响。我是鼓励青年人成名成家的，这是党的需要，国家的需要，人民的需要。但问题在于，什么是名呢？名，就是他的价值得到了社会的承认。如果没有得到社会、人民的承认，他的价值又表现在哪里呢？所以说，价值就在于对社会重大问题的回答和解决。一旦回答了时代性的重大问题，就必然会对社会产生巨大而深刻的影响，你

也因此而实现了你的价值。在这方面年轻的博士有很大的优势：精力旺盛，思想敏捷，勤于学习，勇于创新。但青年学者要多向老一辈学者学习，博士尤其要很好地向导师学习，在导师的指导下，发挥自己的优势，研究重大问题，就有可能出好的成果，实现自己的价值。过去 12 年入选文库的论文，也说明了这一点。

什么是当前时代的重大问题呢？纵观当今世界，无外乎两种社会制度，一种是资本主义制度，一种是社会主义制度。所有的世界观问题、政治问题、理论问题都离不开对这两大制度的基本看法。对于社会主义，马克思主义者和资本主义世界的学者都有很多的研究和论述；对于资本主义，马克思主义者和资本主义世界的学者也有过很多研究和论述。面对这些众说纷纭的思潮和学说，我们应该如何认识？从基本倾向看，资本主义国家的学者、政治家论证的是资本主义的合理性和长期存在的“必然性”；中国的马克思主义者，中国的社会科学工作者，当然要向世界、向社会讲清楚，中国坚持走自己的路一定能实现现代化，中华民族一定能通过社会主义来实现全面的振兴。中国的问题只能由中国人用自己的理论来解决，让外国人来解决中国的问题，是行不通的。也许有的同志会说，马克思主义也是外来的。但是，要知道，马克思主义只是在中国化了以后才解决中国的问题的。如果没有马克思主义的普遍原理与中国革命和建设的实际相结合而形成的毛泽东思想、邓小平理论，马克思主义同样不能解决中国的问题。教条主义是不行的，东教条不行，西教条也不行，什么教条都不行。把学问、理论当教条，本身就是反科学的。

在 21 世纪，人类所面对的最重大的问题仍然是两大制度问题：这两大制度的前途、命运如何？资本主义会如何变化？社会主义怎么发展？中国特色的社会主义怎么发展？中国学者无论是研究资本主义，还是研究社会主义，最终总是要落脚到解决中国的现实与未来问题。我看中国的未来就是如何保持长期的稳定和发展。只要能长期稳定，就能长期发展；只要能长期发展，中国的社会主义现代化就能实现。

什么是 21 世纪的重大理论问题？我看还是马克思主义的发展问

题。我们的理论是为中国的发展服务的，绝不是相反。解决中国问题的关键，取决于我们能否更好地坚持和发展马克思主义，特别是发展马克思主义。不能发展马克思主义也就不能坚持马克思主义。一切不发展的、僵化的东西都是坚持不住的，也不可能坚持住。坚持马克思主义，就是要随着实践，随着社会、经济各方面的发展，不断地发展马克思主义。马克思主义没有穷尽真理，也没有包揽一切答案。它所提供给我们的，更多的是认识世界、改造世界的世界观、方法论、价值观，是立场，是方法。我们必须学会运用科学的世界观来认识社会的发展，在实践中不断地丰富和发展马克思主义，只有发展马克思主义才能真正坚持马克思主义。我们年轻的社会科学博士们要以坚持和发展马克思主义为己任，在这方面多出精品力作。我们将优先出版这种成果。

李锐性

2001年8月8日于北戴河

摘 要

农民经济是一个依赖于所处生态系统生产使用价值和价值的实体，其基本模式及演化规律无疑是一个错综复杂而又富有争议的问题。本文以东北近代农业经济为样本，致力于探讨特定生态系统中农民经济模式所存在的对应共生关系，以及生态变迁与农民经营理性、农村经济秩序之间的互动影响。

