On State Power and the Transition of the Means of Livelihood of Local Society

-----in the case of the Dong in YangLan village of TongDao autonomous county in HuNan since 1949

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Abstract: The transformation of state power leads to the change of the means of living of local society. In this thesis the author explores in the case the impression which the nationality has played to the Dong in YangLan villiage of TongDao autonomous county in HuNan. Before liberation, the weak country power is far away the "dong" society. But after the new state establishing, progressively penetrating of the state power made the means of living in this region getting through the process -----planting the rice from the glutinous rice to the long-grained, forestry destroying and recovering again and again, carrying out the family contracting responsibility system; and the new economic form such as "worker economic" we can see that state power strongly penetrate and intervene the change of the change of the means of living of local society.

Key words: State power; National society; The means of living; Change

As Anthony Giddens demonstrates, in his theory of power, there is a relationship of power and its donating structure existing between the state and local society. Therefore, during the process of the power circulation, the local society is inevitably affected by the state power in a decisive way. Judging from the aspect of the means of livelihood of Chinese national society, the implement of the state power will surely carry out changes one kind or another, including fundamental transformation and adjustment of local society varying from tradition to modern. Since 1949, it is obvious to have found the influence of the state power on the means of livelihood of local society and multiplied further transition of local ecosystem during the transition process of the Dong in YangLan village of TongDao Autonomous County.

I The Traditional Cohesive Type of Livelihood Means

TongDao Dong Autonomous County locates in the southwestern part of Hunan

province. Both the geography and climate conditions are beneficial to the means of livelihood mainly based on forestry, as a result of which is one of the most essential resources for Dong to support their families.

The Dong here has no other choices but confine their routine lives in accordance with the reality of excessive mountains and less fields. To overcome this limitation, the Dong has taken on their unique style of combinations of agriculture, forestry and fishery with spatial structure based on trinity cohesive type of livelihood means throughout thousands of years. As a matter of fact, this traditional cohesive type of livelihood means is a typical outcome of traditional local society. The relatively self-sufficient economy gets the Dong society increasingly becomes a resource entity out of administration, relatively independent and cohesive. They do not rely on the intervention and support from the state government, which is the main feature presented by cohesive type of livelihood means.

Due to the restriction of terrain and transportation, the Dong have been living in the remote and isolated mountain areas, where external factors are difficult to intervene and break their cohesive type of livelihood means. But since the founding of New China, the above situation has rapidly changed. The state power had begun to administer the Dong here and made constant and powerful intervention and adjustment to the livelihood means of the local society by adopting an parade of effective ways. From the aspects of resource distribution, productive methods, running approaches, rules of productive resources challenged the traditional livelihood means, which gradually caused the transition from traditional livelihood means to modern ones.

II Changes in Both Land Reform and the Dong Means of Livelihood of Local Society

In November, 1949, TongDao County was liberated. The peasant association, which worked as the most authoritative organization of grass-roots administrative organ, forcefully interfered in the production and living conditions of the Dong in YangLan village. That was favorable for maintaining social order and consolidating the newly founded political power of people as well as for the normal production and

living style of the Dong guided by the ruling party.

In order to change the unreasonable situation which landlord possessed the majority of lands in the traditional society, the TongDao county party of CCP led the movement of rural land reform, which thoroughly put an end to the plunderous land ownership favored landlord class in winter, 1951. In addition, many farmers who had less lands or no lands to farm were given lands for free, which has further liberated the rural productive forces and accelerated the normalization and growth of the agricultural production at a faster pace.

Meanwhile, the intervention from the state power to the forestry, however, brought negative influence beyond any expectations. In 1952, farmers who had no lands or less ones were given sufficient pieces from landlords or rich farmers according to the land reform, running these lands and mountains themselves. On the other side, the government agreed to implement the policy of encouraging people to burn the wild mountains, opening up the wasteland for cultivating, and transforming hills into fields. What's more, people who opened up the wasteland could receive food subsidy from local government. As a result, forestry has unprecedentedly undergone intense havoc and the ecological environment was damaging. The means of livelihood, therefore, opted to transit into the one restricted by the agriculture under the natural conditions.

