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木里藏族经济发展战略研究

Strategic Studies of Economic Development of Tibetan in Muli

◎ 韦安多/著

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2010年《木里藏族经济发展战略研究》一书终于出版了。这是本人 2005年出版的《凉山彝族经济发展战略研究》一书的姊妹篇。本研究成果历经 6年多时间,经过大量田野调查和参阅文献而完成。2007年本人聆听木里十世边马仁青·香根活佛的教诲,并得到他用藏汉两种文字为本书题写的"心想事成"之珍贵墨宝。

《木里藏族经济发展战略研究》一书全面细致地介绍了木里藏族族源和藏传佛教的历史渊源和特殊地位。同时对木里藏族的自然、人文、建筑、文化艺术也进行了深入探索与研究,从人类学、社会学、民族学、民族经济学和生态经济学的角度进行科学的分析,客观地剖析木里历朝历代的经济支柱问题。面对1998年国家实施"长保工程"后木里的约经济陷入了前所未有的困境,针对这个问题本人提出超前性和独创性的见解。提出以植草种树保护自然生态环境和创立藏族牧区"特色教育"等思想,借鉴和吸取国内外少数民族经济发展的成功经验,提出建立"绿色牦牛经济"的核心经济发展的成功经验,提出建立"绿色牦牛经济"的核心经济发展的成功经验,提出建立"绿色牦牛经济"的核心经济发展的成功经验,提出建立"绿色牦牛经济"的核心经济发展的成功经验,提出建立"绿色牦牛经济"的核心经济发展的成功经验,提出建立"绿色牦牛经济"的核心经济基本人提出真诚生的"水电开发"作为新的经济支柱,本人提出真诚告流,明确指出这是重路20世纪50年代把大规模砍伐森林作

为经济支柱的错误历史的覆辙! 历史的教训要引起国家有关方面的关注和地方政府的思考!

面对美丽神奇的木里的诱惑,富饶而贫困的木里的希 冀,博大精深的藏传佛教文化和人文精神的震撼,我最感到 欣慰的是木里藏传佛教十世边马仁青·香根活佛的信任,木 里藏族自治县县长熊正林的大力支持,木里藏族农牧民对研 究工作的无私帮助,使我的田野工作进展得十分顺利。

凉山的友人说:"天下熙熙皆为利所来,天下攘攘皆为 利所往, 韦安多先生却为民族经济发展和民族教育而来, 是 砭矻的工作者"。这是一位我未曾谋面的凉山笔友的话。工 作是美丽的。我心中的楷模是我的恩师——1937 年哈佛博 士、国际著名的人类学家、社会学家和民族学家林耀华教 授。他在抗战最困难时期毅然从美国回国到抗战后方,实实 在在地为民族效学术之力,他在1943年、1944年和1945 年三次到凉山彝族地区和甘孜阿坝藏族地区进行田野调奋, 先后写出《凉山夷家》和《四土嘉戎》两部专著。遗憾的是 "文革"中《四土嘉戎》书稿遗失。林先生 2001 年用自己毕 生积蓄 10 万元为凉山彝族大学生设立"林耀华教授奖学 金", 奖学金筹集到 223000 多元, 共资助百名彝族大学生完 成学业,其中获奖彝族女大学生占65%。林耀华教授实践 着"情系凉山"的夙愿。2001年先生在弥留之际最后的话 "凉山彝族是我亲自考察,应当继续……"呜呼!这句话成 为我在凉山工作的最大动力。

1992 年受国务院部委下派到凉山彝族自治州桂职扶贫, 我是第一批成员之一。1998 年我 48 岁时,在北京的国家部 委里萌生了二上凉山的想法,想把自己剩余的 12 年工作时 间奉献给民族教育和民族经济研究工作。此事我向林耀华先生说出,先生十分支持我。他说凉山彝族的研究刚刚开头,木里藏族更值得研究。随之,他回忆起 50 多年前在甘孜、阿坝藏区田野调查时的情景,如今一切历历在目,他的教诲使我终身受益。2010 年是林耀华教授诞辰 100 周年。我的《木里藏族经济发展战略研究》专著正式出版,也算是对他老人家的汇报。

《木里藏族经济发展战略研究》一书花费了我 6 年多时间。其姊妹篇 2005 年出版的《凉山彝族经济发展战略研究》花费了我 4 年多时间。2004 年出版的《凉山彝族文化艺术研究》花费我 2 年时间。2007 年我因眼疾退休,但我的研究工作并没有停止。林先生在生前主张学术要与社会实践相结合,学术研究要为社会进步服务。民族学、社会学、人类学要向交叉学科生态人类学、生态民族学和民族生态经济学延伸发展,最终目标是关注解决自然生态环境和人文社会失衡的问题,为富民而出谋划策。2009 年我再次从北京来到本里作田野调查,以期赶在 2010 年林耀华教授诞辰 100 周年之际能正式出版《木里藏族经济发展战略研究》一书。希望本书的建议和理论研究能对西部民族地区的经济发展和社会进步有一定的参考价值,能为木里藏族自治县的经济繁荣昌盛,为勤劳善良勇敢的木里农牧民找到一条可持续发展的富民强县之路。