本文从农民可利用资源数量上的变化角度出发，将近代东北农民所处的生态系统划分为三个诠释农民与自然环境互动关系的层面：环境生态、权力生态、技术生态。环境生态所包含的是自然环境直接与农民经济构成影响的层面。近代东北地区的移民多来自该地区南部的山东和河北等省，因此该地农地开垦的过程在时间和空间上遵循“先南部后北部”的顺序。在很多开垦时间较长的地区中均出现了相当大的生态压力。首先是“人地关系”日益紧张。随着移民的大量涌入与人口迅速的自然增长，在东北的很多旧垦区中不但可耕地早已开垦殆尽，人均耕地面积亦出现很大幅度的下降。其次，持续耕作过一段时间的耕地一般都由于长期施肥不足出现了比较严重的地力损耗。很多农田在经营了30—50年以后，土地肥力仅能维持原来一半的亩产量。再次，森林的大面积砍伐加速了水土流失，进而导致频繁的水灾或严重的土地沙化现象。所谓权力生态可以理解为权力对自然资源的获取和支配，是权力存在于一定生态系统中并确立以资源掌控为主的生态价值的行为系统。东北地区的资源流动虽然看似通过市场机制进行，实际却从未超越权力的维系，市场机制在近代东北地区农村中扩张的过程，实际上也是权力通过市场逐步深入获取资源的过程。它不仅包括直接依赖政治权力的显性手段，也包括依赖经济权力的隐性手段。东北的生态资源通过由权力控制的市场被逐步输出，且得不到有效的补偿。

在市场化不断扩张的过程中,东北农村一直处于一种资源上被压榨的地位,权力通过市场中资源的传递实现了贫困的传递。就近代东北农村经济发展模式而言,市场机制的扩张,不应仅仅被看做农民通过出售农产品获得收益的过程,同样也应被看作农民资源掌控权力流失的过程。技术生态则强调近代农业技术与当地固有的自然环境与资源状况发生相互作用的过程。在这一过程中,不仅仅应留意近代技术对地区自然环境和资源利用效率可能引发的改变,同样也应该考虑当地资源、自然环境对近代技术的适应或承受的情况。事实上,东北地区农民没有在资源上承受引进足够的现代技术以从根本上改变其资源利用效率的能力,很多国外研制的机械设备也根本不适合当地的自然耕作条件,因此,东北农业当时并不具备通过引进近代技术走上一条良性发展之路的能力。

总的来看,东北地区农民所面对的生态压力随着时间推移逐渐增大。生态压力的改变所引发的生存问题又影响着农民的行为理性,使之以截然不同的方式去组织其生产、销售、消费等经济行为。在人均拥有大量肥沃耕地的东北新垦区,大多数农场在经营中必须依靠雇用劳动力来缓解劳动力不足对农业生产带来的不利影响。雇工并非在该地农民家庭之中仅仅起辅助作用,而是作为一种常备的劳动力投入农家生产之中。由于劳动力的稀缺,雇工工资在新垦区要比其他地区高很多。出于节约雇工成本的需要,很多大型经营农场主倾向于采用节约人力的浅耕法、减少中耕除草的次数、降低肥料施用量和施用次数等粗放型农法,并将所雇用的劳动力与农具、肥料等生产要素粗放地投入农业生产之中,借此提高劳动力生产率并实现收益的最大化。这种经营方式显然是农民自发地通过调节生产中的要素投入数量以追求获利性动机的表现。在作物的选择上,此类经营农场倾向于遵循市场价格的信号,在农场中尽最大可能地种植货币收益较高的农作物,并在市场价格最为有利的时候卖出农产品以获取更大的利润。总体而言,东北新垦区的农户倾向于从市场理性出发经营自己的农场。随着人口的增长和环境恶化所造成的地力下降,农业生产中的劳动力投入逐渐由稀缺转变为过剩,雇工经营农场在很多旧垦区逐步被家庭劳动力的小农经营所替代。由于人地关系渐趋紧张,土地生产率对于农民的重要性逐渐超过劳动力生产率。劳动力等生产要素被越来越密集地投入于农业生产之中,人们通过在耕地中深耕、多除草、勤施肥等方式来实现亩产量的提高。与此同时,农户在生态压力的作用下逐步从市场中退出。农场经营在