III From the Great Leap Forward to the Campaign of People's Commune: the Simplification of the Means of Livelihood

After the land reform, dating from the Agricultural Cooperation Movement in 1953 to the People's Commune Movement in 1958, it was the most frequent historical period for the reform of administrative management system, which brings disastrous the following catastrophe to the Dong agricultural means of livelihood.

Firstly, the government stipulated people to plant polished long-grained nonglutinous rice instead of glutinous rice. When planting polished long-grained nonglutinous rice, it was supposed to drain water from wet lands and sun the fields, which were unsuitable for breeding fish. Consequently, some of the fields were digged into fishpond so as to meet the needs of the Dong for fish in their routine lives.

During this period, the traditional Dong rice variety, glutinous rice, which once played a leading role in their planting, was stipulated to plant polished long-grained nonglutinous rice instead of glutinous rice and as a result of which, the status of the traditional glutinous rice was compulsively destroyed. However, it is challenging for the Dong to transform the rice field culture which was their means of livelihood they relied on long.

Secondly, the forestry was subjected to further destruction again. The cooperative transformation of agriculture boomed from 1955 to 1957, during which the ownership of mountain forests was shifted again. Just as the participation to the local cooperative by land, owners of mountain forests originally joined in the local agricultural organization or cooperative at discounted shares and price of their forests, later on majority of owners joined these cooperatives by "contributing" their forests without any money. As a result, farmers didn't care about the development of forestry any longer because all the forests and woodlands were possessed by local cooperative and community. What was worse, the situation that forest farmers cut a large number of trees in succession occurred, which caused remarkable destruction for the development of forestry.

The Great Leap Forward centered with the great steel-making and the Campaign of People's Commune in 1958 did influence the remote Dong mountainous area. People cut forests in order to make steal, therefore almost the entire forests were destroyed and the local ecosystem was severely damaged. Undoubtedly, the destruction of forests on which the Dong had been heavily reliant for decades was a huge blow, which would in turn fill the Dong's lives with more hardships.

IV The Diverse Means of Livelihood after the Policy of Opening up and Reform

After the opening up and reform policy, the diverse characteristic has taken on the means of livelihood as follows:

Firstly, the household contract system was under implementation. In 1981, production responsibility system was put into practice by distributing fields to peasant households. The direct intervention from state power in people's means of livelihood

became less and less. Farmers, having acquired relative independence and autonomy in their daily work and business, had diverse choices in their means of livelihood which could motivate their productions and boost the local agriculture heading for a direction of stable development.

Secondly, the mountain forests were under recovery. In the same year of 1981, YangLan county began to apply the policy of distributing mountains to peasant households. Farmers were re-entitled the right of using woodlands and their status as the main bodies of independent runner to the forestry was certified. However, due to the historical reason of the changing policies from local government, villagers paid a widespread worry about any changes of national policies and decided to cut off all trees for sales while they were having the rights, which added to further destruction to the local forests. Right at that time, the state power intervened in ending the situation by carrying out the policy of fencing off and reforestation, which gradually reversed the bad state.

Thirdly, the phenomenon of economy of hiring out has appeared. As the development of domestic reforming and opening up, the economy in YangLan county has taken on the trend of economy of hiring out, which was totally different from the traditional style of combinations of agriculture, forestry and fishery with spatial structure based on trinity cohesive type of livelihood means. What is refers is a kind of the oriented economy, which is an important supplement to the traditional Dong livelihood means and affects their perception changes.

Though the influence of state power on the local society has gone through a spiral process since the founding of PRC, the result generally reinforces the status and function from state power to the local society. After a decade of management of the state power, the Dong traditional means of livelihood have changed significantly and the state power has helped the Dong village promote to be a more civilized society. As the modern science has been constantly introduced, incisive changes will definitely have taken place on local people's ideas.

