

## §6 — Consumption

### §6.1 — Rural

Table 2.10. Contents of Spreadsheet *LongxiPref\_consRural*

Column	Variable	Units
foodgrain1	rural distributed foodgrain per capita [社员粮食]	kg per year
foodgrain2	rural foodgrain per capita [全区农村平均口粮水平]	kg per month
income	peasant net distributed income per capita [农民人均纯收入]	yuan

Sources: 漳州市志, pp. 572-73; 646; 漳州市粮食志, pp. 145, 196, 198.

Foodgrain in terms of unprocessed weight.

Income in terms of current yuan.

#### Foodgrain1

1957, derived. Foodgrain distributed to members of upper-level cooperatives, 399,792.5 tons, in table, 1957年龙溪专区高级农业社粮食分配情况表, p. 646 in 漳州市志. Number of members, approximately 1,656,300, derived as mean of 1956 and 1957 year-end agricultural populations (from *Fujian before Reform, Part 1*, Chapter 6), assuming 98 percent of the agricultural population belong to upper APCs. (At the end of 1957, 98.9 percent of all agricultural households belonged to upper APCs; 漳州市志, p. 569.) The same table, p. 646, also gives grain distributed to members (of which foodgrain is a component) as 419,359.25 tons, about 5 percent greater than foodgrain alone.

1965, 1976, 漳州市志, p. 572 [社员粮食].

1978, as given in table, 1978年龙溪地区人民公社粮食分配情况表, p. 646 in 漳州市志.

1980, as given, 漳州市志, p. 573 [农民人均粮食]. The increase from 1978 is also given, as 7.8% (consistent with the 1978 and 1980 figures, but mislabeled, as the increase in net income rather than foodgrain).

1981, 漳州市粮食志, p. 198 [全区农业人口平均口粮].

1960, commune members' foodgrain down sharply; 漳州市志, p. 570 (not shown in spreadsheet).

The two tables, for 1957 and 1978 (both on p. 646) are reproduced in the explanatory text below.

## Foodgrain2

All data as given, 漳州市粮食志, p. 196 [全区农村平均口粮水平].

漳州市志, p. 1119, repeats the same figures for 1974 and 1975 and gives an even lower figure, 13.55 kg per person per month, for 1976 [全地区农村人均月口粮只有...].

The 1976 figure in the spreadsheet, equivalent to 168.6 kg per year (or 162.6 kg, in 漳州市志), differs considerably from that in column *foodgrain1* (207.7 kg).

## Income

1956, 1959, 1962, 1971, 1980, as given in table, 若干时期漳州地区集体经济收入分配情况表, p. 646 in 漳州市志. Distributed collective income per capita throughout; 1956 figure pertains to a sample of advanced APCs; 1959–80 figures pertain to the entire population of communes.

1965, 1976, 1978, 漳州市志, p. 572 [1965 and 1976, 社员的纯收入; 1976 (again) and 1978, 农民人均纯收入].

1981, 漳州市粮食志, p. 145 [全区农业人口纯收入平均每人...].

1958, down 26%, from 1957 [农民人均纯收入]; 漳州市志, p. 570.

1962, 58.74 yuan, 漳州市志, p. 570 (differs from spreadsheet).

## Explanatory Text and Additional Data

### Rural Foodgrain Standards (for page references, see note to table below)

[The table on the next page collects data concerning rural foodgrain standards. “Standards” specified the amounts of grain that collectives (or, prior to the mid 1950s, households) were supposed to retain as foodgrain, after procurement (or, from the collectives’ or households’ point of view, after payment of taxes and mandatory sales to the government); after allowances for other uses (feed and seed); and after any sales by the government to the collectives (or households).

The relatively generous standards of the mid 1950s were reduced considerably in the 1960s. In the late 1960s and through the 1970s, the standard seems to have been 180 kg year per capita (15 kg per month) in coastal areas and 200–210 kg per capita (16.67–17.5 kg per month) elsewhere. As noted below, these standards were not consistently met.]

### Grain Availability and Related Indicators (page numbers as indicated below)

#### The Great Leap, famine, and recovery (1958–65)

[Beginning in 1959, the rural grain situation became very difficult across much of Longxi prefecture, due to decreasing output and excessive procurement. Output decreased in 1958, 1959, 1960, and 1961, with output in 1961 down by over 24 percent,

**Rural foodgrain standards (kg per person)**

Date	Standard	Notes
1955, 22 September	240 per year, for the prefecture as a whole	22 September, provincial regulations implementing the three-fix policy
1956, January	260 per year, in Pinghe, Nanjing, Huaan, and Changtai; 255, in Zhangzhou, Longxi, and Haicheng; 245, in Zhangpu, Yunxiao, Zhaoan, and Dongshan	after three fixes carried out in Longxi prefecture
1964	12.5 per month	for teams in difficulty
1971	15 per month	basic foodgrain standard for commune members, to be met by reducing or suspending purchases from disaster-stricken teams
1978	210 per year (or 180, in coastal areas)	set by the prefecture, to protect commune members' basic subsistence
1979, May	180 per year, for grain-surplus teams in coastal areas; 200–210 per year for grain-surplus teams elsewhere	
1979	200 per year	poor teams (those with incomes below 50 yuan per capita, foodgrain below 200 kg per capita) were exempted from the agricultural tax

