




李景铭 著

甘南藏族自治州 经济社会发展研究

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摘 要

一、民族的区域性和区域的民族性

区域发展理论和模式假定民族是均匀分布且同质的,民族发展理论和模式假定区域是均匀分布且同质的。事实上,这两个“假定”都是不真实的。区域和民族是分异的。

研究我国少数民族和民族地区的发展问题,要充分考虑民族的区域性和区域的民族性,民族和区域是紧密联系在一起的。民族是在特定区域生存和发展的,区域是在特定民族主导下发展。民族聚族分布及其对地域的强烈认同,是民族和区域均未充分发展的原因,同时也是结果。

我国区域间发展极不平衡,发展差距在持续扩大。分析民族分布格局就会发现,区域发展不平衡同时也反映了民族发展不平衡;区域发展差距同时也是民族发展差距。中国的区域发展战略忽视了区域的民族性问题,区域不平衡发展在理论上是正确的,但由此造成的民族不平衡发展有违政治伦理和社会伦理。

民族自治区域是一个行政地理概念,在研究少数民族和民族地区发展问题时,应更多地关注民族聚居的具体的自然地理区域和经济区域。在民族自治区域内,不同民族有各自的次级聚居区域,因此,民族自治区域的发展并不必然是少数民族及其区域的发展。

区域的发展与不发展,有民族因素存在;民族的发展与不发展,有区域因素存在。把区域发展和民族发展结合起来进行跨学科研究,应该是一个方向。

二、发展的环境条件

自然环境构成了发展的空间形式和物质基础;人文环境构成了发展的时间形式和社会基础。环境是既定的,也是变化的,在不同的

时期对发展的影响和作用不同。

当经济社会处在低水平发展阶段时,发展对环境的依赖性较大。环境条件好,则促进发展;环境条件差,则阻碍发展。甘南的自然环境恶劣,人文环境保守,总体上看对发展的制约作用更加明显。反过来,甘南的经济社会发展水平落后,又过度依赖环境条件。

在落后地区,自然资源规定着发展的方向和速度。有什么样的资源禀赋,就有相应的经济部门。资源优势在通常情况下表现为经济优势,但有时也会发生矛盾。森林是甘南的优势资源,但禁伐后就丧失了经济优势;草场也具有很大的优势,但当这种优势转化为经济优势时,可能会造成生态灾难。因此,优势资源和资源优势是不同的,发展对资源的依赖和资源对发展的支撑要有一个合理的阈值。

人文环境相对容易改变,譬如交通、区位等可以通过基础设施建设得到改善,为发展提供保障。但像民族、宗教等一些最重要的人文因素,改变起来就比较困难,但不是不可以改变,恰当的有力的社会政策将会加速变革的进程。

自然环境和人文环境的综合作用形成了总的发展环境,前者为“硬件”,后者为“软件”。甘南的发展环境有利有弊,但“弊”大于“利”。

三、经济发展问题

不能总是用“落后”解释落后。从经济发展的资本要素来看,物质资本的投入不足是经济不发展或发展缓慢的根本原因。通过资本形成的规模和速度分析,包括甘南在内的大部分少数民族地区之所以经济落后,原因固然多种多样,但投资不足、资本存量过小是直接的主要原因。

人力资本和物质资本是互相促进而不是互相替代的关系。把民族地区的落后归因于民族素质不高是没有道理的,尽管民族素质对经济发展是重要的。物质资本代表了生产的能力和水平,一个没有现代经济部门成长的民族地区,经济不可能发展,人才资本也缺乏充分的激励。

大规模的财政转移支付依旧是少数民族地区资本形成的有效途

径。中国的市场经济是从计划经济的土壤中逐渐形成的,而计划经济是造成目前区域间资本存量多少的体制背景,这就决定了不同区域在市场竞争中处于不平等的地位。资本的流动性和趋利性将进一步拉大发展差距,少数民族和民族地区要谋求发展,离不开政府主导。

民族地区在经济结构调整和发展战略选择上,应从实际出发,实事求是。在经济结构调整中,要有所为有所不为。主导专业化部门的确立至关重要,要综合区域内的各种因素,通过科学论证,统一规划,优先发展对区域经济社会有广泛联系效应和带动作用的产业部门。工业化是方向,但实现工业化的途径有多种选择。

可持续发展既是一种发展观念,也是一种发展战略。甘南经济社会是否能够可持续发展,取决于破解 PPE 人口—资源—环境困境。人口、资源、环境的恶性循环是落后少数民族地区普遍存在的现象。生态、经济、社会的重建也许是走向可持续发展的可行选择和唯一希望。

“公用地悲剧”在继续上演,甘南的生态环境已恶化到极点。“承包制”与“公用地悲剧”的博弈说明政策和制度有必要进一步完善,这方面的问题有待深入研究。

四、社会转型与发展

甘南有三大社会问题:一是贫困问题,二是宗教问题,三是部落意识问题。

通过对比分析,甘南是最落后的民族地区,当前还处在全面贫困状态。生存是第一位的,不消除贫困,保障生存,一切发展的努力都将事倍功半。贫困抑制着发展,只有发展了,才能从根本上解决贫困,这是一个很矛盾的问题。