农民家庭经济中的作用逐步从获利转向为农家提供直接消费的食物来源,以确保其生存安全的最大化。而获取货币收入和平衡家计收支的任务则依靠副业收入来完成。农民开始用供家庭自给的粮食作物替代原来货币价值较高的商品化作物。其产品的商品化率也开始逐渐降低。农民的经营理性亦开始从追求获利性的经济理性向追求粮食安全的生存理性过渡。

在处理协作关系、租佃关系、借贷关系等人与人之间的生产关系时,农村社会一般均有一套从事经济活动的固定经济秩序。此类经济秩序与农民所从事的生产消费行为相适应,并与之共存于乡村社会之中。在这样一种生态系统中,个人理性与社会系统之间实际上构成了一种暂时稳定的“共生”性平衡。农家经营模式在生态压力之下的改变不可避免地会影响到其遵循的经济秩序。

生态压力宽松地区的大农经营特征使得该地的乡村社会关系一般以家族协调作业的大家庭为核心展开。不过随着家庭成员的增多,分家活动愈加频繁,大家庭趋于逐步解体之中,并逐步形成了小农户间互惠协作的“农村共同体”关系。因为所拥有土地的细碎化,各农户自家拥有大型农具或是雇工已经变得并不合算,只能通过换工或插具等协作方式对其各自手中有限的资源进行统筹和调剂。同样,在生存压力增大的情况下,一些农民还有意识地扩大他们彼此之间可以共同利用的公共资源,并为其中的生计艰难者提供了某种生存上的保障。

东北农村中的地权分布关系与借贷关系亦在生态压力的作用下发生相应的调整变化。一方面,现有秩序的受益者都在努力建立一套生存和再生产方面的保障体系,以维持已存在的一整套社会经济秩序不至于因为其中个体的生存问题而陷入崩溃,进而使得秩序中的各个个体更深地嵌入到其所处的位置之中。土地的所有者会在佃户无力支付田租时,减免租金。资本所有者有时也会提供无息的借款。另一方面,经济秩序中各阶层也同样热衷于通过对原有规则的修改减少本阶层遭遇生态压力导致的损失,甚至将损失转移他人。这就造成名义上地租额和利息率的上升。在这种情况下,无论出租土地或是放贷收益率都明显下降,农业生产性投资开始出现大量向非农产业的“外逃”,进而造成以自耕小农为主体的“社会均贫化”的出现。

在特定的生态系统中,农民的经营模式与农村经济秩序以特定的形式构成了共生关系。当生态压力改变时,农民的经济理性、农民的经济行为

和农村社会中经济秩序等在原有生态系统中的共生关系将随之被打破。随着生态系统的变化，各要素会改变其形式，进而形成新的共生关系。本文从生态压力角度，对传统社会中农民家庭经济模式和农村经济秩序进行了重新解读。

关键词：东北 农民 生态 压力 共生 经济秩序

Abstract

Farmer economy is an entity of production for value – in – use and value depending on the ecosystem involved, and its basic pattern and evolution law is undoubtedly a complex and debatable issue. Following matters are discussed on basis of modern agricultural economy in Manchuria, such as the corresponding symbiotic relationship existed in the pattern of farmer family economy in a specific ecosystem as well as the interactive influence between ecological development, farmers' management rationality and norms in rural society.