Entries extracted from Section 2 above, except 1964, from Section 4. In terms of unprocessed grain throughout. Standards pertain to foodgrain only (not including feed, seed, and any other allowances). The table does not show the (sometimes) higher standards applied to certain groups resident in the countryside. The standard for sent-down youth, for example, was 16.5 kg per month (for full-time workers) (漳州市粮食志, p. 174; 漳州市志, p. 2006).

as compared to 1957, and with output per capita down by about 32 percent (across the entire prefectural population). The decrease in output is attributable largely to diversion of labor from agriculture (especially in 1958 and 1959) and introduction ill-advised farming methods, such as dense planting and excessive expansion of double-cropping, and also to the decrease in labor productivity resulting from malnutrition and disease. (On diversion of labor and ill-advised farming methods, see, e.g., 漳州市志, pp. 62, 618. See also Section 6.1 in each of the county chapters, below.)]

Errors in policy were aggravated by bad weather. In August 1959, a typhoon caused extensive damage, in Zhangzhou, Longxi, Haicheng, and nearby counties, killing 373 people and flooding 414,200 mu of farmland. A typhoon in June 1960 caused the worst flooding in fifty years, killing 329 people and flooding 1.94 million mu of farmland. Two typhoons in September 1961 killed 65 and inundated 963,300 mu. Parts of the prefecture also suffered periods of serious drought that reduced rice output. (E.g., 漳州市志, pp. 62-63, 513-15, 1940-41, 1943; details vary somewhat among these accounts.)

In 1959, after unified purchasing [that is, after communes met their procurement quotas], the masses had very little foodgrain. During the autumn, across the entire prefecture some 747,000 people (42.5 percent of the rural population) averaged less than 10 kg per month. (漳州市粮食志, p. 192)

In 1960, rural foodgrain availability decreased sharply (漳州市志, p. 570). In April, 93 starving members of Luxi commune (in Pinghe county) suffered loquat poisoning; nine died (漳州市志, p. 63). [Loquat seeds are toxic.] As of autumn 1960, across the prefecture there were still 741,000 people (41.5 percent of the rural population) consuming less than 10 kg of grain per month (漳州市粮食志, p. 192). There were quite a few abnormal deaths [people starving to death, unknowingly consuming toxic plant material, or succumbing to diseases aggravated by malnutrition], especially in Pinghe and Huaan (漳州市志, p. 570).

[In 1961, severe shortages continued.] During the spring, 24,000 cases of oedema were reported across the prefecture, with at least 6081 deemed very serious (漳州市志, p. 64). During the autumn, there were still 397,000 people (22.2 percent of the rural population) consuming less than 10 kg of foodgrain per month. In Luxi commune, about 4000 people (about 20 percent of the commune's population) fell below the 10 kg level. (漳州市粮食志, p. 192) The prefectural party committee and government implemented a number of measures intended to contain the severity of the famine and to treat those stricken with oedema and other maladies related to malnutrition. [For further detail concerning grain shortages and the government's attempts to address them and to deal with their consequences, see Section 4.]

[During the famine (1959–61), the stock of pigs and the number purchased by the government decreased sharply, as shown in the table below.]

#### Pigs

Year	Stock	Purchases
1957	799,700	305,600
1959	657,400	
1960	368,300	

Table continues.

Table, continued

Year	Stock	Purchases
1961	310,300	53,100
1962	454,300	
1965	1,005,400	502,700

Source: 漳州市志, p. 607 (year-end stocks) and p. 1037 (purchases).

The market price of rice went as high as 6 yuan per kg (25 times the government's list price) and that of pork to 24 yuan per kg (18 times the list price) (漳州市志, p. 1449).

The food situation improved in 1962, with grain output up by 20.5 percent as compared to 1961 (漳州市志, p. 570). Still, in 1962 the prefecture assisted 6323 teams, with over 380,000 members, in getting through the spring grain shortage [春荒, the period prior to the early harvest, when stocks on hand have been exhausted] (漳州市粮食志, p. 193). Across the prefecture, 27,192 persons fell ill, due to nutritional deficiencies (漳州市志, p. 1947). In 1963, 3947 teams were in poverty (25 percent of all teams), with only about 10 kg of foodgrain per person per month (漳州市志, p. 1947).