韦安多

2010年3月26日于三亚南山花园

序二

推动凉山彝族自治州彝族经济发展的教科书

——拜读《木里藏族经济发展战略研究》 的姊妹篇《凉山彝族经济发展战略研究》

《凉山彝族经济发展战略研究》一书 2005 年由民族出版 社正式出版。作者是彝学家原凉山大学副校长韦安多副教授 花了 4 年多时间而著的一本书。他多年深入美姑、金阳、昭 觉、布拖等老 9 县进行田野调查,掌握了第一手的资料进行 分析研究,并涉及了一些深层次的问题。尝试对凉山彝族聚 居区的经济发展进行全面的论述,这本书对 30 个民族自治 州的经济发展有一定的借鉴和指导作用。

1992 年夏,韦安多先生从国家部委到大凉山彝族腹心地美姑县挂职扶贫,结识了著名毕摩阿苏拉则的 32 代嫡孙、美姑县政协主席彝学学者吴其果果。1993 年 10 月回京工作之余,拜访了《凉山彝家》作者、三上凉山考察彝族的哈佛人类学博士林耀华教授。他同时萌生了二上凉山的夙愿。

韦先生云:"凉山与我,如同彝族的美酒与老友,印证我们之间的越陈越醇香。"美丽而神奇的凉山诱惑着他,富饶而贫穷的凉山希冀着他,博大而精深的彝族文化艺术和人文精神震撼着他,热情而勤劳的彝族人民期盼着他。1999

年7月,在国家和四川省有关领导的关怀和支持下,韦安多先生毅然放弃了在北京国家部委工作的优越条件,惜别了美丽善良的夫人和勤奋好学的贝儿,第二次上凉山到凉山大学从事彝族文化教学和研究工作。7年来,他主编了70万字的《凉山彝族文化艺术研究》等多本专著,成立了四川省第一个彝族文化艺术研究所,首创了彝族文化资源管理专业,吸引了川、滇、黔等省市的学生前来就读。随后《凉山彝族经济发展战略研究》专著问世。他被凉山彝族人民敬称为"情系凉山"的人,也印证了他崇敬的恩师林耀华教授在弥留之际最后所说的"凉山彝族是我亲自考察,应当继续……"的话语。

《凉山彝族经济发展战略研究》、《木里藏族经济发展战略研究》两部专著是给凉山彝族和藏族人民馈赠的珍贵礼物,是奉献给凉山彝族自治州经济发展的教科书。古人云:"天下熙熙,皆为利所来;天下攘攘,皆为利所往。"而韦安多先生,却为凉山的民族教育教学和经济发展而来而往,矻矻地工作着,忙碌着。《凉山彝族经济发展战略研究》和《木里藏族经济发展战略研究》两本专著,从我国"八七"扶贫计划的社会情况入手,借鉴和吸取了国外特别是少数民族地区经济发展的成功经验和教训,运用经济学、生态经济学、社会学、民族学、人类学、管理学、市场学和流通经济学、社会学、民族学、人类学、管理学、市场学和流通经济学等原理,对凉山彝族经济发展战略提出了全面的、系统的和独创性的见解,内容全面,重点突出,是一项较好的民族经济发展战略研究成果,具有较强的科学性、指导性和超前性。

韦先生在书中直言: 凉山是"富饶的贫困"。警示和教

诲人们,要依靠彝族主体民族好好珍惜、保护、开发和利用 凉山的"富饶";千方百计地战胜和消灭凉山的"贫困",从 而使凉山的面貌焕然一新!