From the aspect of the quantitative change of farmers' available resources, the ecosystem in which modern Manchurian farmers lived can be divided into three levels of interactive relationship between farmers and natural environment, i. e. environmental ecology, power ecology and technology ecology. By environmental ecology is meant the level that natural environment has a direct influence on farmers economy. The immigrants of modern Manchuria were mostly from its southern neighboring regions such as Shandong Province and Hebei Province, so an order of "the south firstly and the north subsequently" was followed both in time and space during its process of reclamation in modern Manchuria. Ecological pressure emerged in many regions where agricultural reclamation began earlier. First of all, "Man – land relationship" became serious increasingly. Following large influxes of immigrants and rapid natural increase of population, no cultivable land left in the old reclaimed regions, and per capita cultivated land reduced greatly. Secondly, fertility of cultivated lands dropped greatly due to long – term insufficient fertilizing over a period of time of cultivation. Per mu yield kept by the fertility of many farmlands after 30 – 50 years' cultivation was no

more than half of that before. Thirdly, Water loss and soil erosion was sped up as the result of massive deforestation, and eventually led to frequent floods and land desertification. By power ecology is meant the following understanding: natural resources are acquired and controlled by power, which interacts with environment under certain circumstances to set up a behavior system of ecological value emphasizing on resource - controlling. The flow of resources in Manchuria seemed to be subject to market mechanism, but, as a matter of fact, it was always controlled by power. The expansion of market mechanism in modern Manchurian countryside was a process that power gradually acquired resources by means of market. It not only relied directly on the dominant means of political power, but also on the recessive means of economic power. The ecological resources of Manchuria was exported gradually through the market controlled by power, and got no necessary compensation. During the continuous expansion of marketization, Manchurian farmers were exploited in terms of resources, and poverty was delivered by power through transmission of resource. As to the development pattern of rural economy in modern Manchuria, the expansion of market mechanism should not only be regarded as a process of farmers' gaining through selling their farm products, but also as one in which farmers lost their controlling power over resources. Technology ecology put emphasis on the interactive process of modern agricultural technology and local environment and resources, in which we should keep track of the probable change of local environment and resource - utilizing efficiency caused by modern technology, and we also should consider to what degree local resources and natural environment adapt or accept the adopted technology. As far as resources are concerned, Manchurian farmers were not able to fundamentally change their resource - utilizing efficiency by importing enough modern technology, and a lot of new machinery imported from abroad were unsuitable to local farming conditions, therefore, it is impossible for Manchurian agriculture, at the time, to go on the track of sound progress by introducing modern technology.

On the whole, the ecological pressure confronted by Manchurian farmers was getting more and more serious as time went on. The issue of subsistence caused by ecological pressure influenced farmers' behaviorial rationality, mak-

ing them to organize their economic behavior such as production, marketing and consumption in an entirely different way. In the newly reclaimed regions of Manchuria where a large amount of fertile farmland was possessed per capita, most farms must rely on hired laborers in their operation to overcome unfavorable effect on agricultural production caused by insufficient labor force. Hired laborers were not just play an auxiliary role in local farmer households, they were put in the agricultural production as an ever – ready labor force. Because of labor force scarcity, hired laborers' wages in the newly reclaimed regions were much higher than that in other regions. In order to reduce the cost of hired laborers, most farmers who managed large – scale farms were inclined to an extensive farming method, such as shallow ploughing, which involved less laborers, reducing frequency of inter – cultivating and weeding, applying less fertilizer both in quantity and frequency. In order to raise labor productivity and realize maximum benefit, factors of production such as hired laborers, farm tools and fertilizer were put extensively into agricultural production. Obviously, the practice showed that farmers spontaneously regulated the input quantity of factors of production to pursue profit motive. As to the selection of crops, the farms that adopted the practice were inclined to do their utmost to grow the crops that can get more benefit in response to the signal of market price, and sell their farm products at the most favorable market price to get more profit. On the whole, the farmers of the newly reclaimed regions in Manchuria were inclined to operate their farms in accordance with market rationality. Following the decline of soil fertility caused by population increase and environment degeneration, the input of labor force in agricultural production changed gradually from scarcity to surplus. The farms relying on hired laborers were replaced gradually by the small farm relying on family laborers in many old reclaimed regions. As the result of increasingly serious man – land relationship, the importance of land productivity to the farmers surpassed gradually that of labor productivity. Factors of production such as labor force were put into agricultural production in a more and more intensive way, and, consequently, deep cultivation, more weeding and frequent fertilizing were adopted to raise yield per mu. Meanwhile, farmer households existed gradually from market under the ecological pressure. The role of farm man-