国家权力与民族社会生计方式变迁

——以湖南通道县阳烂村侗族为例 暨爱民*

摘要:在民族社会的历史进程中,国家权力成为影响其生计方式变迁的主因。从湖南通道侗族自治县阳烂村个例分析中可以看出,制度转型完成后的国家权力"下探",在完成地方社会和秩序重建的同时,也左右了民族社会的生计方式"统一"步调,从而形成对这种社会构成和秩序的响应。

关键词: 国家权力; 生计方式; 变迁

在吉登斯看来,权力之所以存在,是因为有各种支配结构的存在。所以在社 会再生产运作的过程中,权力可以借助这些结构"顺利的流通",但同时权力又 标志着它与各种支配结构之间存在着冲突和潜在的压迫。[1] (P376-77) 吉登斯的权力 理论提示, 国家与地方社会结构之间所呈现的是一种权力与其支配结构的关系, 故在权力流通过程中,国家权力不可避免地对将地方社会产生决定性影响。就中 国而言,在历史的纵向轴上,前近代的传统社会中,乡绅与宗族这一"非国家权 力结构"联结着地方社会与国家事务,在很大程度上它充当"国家权力"的角色 而导引地方社会的整体构成和生产生活方式的展开,也正是由于这种结构性的 "中间权力"的存在,造成了传统中国地方社会与国家之间的"断裂"。从某种 意义上而言,这种状态下的地方社会因与"国家权力"之间缺乏直接的联系而显 得享有更多的"自主"。但随着20世纪中期中国制度转型的完全结束,新的国家 观随着国家治权在地方社会切实普遍的运作而进入广大民众的认知体系以及日 常生活中,国家对地方社会的控制力大大加强,国家权力的地方社会作用变得尤 为明显。就民族社会的生计方式层面来看,国家权力的运行而致其产生这样或那 样的变化, 地方社会从传统到现代亦发生根本性的变革和调整。从 1949 年以来 通道侗族自治具阳烂村侗族生计方式的演变过程,我们可以明显感受到国家权力 对地方社会生计方式的影响。

一 传统的内聚型生计方式

通道侗族自治县位于湖南省西南部,处雪峰山南端,接南岭余脉,连云贵高

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原东北边端,处于湘、桂、黔三省交界之崇山峻岭之中,山地、丘陵占全境面积的 90%以上。这一地区大部分处于亚热带气候区,气候温暖,雨量充沛。这样的地理环境和气候条件有利于以林为主的生计构成,但受山地形状结构的制约,农业发展受到一定限制。所以,自古以来,该地生计对山林有着极大的依赖性,林业资源成为侗族民众维持生存的一种重要资源。

山多田少的给定性特征显然是侗族生计展开的局限。为克服这一局限,侗族人民充分利用着每一寸可能利用的土地种植糯稻。糯稻也就成为侗族人民在长期的生产实践中选择的粮食作物。也可说这更多的是一种民族因地制宜的结果。其一是糯稻品种多样且适应性强,能够适应山区的生长环境;其二是糯稻杆高,适合于稻田养鱼,有利于提高稻田利用率,以缓解人土之间极为紧张的关系。

侗家人千百年来的努力开垦良田,兴修水利,形成了山涧平坝阡陌相连,高山深谷植被繁茂的一派生机盎然的景象,形成了侗族地区农、林、渔结合,三位一体的内聚型生计方式的立体结构。其实,这种传统的内聚型生计方式,是中国一个典型的传统乡土社会的产物。正是由于侗族生境和聚居空间封闭而造成观念世界的狭小,而形成了这种与之相匹配的经济形式。这种经济相对的自给自足性,使侗族社会日益成为脱离行政监督的、相对独立的、内聚紧密的资源主体。他们不必依赖国家权力的介入和支持,这也就是内聚型生计方式表现出来的主要特点。