韦安多先生在《凉山彝族经济发展战略研究》一书中重点提出:要抓住国家重点支持西部基础设施建设,加强生态和环境保护的大好时机,也要大力发展彝族传统的特色教育,建立"教育特区"保证彝区入学率,尤其是提高女童的入学率。防止"一刀切"盲目地脱离实际地照搬内地模式,在民族地区的教育上要重视特殊性和教育基础很弱的客观现状。建议保证就近入学的"一师一校"初小制,用50%课时学习彝语彝文,背诵《勒俄特依》(溯源经典)和《玛牧特依》(教育经典)以及彝族优秀的法律经典等主要章节。使1—3年级的小学生既解决维护义务教育,就近入学的原则,同时在民族地区教育内容上有所创新。总之,他针对"普九"时的学生的不同年龄段进行分类,科学地设计了不同教学方案和教学方法,使人耳目一新。更值得一提的是他的在高等教育时期建立"绿色通道"保证彝族女学生升学率不低于65%的建议。

在加快西部民族地区高等教育发展中,他建议国家要拿出搞三峡的气魄,拿出 500 亿元人民币在西部 30 个民族自治州中构建一个类似"211 工程"项目,重点支持每州一所本科院校或职业技术学院。如果能实现,这将是 21 世纪中国高等教育历史上最伟大的工程。

在凉山彝区聚居地老九县的经济发展中,他强调建立绿 色生态农、林、畜业共荣的先进生产模式,以保证自然生态 的可持续发展。主张依靠彝族主体民族自身力量,把经济发 展的战略目标紧紧地锁定在国际和国家产业政策、区域经济政策和法制之中。尤其是建议慎用"移民"作法,利用"比较优势理论"把有限的生产要素集中在彝区老九县,以林草业和畜牧业作为突破口,即解决"天保工程"的持久性,同时带动彝区第二、第三产业的快速发展,实现经济学家有关"越差土地、越是鼓励人们使用"的理论,把社会资本转向生产和流通领域,实现利润和资本最优化。从而彻底解决凉山的荒山荒地的综合利用和开发问题以及国家重点关注的21世纪"移民逆向流动"问题。

在发展凉山彝族聚居区经济中,韦安多先生指出更重要的是发挥乡镇政府的职能作用,关键在于经济和社会重心下移。经济发展的战略重心下移就是使县政府由行政管理改变为服务型,以乡镇为中心抓好村寨、村组生态环境建设,逐步实现乡镇城镇化,建立一支年轻化、知识化的基层干部队伍,促进第二、第三产业和生产要素市场早日形成,加强乡镇以下干部综合素质培养和管理运营水平提高,就会成功解决"看不见的手"和乡镇"市场失灵"的问题。

总之,在21世纪西部大开发中,凉山彝族自治州政府要尽快纠正重工业轻畜牧业、重开发轻保护的做法。在积极调整产业结构中充分利用凉山生态、气候和人文自然优势,突出彝族善于饲养牧畜和放牧的特长,加快凉山彝族聚居地区林草业、畜牧业的全面发展。西部大开发需要的是人力资源和智力资本的提高,发展彝区经济应走社会、经济、生态、文化和谐协调发展模式,保持各种资源永续利用,最后实现富民强乡,富乡强县,富县强州系统发展地方经济之路。

韦安多先生心系凉山,情洒彝区,描绘出凉山彝族自治州经济发展的绚丽画卷,可喜可歌!

我拜读该书,大受启迪,深受教诲,受益匪浅,盼韦先生《木里藏族经济发展战略研究》早日出版并有更多更佳的力作问世。

全阳玉鲁 2005年12月

Preface

"Strategic studies of economic development of Tibetan in Muli" that is the companion piece of "Strategic studies of economic development of Yi Nationality in Liangshan" in 2005 has been finalized and published eventually in 2010. It took the author 6 years to have the work completed by performing lots of fieldwork and reviewing documentary literature. Having followed the suggestion raised by Xiang Gen Living Buddha Renqing Ma in 2007, his bilingual inscription titled with "May wishes come true" in Tibetan and Chinese is regarded as precious motivation for my effort.

The historical origin and unique status have been documented in great detail and a comprehensive manner in the "Strategic studies of economic development of Tibetan in Muli" that has also performed an intensive exploration covering natural humanities, architectures, culture and art and objectively analyzed the economic pillar that existed in imperial dynasty by applying a variety of subjects dealing with anthropology, sociology, ethnology, ethnic economics and ecological economics. Confronted with the unprecedented problems with economy in Muli after implementing "national project of permanent protection" in 1998, the creative and up front resolutions targeting at the above mentioned problems have been raised, suggesting that environmental protection through grass and tress planting and establishment of characteristic education in the Tibetan pasturing area and central strategic thought focusing on Green

economy generated by Yak with reference to experience in successful cases exercised by national and international development of ethnic economy. Having summed up the past lessons in terms of alleviation of poverty in ethnic areas, measures are expected to take in compliance with founded theories rather than the leap forward proposal by taking flying leap over thousands of year in the form of over exploitation of water and electricity power as pillar industry. In 21st century, the precaution should be taken against sharing exactly of the same mistakes made in deforestation in 1950's, which should also take consideration by our nation.