宗教改革是甘南社会发展的必要条件。宗教改革的方向是世俗化,宗教信仰应该成为私人领域的事。“集体意识”会演变为“集体无意识”,当宗教成为一种集体选择时,宗教必然会控制社会,而宗教的本质是保守的。藏传佛教和伊斯兰教都存在制度上的缺陷,譬如活佛转世、门宦等宗教制度,都有必要改革。

部落问题由来已久。甘南社会发育不良、社会整合程度低,都与千百年来的部落制度有很大关系。新中国成立以后,部落组织被废除了,但部落结构、部落观念、部落习惯、部落行为依然是甘南社会变迁的障碍因素。近些年来,伴随着社会转型,宗教过度“复兴”,带有浓厚封建性的旧组织、旧势力乘机“复活”,对此,应给予足够的关注和警惕。

社会转型不完全是“自生”的,在许多情况下可以“催生”。要运用政权和法律的力量,进行强制性的社会制度变迁,促进社会文明和进步。

Abstract

The thesis studies the developing issue of the Gannan Tibetan, autonomous district. The 4 key points are as follows:

1. The regional character of ethnic groups and ethnic character of region.

The theory of regional development supposes that the ethnic distribution is harmonious and homogenous, and the theory of ethnic development suppose that region is harmonious and homogenous. In fact, the two assumes are untrue, there are difference between region and ethnic groups.

In the course of studying the developing issue of the ethnic minority groups and ethnic districts in China, because of the close relation between ethnic groups and region, we should take into account the two key factors that are the regional character of ethnic groups and the ethnic character of region. The minorities always exist and develop in some region as well as the regional development under the minorities conduct. The minorities live in a compact community and believe that they come from the same district. The two factors are both cause and result why the Gannan is a distressed area beyond dispute.

There is uneven development among different region in our country; and the margin keeps on in a long time. While analyzing the setup of ethnic distribution, you can find that the uneven development exists between not only region but also ethnic groups. The Chinese development neglects the ethnic character of region. Uneven development among regions, it is true in the terms of theory, but it is not in conformity with the principle of politics and society.

The national autonomous region is an administrative and geographic conception. Studying the developing issue of the minorities and the ethnic districts in China, we should pay more attention to the geographic region and economic region in the ethnic area, because different minorities has its secondary area each self in the same national autonomous area. As a result, the development of the national autonomous region can not be equal with the development of the minorities and ethnic districts.

The development of region relates to ethnic factors whereas the development of ethnic groups relate to the region. Combined the two aspects will be a studying orientation.

2. Environmental conditions of development

Natural environment constructs the space form and material base of development while humane environment constructs the time form and the social base.

Environment is eternal on philosophy; moreover, it can influence the development in the different time. The development relies on environment excessively, when economic society is in a low stage. If environment conditions are good, the regional economy will develop, on the contrary, the economy will fall back. All in all, the environment regulates local economy in Gannan, because the adverse national and humane environment. So Gannan relies on environment excessively.

In the distressed areas, the natural resources stipulate for the orientation and speed of development. The natural resources correspond with department of economy. The superiority of natural resources is usually turned into economic superiority, but sometimes there are some contradictions. For example, the resource of forest had been superior resources in Gannan, but now do not have any economic superiority because of being prohibited on cutting and chopping timber in the forest. Grass resource has great potential superiority, too. But when the potential superiority is turned into economic superiority, the ecological disaster will

come out. So there must be a reasonable figure about development relying on resources and resources supporting development.

Humane environment is changed easily. Such as traffic, location etc. may be improved through constructing infrastructure so that to ensure development, while some very important humane factors such as nation, religion etc, which changed harder than the former. But it can be changed; moreover, the appropriate social politics are conducive to speeding process of transformation.

It is the comprehensive effect of natural environment and humane environment that comes into being the total developing environment. The former is hardware, while the latter is software. The developing environment has both advantages and disadvantages in Gannan. In general, the disadvantages are more than another.

3. Economic developing problem

Backwardness can't always be thought to be applicable to the understanding of backward phenomena. Beginning with the capital factor of economic development, the key reason for stagnant or slowly - developing economics is the insufficient investment of substantial capital. According to the analysis of the mass and speed of capital forming, most ethnic minority areas excluding Gannan drops behind in economics. The reason is diverse, of course, but the proximate and important one is the insufficient investment and deficient capital storage.

Human resource and substantial resource are two things which are interactive and can't take place of each other. It's unreasonable to attribute the backwardness in ethnic minority areas to people's low quality, although human quality is of great importance to economic development. Substantial capital is representative of productive ability and level. In the ethnic minority areas where there is no modern economic department, the economics can't develop, and the human capital can't be sufficiently motivated.

Mass financial transfer disbursement is still the effective way for forming capital in ethnic minority areas. The market economics in China grows up from the planning economics; while planning economics is the system background which causes the deficient capital storage in the areas by now. It is decided that the unequal status of varying areas in market competition. The mobility and profits - chasing will further add to disparity of development, and the government leading system is necessary for the development of ethnic minority areas.