由于受地形与交通的限制,侗族人民一直居住在边远的山区,远离政治、经济、文化中心,几近于一种封闭状态,外界因素也难以介入,这种传统的内聚型生计方式难以被打破。对于这一片地区的管理,国家权力一直处于疏远状态。于是,长期以来,侗族人民在这片土地上日出而作,日落而息,延续着那种内聚型的生活。但自新中国成立以来,这种局面很快被改变,国家权力开始有效进入侗族乡村社会,对地方社会生计方式作了持续而强有力的干预和调整。新的国家行政力量从资源分配、生产方式、经营方式、生产资料所有制等方面冲击了传统的生计方式,逐渐导致侗族地区的生计方式由传统向现代的变迁。国家权力的作用,正如吉登斯所言:"可以肯定的是,权威性资源同样是社会变迁的杠杆"。[1] [P38] 而"权威性资源"正是国家行政力量的源泉。

二、土地改革与侗族社会生计方式

虽然 1949 年 11 月,通道县宣布解放。但是,由于阳烂村偏远于通道县城,

旧社会的残余力量集聚此村而成严重匪患。直到 1951 年 1 月,侗族村民才与解放军取得联系,阳烂村随之成立侗民农会组织,民族社会秩序才渐趋稳定。[2]

农会作为国家权力的一种表现形式,对阳烂侗族村民的生产生活进行了强有力的介入和干预。虽说农会是政府管理农村的过渡性基层组织,但在当时它却是农村中唯一的、最具权威的行政管理机构。农会的这种干预主要表现在农会主席权力表现上。据出生于1941年的侗族村民龙建云说,当时农会主席的私章可以代表政府的公章通行各地。[2]譬如,村民们拿鸡到桂林去换盐,要通过沙宜、漂里、平阳、石辰、武洞等地方,有农会主席的私章就可以通过,否则各地方管理机构将不予放行。综合起来看,农会主要具有以下几大职能:(1)宣传党的各项方针政策;(2)组织群众,清算敌伪,镇压反革命;(3)实行减租减息,向大户借粮,救济贫民;(4)清匪反霸;(5)协调、处理村里的民事纠纷。通过这些职能,农会领导、管理和规范着村民的生产生活。新的国家政权刚刚建立之际,农会的成立与运作,有利于维护社会秩序以及巩固新生的人民政权,有利于执政党引导民众走上正常的生产生活之路。

据 1951 年统计,通道县占农村人口 5.8%的地主占有 16.4%的土地,8%的富农占有 14.6%的土地,而占农村人口 51%的贫雇农只占有 17.1%的土地。 [3] (P169) 而且生产条件好较的土地大多为地主富农占有。农民租种地主的土地,交纳沉重的地租。地租分为两种:分成租和定额租。所谓分成租,即佃户租种地主耕地按收入分成,一般为主六佃四,主七佃三,也有主八佃二的。所谓定额租,即在租约中规定租后数额,不论收成,斤两不少。 [3] (P169) 此外,不少地主还趁青黄不接之际放高利贷,因此,农民除了缴租之外还要忍受各种额外负担。"农民辛苦一年,在交完地租和高利贷之后所剩无几,若是遇上天灾人祸,农民更是苦不堪言"。 [2]

为了改变这种不合理的状况,1951年冬,中共通道县委领导了农村土地改革运动。11月6日,成立通道县土地改革委员会,县委书记宋建民任主任,并组建土改工作队,分赴农村基层开展土改工作。阳烂村的土地改革是1952年2月到4月进行的,土地改革的目的是为了澄清地主、富农、上中农、中农、贫农、雇农的农村阶级成份,为了使每个人都有饭吃,将地主、富农、上中农多余的田地分给无地或少地的贫下中农和雇农。土地归个人所有,每家每户都有土地证。经过土地改革,许多无地少地的农民无偿分得了土地,免除了长期以来向地主交纳的粮食地租,彻底摧毁了地主阶级土地所有制,挖掉了村民们贫困落后的烂根子。这就解放了农村生产力,真正当家作主的农民们表现出前所未有的生产积极