Apart from impression of fascinating landscape, expectation of economic poverty with abundant resource and emotional connection from Tibetan Buddhism and humanistic spirit, all that takes comfort with is the trust from 10th Living Buddha and strong support by county mayor Mr Zhengli Xiong as well as generous help supplied by Tibetan pastoralist in Muli, facilitating field work to move on smoothly.

As some of friends of mine in Liangshan put, bustles and hustles in the world keep alive for the sake of profitability and private benefits. In contrast, Mr Anduo, Wei volunteered to come for the sake of economic development in ethnic areas and regional education as a hard worker. The mental example I have been motivated to follow is Professor Yaohua Lin who graduated from Harvard University in 1937 and was well recognized as a great scholar concentrating on anthropology, sociology and ethnology. It was he who determined to come back to China from USA, making contributions to ethnology with academic methodology during the hardest period during which anti Japanese war was carried forward.

He came over to Liangshan and Ganzi Aba Tibetan region where field work was conducted in 1943, 1944 and 1945 respectively and his work of "Ethnic overview in Liangshan" and "Situ Jiarong" etc was also published in succession. In 2001, Mr Lin set up scholarship for poor university students with Yi nationality with his lifetime deposits amounting to RMB100 thousand, which raised fund adding up to RMB223 thousand in total subsequently to have sponsored hundreds of students with Yi Nationality of which girl students accounted for 65%. All that he did was consistent with his wishes for emotional connection with Liangshan.

In 1992, I was engaged by national council to undertake poverty alleviation as one of appointed officials in the first group to autonomous state of Liangshan. As time raced by, in 1998, when I was 48 years old, I came to think of 2nd departure for Liangshan for being committed to research on ethnic education and economic development at the cost of the rest of 12 year working schedule, which was strongly supported by Mr Lin who instructed me that research on Yi Nationality just got started and Tibetan in Muli appeared to be more worth conducting research.

It took me more than 6 years to complete the "Strategic studies of economic development of Tibetan in Muli" after the companion piece of "Strategic studies of economic development of Yi Nationality in Liangshan" was published in 2005 that took me 4 years. Retrospectively, Research on culture of Yi Nationality cost me 2 years before it was finalized. In 2007, I retired from my work due to disease of my eye, which did not stop me from moving on with my research. As promoted by Mr Lin who had been insisting on combination between practice and academy that in turn pushed

forward progress in society. Ethnology sociology and anthropology should extend development into cross subjects like ecological anthropology, ecological ethnology. The final goal is that more emphases should be laid on resolutions to ecological environment and imbalance of human society and proposals should be raised on enriching people. The suggestions and theories documented in the book are expected to contribute additional value to economic development and social progress, giving rise to economic prosperity of Tibetan autonomous county of Muli and sustainable development for hard pastoralists with nice and optimistic expectation.

Anduo Wei

Garden of South Mountain in San Ya

26 Mar 2010

Subsequent preface

A textbook pushing forward the economic development of Yi Nationality in Liangshan

Having read "Strategic studies of economic development of Yi Nationality in Liangshan" that is the companion piece of "Strategic studies of economic development of Tibetan in Muli", I acknowledged that his work is of guiding significance for reference to economic development of the number of 30 ethnic autonomous counties to a certain extent. The work of "Strategic studies of economic development of Yi Nationality in Liangshan" was officially published by Publishing House of Minority Nationalities in 2005, Professor Anduo Wei who used to be vice president at Liangshan University as the author spent 4 years having completed this book by performing field work intensively into the number of 9 counties including Meigu, Jinyang, Zhaojue and Butuo etc. Having obtained first hand information, further analyses were made and insightful opinion were put into underlying problems from which attempts were made to specify the economic development of assembled areas of Yi Nationality in Liangshan.

In July 1999, Professor Wei who came over to Liangshan one more time determined to specialize in cultural education and research in terms of Yi Nationality in spit of preferential and beneficial conditions of national government in Beijing. Over past 7 years, he had compiled several books like "Strategic studies of economic development of Yi Nationality in Liangshan" with more than 0.7 million words and established the first culture and art research institution in Sichuan province, originally setting up the subject of cultural resource management of Yi Nationality open to students from Sichuan, Yunnan and Guizhou provinces. Subsequently, "Strategic studies of economic development of Yi Nationality in Liangshan" was published. He has been well known as a person holding emotional connection with Liangshan for all that he contributed.

"Strategic studies of economic development of Yi Nationality in Liangshan" and "Strategic studies of economic development of Tibetan in Muli "would be treated as the presents to people with Yi and Tibetan nationality, which is also deemed as the textbooks for economic development of Liangshan. These two books started with elaboration from National "87" planning for poverty alleviation by reference with successful experience and lessons the foreign countries especially, ethnic areas, went through. The author came up with unique, systematic and creative opinions by applying economics, ecological