In ethnic minority areas, it is essential to proceed from the actual condition and seek truth from facts in adjusting economics structure and choosing developing strategy. In economic structure adjustment, there is something that should be done and something shouldn't. It's most crucial to establish the leading specialized department. All kinds of factors should be synthesized in the area, and through scientific demonstration and consolidated planning, the industrial department which has widely relational effect and leading impact on regional economic society has the priority of development. Industrialization is object, but there are many kinds of ways to achieve the industrialization.

Sustainable development is both a developing conception and a developing strategy. Whether Gannan economic society can achieve sustainable development is up to whether to get out of PPE plight. Vicious circle of population, resource and environment is ubiquitous phenomena. Environmental, economic and social rebuilding maybe is the feasibility choice and the only hope to achieve sustainable development.

"Public Land Tragedy" is continuously turning up, and environment in Gannan has been excessively deteriorated. The game analysis of "Land Contracting System" and "Public Land Tragedy" shows that it is necessary to further ameliorate policy and system. The problem in this aspect should be further researched to a continuous depth.

4. Social transformation and development

There are three social problems in Gannan,. One is poverty problem, the other is religious problem, and another is tribal consciousness problem.

Through comparative analysis, Gannan is most backward ethnic minority area which is now in the situation of all - round poverty. Living is the cardinal thing. If there is still phenomena of poverty and no security of living, it will be useless whatever we do. That is to say, development is restrained by poverty. Only if the economic has developed, the poverty problem can be completely dealt with. This is a contradictory problem.

Religious reformation is the necessary condition of social development in Gannan. Secularization is object of religious reformation, and religious faith should become personal thing. Group consciousness will turn into group unconsciousness. When religion comes to a group choice, society must be in the grip of religion whose essence is conservativeness. Tibetan Buddhism and Islam both have defect in system, Buddha reincarnation and Islam Branch religious system and so on, both need reforming.

Tribal problem has been existed for a long time. Society in Gannan has not been full - fledged, and its degree of social integration is low. All this hinges on the tribal system lasting for hundreds of years. After the founding of PRC, tribal organization has been abolished, but tribal structure, tribal conception, tribal habit and tribal behavior still hold back society in Gannan from transforming. With the social change in recent years, religion has excessively revived, and plenty of old organizations and powers are also resurgent. These are important problems to which should be given adequate attention and precaution.

Social transformation is not complete a thing in itself, in most conditions, it can be brought on. Compulsive transformation of social system

should be carried out by the power of regime and law in order that the society can be more civilized and progressive.

[Key words] Gannan, economic, social, development

目 录

摘要(中文)	(1)
摘要(英文)	(1)
导言 关注少数民族和民族地区发展	(1)
一、少数民族和民族地区发展何以重要	(1)
二、少数民族和民族地区发展的环境条件	(5)
三、少数民族和民族地区发展战略选择	(11)
第一章 民族区域发展研究概述	(15)
一、民族区域发展研究的意义	(16)
二、民族区域发展研究现状	(21)
第二章 区域和民族发展理论与模式	(30)
一、平衡发展与非平衡发展	(30)
二、不平衡发展理论与模式	(32)
三、民族发展理论与模式	(38)
第三章 自然环境及其对发展的影响	(45)
一、自然环境概述	(46)
二、自然资源	(56)
三、环境资源评价及其对发展的影响	(60)
第四章 人文环境及其对发展的影响	(67)
一、建置沿革和行政区划	(67)
二、人口	(69)
三、民族和宗教	(76)
四、人文环境对发展的制约	(99)
五、发展环境评价	(111)
第五章 经济社会发展状况	(117)
一、1949 年前夕经济社会发展状况	(117)
二、经济社会发展现状及比较分析	(126)

第六章 资本资源与发展能力	(139)
一、资本形成及其对发展的决定作用	(139)
二、财政转移支付和协调民族地区发展	(147)
三、物质资本形成对落后民族地区发展的重要性	(155)
四、增加人力资本积累,加快经济社会发展	(161)
第七章 经济(产业)结构调整与农牧业现代化	(177)
一、经济结构调整的方向和重点	(177)
二、农牧业技术进步和现代化	(182)
三、“公用地悲剧”与承包制的博弈	(190)
四、主导产业的确立:现代畜牧业	(192)
第八章 消除贫困 促进发展	(196)
一、贫困状况	(196)
二、甘南的扶贫工作	(207)
三、贫困与社会公正和发展	(215)
四、PPE 怪圈与生态—经济—社会重建的理论思考	(219)
第九章 宗教:调适与改革	(227)
一、甘南宗教的特点	(227)
二、宗教演变(1949 年以后)	(228)
三、宗教功能与社会变迁	(233)
四、宗教改革的方向:走向世俗化	(236)
第十章 社会:部落历史与现代转型	(241)
一、藏族部落历史	(242)
二、部落社会的特点	(250)
三、社会的现代化转型与发展	(257)
参考文献	(269)