性,促进了农业生产的恢复和发展。

但是,这一时期国家权力对于林业干预的影响确带来了意想不到的负面影 响。侗族地区素有"杉海油湖"之称。侗族人民利用当地的自然条件,在山上广 种杉树和油茶树,用于生产和生活所需。一直以来,侗族人民对森林资源的利用, 仅仅是就地采伐以用于生产和生活所需而已,如修建鼓楼、风雨桥、备婚嫁之用 等。森林的自然增长积蓄量一直超过了人们的采伐量,森林资源有增无减,保留 了大量郁郁葱葱的原始森林。而且侗族人民历来就有培育人工林的传统,直到中 华人民共和国成立之初,这一带地区仍然是林海茫茫,云烟重接。建国后,为了 明确山权,政府对林业体制进行了一系列改革。1952年的土地改革,将地主、 富农的山地分给无山或少山的农民。至此,山林由林农自主经营。国家实行了鼓 励开荒造田的政策,对开荒者给予粮食补贴:每烧光一亩山林,国家补贴稻谷 100 斤。阳烂村山多地少,历来粮食需求得不到满足,国家的这一政策,对于村 民们来说无疑是一个抵挡不住的诱惑。于是,村民们开始了疯狂的烧山过程。大 量的参天古木被砍伐,大片的原始森林被烧光。根据村民们的回忆,当时全村约 有 100 余亩山林被毁,被烧的树木大概有 1000 多立方米。[4]按照当时的物价水 平来算,直接经济损失约有二万多元,相对于当时的经济水平来说,这笔损失无 疑是巨大的。当时,村民们开荒造田并没有什么实质性的目的,仅仅是为了得到 国家每亩山100斤的粮食补贴。被烧光的山后来并没有种上粮食,也没有补种树 苗,就那样荒着,只种了少许黄黍,结果对生态环境造成了无可估计的破坏,这 种破坏直到今天还留有后遗症。这是解放以来阳烂村侗族山林的第一次大毁坏。

林业遭受到了前所未有的破坏,生计方式转向受一定自然条件限制的农业。但是由于土地改革的推行,促进了生产力的解放,所以农业还是呈现出一派欣欣向荣的发展态势,经济得到了一定的恢复,使得村民们有时间和精力关注下一代的成长。这一时期,阳烂村的教育有了新的发展。1953年,阳烂村所办的小学正式挂牌为"阳烂小学",学员有20—30人,^[2]学员并不局限于本村人员,还包括临近侗族村寨的学生。这样,使得教育在本村及附近侗寨得到普及,使更多的侗族同胞能接受先进文化的熏陶。教育的主要内容为算术、语文、地理等知识性和技术性的学科,而非传统的"四书五经"及为人处事的哲学等。教育是社会再生产的途径,^{[5] (P100)}经济和教育是相互促进的。这次教育改革,对侗族地区文化传承以及本地区经济的发展都起到了重要的促进作用。

三、从"大跃进"到人民公社化: 生计方式的单一化

土地改革后,从1953年开始的农业合作化运动到1958年的人民公社化运动,这是新中国成立后行政管理体制变革最为频繁的历史时期。在这一时期,由于国家政策的不稳定导致土地所有权和使用权的分立和混乱,土地所有权的不确定,使得农业生产极不稳定,村民们经过土地改革提升起来的生产积极性很快就在紧接而来的农业合作化高潮中淹没。土地、耕畜、农具或是折价入社或是无偿入社,包括土地在内的一切生产资料归于集体所有。在入社的过程中违背了自愿互利的原则,导致农业生产情绪低落。特别是在后来的"大跃进"和人民公社化运动中,更是给农业带来了灾难性的破坏。