agement in farmer family economy changed gradually from profit - making to farmers' supplying directly consumed food resource to ensure their maximum safety of subsistence. On the other hand, the farmers had to rely on sideline to obtain money income and to balance family cash flow. The farmers began to substitute family self - supplying grain crops for original cash crops with higher money value. As a result, the commercializing rate of their farm products declined accordingly, and farmers' operational rationality changed from the subsistence rationality of pursuing profit to that of pursuing food safety.

As for socio - economic relations such as cooperation, tenancy, and debit and credit, there were a set of fixed economic order for dealing with economic activities in rural society. The order adapted themselves to farmers' behavior of production and consumption, and coexisted with it in rural society. In such a ecological system, a temporarily stable "symbiosis" relationship was actually formed between individual rationality and social system. Therefore, it was inevitable for the change of farming family operation pattern under ecological pressure to have an influence on the economic order which farmers followed.

In the regions where less ecological pressure was faced by farmers operating large - scale farms, the local social relations were characterized by relying on large family or clan cooperation. However, with the increase of family members and the frequent division of a large family, large families underwent gradual disintegration, and eventually formed a "rural community" relation, which depended on mutual benefit and cooperation of small farmer families. Because of the disintegration of farmland possessed by farmers, it was not worthwhile for every farmer family to possess large - sized farm tools or hire laborers, and therefore they had to effectively plan and use their limited resources. Similarly, some farmers consciously enlarged their mutually usable common resources, and provided poor peasants with some assistance in subsistence.

Appropriate changes in the distribution of land ownership and the relationship of debit and credit took place under the ecological pressure. On the one hand, the beneficiaries of the norms made efforts to set up a system of protection for subsistence and reproduction, which can keep existing economic order from collapse due to individual issue of subsistence and make each individual more

deeply set its position in accordance with the norms. Land owners would reduce rent when tenants could not afford to it. Capital owners, sometimes, offered an interest – free loan. On the other hand, various classes under the norms were inclined to reduce their loss under ecological pressure by revising original rules, and even tried to transfer the loss to others. It led to the rise of nominal land rent and interest rate. Under the circumstances, both land – renting and lending declined obviously in profitability, large amount of investment on agricultural production began to shift to non – agricultural fields, and eventually led to the emergence of “common social poverty” among small landed farmers.

In the specific ecological system, a relationship of symbiosis between the pattern of farmer operation and the norms of rural society was formed in a specific shape. The relationship of symbiosis in the original ecological system, e. g. farmers’ economic rationality, farmers’ economic behavior and social behavior norms in rural society, was broken in the wake of the changes of ecological pressure. It can be seen that the forms of various elements changed with ecological system, and eventually established a new relationship of symbiosis. A novel explanation for the pattern of farmer economy and economic order in traditional rural society is given from the aspect of ecological pressure.

Key words: Manchuria; Farmer; Ecology; Pressure; Symbiosis; Economic Order

目 录

绪 论	1
一 关于农民经济模式的思考进路	1
二 中国农民经济读解过程中东北经验的必要性	9
三 以往东北区域农业经济史研究回顾	12
四 一个新的研究视角：生态系统中共生关系的动态分析	27
五 隐藏在地域性中的时间性	38

第一部分 生态系统的变迁

第一章 环境生态	49
一 独特自然禀赋对前近代东北农业的影响	49
二 清中叶以来东北地区的移民涌入	51
三 移民带来的土地开垦	55
四 近代东北地区人地关系变动情况	56
五 对于东北地区人地数据的再辨析	59
六 县别人地关系变化情况与人口地域内迁移	60
七 地力衰败与农作物产量下降	63
八 土壤成分的变化	69
九 树林的砍伐及其后果	71