1958年,通道县委贯彻中共中央《关于在农村建立人民公社问题决议》精神,大办人民公社。9月中旬,阳烂村划入坪坦乡人民公社,大搞"一平二调",农业合作社刚建立的管理制度被打乱。管理上推行军事化体制,生产上实行大兵团作战,分配上实行供给制,普遍办起公共食堂,实行"吃饭不要钱","放开肚皮吃"的政策。这些政策严重影响了人民的生产积极性。人民公社化运动的目的是要建立"一大二公"的农民集体所有制,以便将农民迅速应引向共产主义的现代生活方式。然而,这大大超出了当时的实际情况,在教条主义泛滥的情况下,又不容许实践的证伪,铸成了以高指标、瞎指挥、浮夸风和共产风为主要标志的"左"倾错误,给国民经济带严重损失,农业遭到极大破坏。

(一)"糯"改"籼"。这一时期是侗族地区农业生产变化最大的一个时期。这一时期侗族土生土长的传统水稻品种——糯稻在侗族地区的中心地位遭到强制性破坏。侗族人民在长期的耕作实践中,培育了一些能适应各种自然环境的优良糯稻品种,有30多个品种。解放前,侗族地区糯稻种植面积达80%以上,^{[6] [P8]}有些侗族地区甚至全部种植糯稻。因此,侗族地区素有"糯谷之乡"的美称。解放后,特别是从1956年开始,由于国家政策的强制推广,籼稻开始在侗族地区广泛种植。与糯稻相比,籼稻具有一个压倒性的优势——产量高。特别是随着籼稻品种的不断改良,及后来杂交水稻的出现,籼稻的产量越来越高。这对于山多田少,基本口粮得不到满足的侗族人民来说无疑是一个巨大的诱惑。如果说一开始的"糯改籼"具有国家政策的强制性,那么到后来籼稻的大面积种植则是侗族人民心甘情愿的。目前,侗族地区籼稻的种植面积已大大超过了糯稻,只有在山间冷水田等阳光不充足的地方才能发现糯稻的踪影。

这一改变,对于侗族的另一传统生计方式——稻田养鱼,形成了强大挑战。种植籼稻要求排水晒田,根本不适合养鱼。然而,对于侗族人民来说,鱼是一种珍品,养鱼是祖祖辈辈留下来的习俗,是侗族人民日常生活不可缺少的一部分。为了有充足的鱼满足村民的日常生活,有些稻田被挖成了鱼塘,出现了专门的鱼塘养鱼。这样一来,本来有限的稻田面积就更小了。村民们还在林间山谷纵深之处,利用一些天然的地势,开出了一片片鱼塘。于是,村民们每天的日程便多了一项安排——割草喂鱼。因为从前的稻田养鱼是不需要放饲料的,稻田里的稻虫和水草为鱼提供了天然饵料。"糯改籼"以后,稻田养鱼便很少见了,取而代之的是鱼塘养鱼,这种状态一直延续到现在。

(二)林业再次遭到破坏。1955年到1957年是农业合作化的高潮时期。这一时期,山林权属又一次发生变化。和土地一样,山林先是折股入社、折价入社,后来很大一部分是无偿入社。由于合作化过程发展过快过猛,违反了自愿互利的原则,导致林农有很大意见。在紧接而来的"大跃进"和人民公社化运动中,山林随之归了大队,刮起了"共产风",搞起了"穷过渡"。由于所有树木林地都归社队、集体所有,强调"大"和"公",产权和收益都由社队干部掌握,农民造林和护林都只记工分,谈不上经营利润,农民不可能作为经营主体去关心集体林业的发展,因此,出现了林农纷纷大量砍伐树木的局面,对林业的发展造成了极大的破坏。加之籼稻的推广,使得侗族人民传统的进食方式改变。以前的糯米是不需要炒菜下饭的,只要将糯米捏成团就着酸鱼或酸菜汤就可以进餐了。这是因为糯米本身的油质丰富,不用额外补充油份也不容易使人产生饥饿的感觉。而籼米饭不同,如果不炒菜下饭,首先是难以下咽,另外就是它油质少,使人容易饥饿。炒菜需要大量的食用油料。于是,大片的参天古木被砍掉,改成了油茶林。当时,一切生产资料都归集体所有,油茶林也归集体管理,由于管理不善,并没有给村民们带来想象中的好处。

1958 年是我国经济发展的重要转折点。北戴河会议后,形成了一个全党全民 齐动员,以大炼钢铁为中心的"大跃进"运动和人民公社化运动的高潮。这股大炼钢铁之风也迅速刮到了边远的侗族山区。阳烂村也出现了全村男女老幼齐上阵,到处燃起"小土炉"的阵势。为了响应国家全力保证钢铁元帅升帐的号召,满足炼钢炼铁的急需,这个没有煤矿,只有大量木材的少数民族,动员全村民众大片 砍伐树木,以炼钢铁。当时完全是无计划的乱砍滥伐,大片已成材的杉树被砍下来当作炼钢的燃料,或是用来搭牛棚、猪栏,或是用来拦河坝、拦田坎,剩下的

木材全部拿到集体的食堂当柴火。由于此时山林已归集体所有,砍伐起来无人心 疼,人们专挑大树好树砍,完全没有一点计划。[2]这造成很大的浪费,也使生态环 境受到了极大的破坏。这一次的山林毁坏程度比第一次要更为严重, 几乎所有山 林的大树好树都被一扫而光,剩下的都是一些小树苗和杂木。据村中侗族老人杨 校生回忆,在此次山林毁坏运动之前,阳烂村曾有一片禁山,约12亩,是全村的 经济林区。山上主要种有竹子、杨梅树、杉树、松树等,中间有许多需要四人合 抱的古木, 放眼望去, 只见古木参天, 一片郁郁葱葱, 为阳烂村更添神秘感。这 片禁山在村民心目中有着极其重要的地位,是禁止动土和乱砍滥伐的,进入禁山 砍伐须向村里提出申请,经批准后放能进行砍伐。遗憾的是,在这场运动中,这 片古森林被无情的摧毁,原来的禁山彻底解禁了。当时在这片禁山中有一棵五人 合抱的杉树被最早砍下来,成为了阳烂小学的脚基。[7]从此,阳烂村侗民的禁山消 失了。这次山林毁坏运动,对于田少山多,对山林有极大依赖性的侗族村民们来 说无疑是一次巨大的打击。在以后的很长一段时间内,人们从山林获得的经济来 源不复存在,生活由此变得更为艰辛。而且,在"全民炼钢铁"期间,正值秋收 冬种之际,农村的主要劳动力都抽至炼钢铁,这就严重影响了农业生产,使侗民 的生活陷入了最为艰苦的岁月。

四、改革开放以来的多元化生计方式

直到改革开放以前,传统的农、林、渔相结合的内聚型生计方式转向单一的农业生计方式,而一直习惯于传统生计方式的侗族人民面对新的生活方式生出了许多的不适应。但村民们的生产生活一直处于一种被动局面,缺乏自主性。改革开放使这种局面得到了很大的改变,给闭塞落后的山区少数民族注入了新活力。

(一)家庭联产承包责任制的实行。改革开放以后,开始实行家庭联产承包责任制。1979年,阳烂村开始划分承包小组,根据自愿结合的原则分为7个小队。但是,仍执行工分制。此时,所有权和使用权的分立和混乱的问题仍然没有解决。直到1981年实行生产责任制,即分田到户,集体不动产的主要部分——耕地,全部分到各户,原社队的固有资产有的归还生产队和农民,有的折价转卖。至此,从实质上分离了所有权和经营权,明确了二者的权属问题。村民与土地的联系变得更为直接了,农民只是作为单纯的个体与土地发生联系。由于国家政策的改变国家权力对人民生计方式的直接干预越来越少,农民在劳动和经营方面获得了相对的独立性和自主性,农民生计方式有了多元选择,农民的生产积极性提

高,农业开始朝稳定方向发展。

- (二) 山林的恢复。也是在 1981 年, 阳烂村开始实行分山到户的政策, 划 分自留山, 落实山林管理责任制的工作。林农获得了林地使用权, 林农作为独立 的林业经营主体的地位得到了确认。当时的村民普遍存在一种认为山林已属自己 所有,可以任由自己处置的心理,更主要的是村民们担心国家政策再有所变动, 趁着山林属于自己之时,把树全部砍了去卖。于是山上的树不论大小一律砍光, 大的拿去卖,卖不出去的就拿来当柴烧。[4]于是,出现了阳烂村解放以来的第三 次山林大砍伐,山上只剩下稀稀落落几棵油茶树和一些灌木。[4]造成这种局面的 原因主要是历史带给林农的心理阴影。经过多次的折腾后, 林农对国家产生了不 信任感,生产积极性不高。人们担心国家政策不稳定,唯恐山林权属又再发生变 动。^[4]此际,国家权力适时介入,有关管理部门向林农宣传山林政策,并实行"封 山育林",情况逐渐好转。近年来,村民们陆续从外地买来小杉树苗补种上。由 于林业生产周期长, 获利于林业是缓不济急。同时, 山林经过解放以来的三次大 浩劫,已经元气大伤,变得脆弱不堪,山上只剩下零星的一些杂木和后来补种的小 杉树苗,根本满足不了人们的生产和生活需求,有些人家甚至连日常用的柴火都 要从外地运进来。当然,这只是目前的形势。侗族人民历来就有人工培育杉木的 传统、积累了丰富的植杉经验、再加上当地得天独厚的气候资源、在国家政策的 正确引导下, 走综合高效的可持续发展林业之路, 林业将成为当地重要的经济来 源。
- (三)"打工经济"出现。随着改革开放的深入,商品经济也深入到少数民族地区,与山区少数民族的传统经济模式发生强烈碰撞,冲击了村民们的思想观念。这些地区的青年甚至是少年纷纷外出打工,形成了一股来势凶猛的打工潮。现今,阳烂村留守村庄的大多是老人和小孩。村里的年轻一代都到外地去打工,形成"打工经济"。与传统的农、林、渔相结合的内聚型生计方式不同,"打工经济"是一种外向型经济,它形成的原因主要有两个:一是改革开放以来,城市发展很快,而许多贫困山区人民生活水平仍然很低,城乡差距仍然很大,贫困地区人们渴望进城获取财富,改变经济状况;二是随着农村机械化程度提高,农村出现了大量的剩余劳动力。于是,这些剩余劳动力选择了进城寻找发展的机会。与发展林农业不同,"打工"是一种短期获取资金的很好手段,它作为村民们解决生产和生活上的燃眉之急的一种生计方式,是可以接受的。但是它不能成为这些贫困地区生产和生活的支柱,不可能从根本上使这些贫困地区脱贫致富。这些

贫困地区要想从根本上旧貌换新颜,只有依靠国家政策的扶助,大力发展教育,科技兴农、兴林,发展当地的优势产业 ,如林业等。同时,村民们还要抓住国家大力扶植侗文化旅游之机,利用当地独具特色的旅游资源,大力发展旅游业,从多个角度来使侗族人民脱贫致富。

虽然共和国以来,国家权力对地方社会生计方式的影响经历了一个螺旋式的过程,但其结果总的来说是强化了国家行政权力在地方社会的地位和作用。国家权力经过数十年的运作,使得侗族地区传统的地方社会生计方式发生重大变化,使得传统的侗族村落迈向了更为文明开化的社会,现代科学文化的不断传入,也使得他们的思想观念发生深刻变化。正如学者所言:"封建帝国并没有能力直接把它的权力贯穿到地方社会,当时中央与地方的关系十分微弱,而且地方具有相当强大的独立性。在社会主义时期,国家在地方上建立各种各样的组织,使其自身能够与地方社会和经济过程联系起来。国家对村落的组织性渗透,使国家能够充分得利用村落的人力和生产资源。更重要的是,它提供了一种渠道使得国家有可能在村落里推进社会变迁"。[5] (1941)

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