By 1965, distributed income per capita (for the prefecture as a whole) had recovered to the pre-Leap level, but foodgrain availability was probably lower (spreadsheet *Longxi-Pref\_consRural*). There were still many collectives "in genuine difficulty" (漳州市粮食志, p. 194). In 1965, the prefecture used 18,740 tons of resale grain to increase consumption in these places to at least 12.5 kg per person per month—and to about 15 kg during the spring planting season (Section 4, above).

#### The Cultural Revolution and its aftermath (1966–77)

In 1972, the foodgrain level [the amount retained in the countryside, per capita] fell below the level of the previous year. Some teams stricken by serious natural disasters had less than 15 kg of foodgrain per person per month. During the late season, 3804 teams in Longxi prefecture, with 573,000 members, had less than 15 kg per person per month (or less than 12.5 kg, in coastal areas). This amounted to 22.3 percent of the prefecture's agricultural population. Because there were so many teams in difficulty and grain shortages were so widespread, quite a few commune members bought grain on the black market, driving black-market grain prices to the highest level since 1962. (漳州市粮食志, p. 195)

During 1973–75, grain shortages were widespread. Due to natural disasters, grain shortages occurred in 35 keypoint grain-producing communes, which accounted for 60 percent of the entire prefecture's procurement quota. Over the previous two years, these communes had pretty much used up their grain reserves. Difficulties emerged, in terms of peasants' subsistence. (漳州市粮食志, pp. 195-96) [This situation, in the grain-producing communes, emerged in 1973 (漳州市志, p. 1119).]

In 1975, across the entire prefecture, 8107 teams had less than 15 kg of foodgrain per person per month. The number of teams falling below the prevailing standard increased by 1719 as compared to 1974, and the number of members, by 310,000. For the prefecture as a whole, rural foodgrain [availability] averaged 15.6 kg per person per month, down 1.6 kg from 1974. In view of this situation, the prefectural revolutionary committee directed resale grain toward collectives genuinely experiencing difficulty. (漳州市粮食志, p. 196) [The text, p. 196, also states that the average foodgrain level “basically did not increase” in 1975; this contrasts with the decrease of 1.6 kg per person per month (9.3 percent), reported in the same paragraph.] Foodgrain levels in Longhai (an important rice-producing county) had gradually declined from around 20–25 kg per capita in past years to only 15 kg [by the mid 1970s] and even as low as 10 kg or so (Section 2, above).

In 1976, grain output decreased. In the prefecture’s 17,041 teams (with an agricultural population of 2,890,000), foodgrain per capita averaged 14.05 kg per person per month [or 13.55 kg per month among the rural population, in 漳州市志, p. 1119]. In 9401 teams—over half the total—foodgrain levels fell below 15 kg per person per month; the grain-short population [in these teams] totaled 1.5 million (52 percent of the prefecture’s agricultural population). The total grain shortage was 48,425 tons. This included 8285 tons for 791 teams (with 146,180 people) normally supplied with fixed sales [正常定销队]. The other 8610 teams were short of grain due to natural disasters. The most heavily stricken communes and teams were mainly in areas of high elevation, with some along the coast. Across the prefecture, 2019 teams, with 286,683 people, had less than 7.5 kg per person per month, with commune members’ retained grain at the lowest levels of the past several years. In Zhangpu, the foodgrain level was only 12.25 kg per person per month during the autumn, with the overall shortage reaching 11,150 tons. (漳州市粮食志, p. 196) [For the prefecture as a whole, distributed *income* per capita in 1976 was about the same as in 1956 and 1965 (spreadsheet *LongxiPref\_consRural*).]

In 1977, rural foodgrain supplies were still fairly tight. During the autumn, monthly foodgrain levels fell below 14.5 kg per person in 5442 teams, with 890,000 people (30 percent of the prefecture’s agricultural population). These teams short of foodgrain were located mainly in areas of high altitude and along the coast. Apart from 834 normally grain-short teams, the rest were unified-purchase teams [that is, teams from which the government normally purchased surplus grain]. (漳州市粮食志, p. 196)

[Concerning shortages during the 1980s and efforts to deal with them, see Section 4.]

#### **Foodgrain Distribution in Collectives** (漳州市志, p. 646)

[The following table shows how grain output in APCs (1957) and communes (1978) was distributed among the government (procurement), the collectives (retention), and members of the collectives (distribution of foodgrain). Procurement includes the agri-

cultural tax and government purchases at in-quota prices and (in 1978) above-quota prices.]

**Collective grain distribution, 1957 and 1978 (in tons)**

	1957	1978
output	751,207.45	1,156,290
procurement	294,425.2	305,070
tax	100,743.4	
purchases	193,681.8	
collective retention	37,423	155,165
seed	19,599.2	
feed	11,078.8	
reserves	6745	
distributed to members	419,359.25	
of which, foodgrain	399,792.5	693,055

Sources: Tables, 1957年龙溪专区高级农业社粮食分配情况表, and 1978年龙溪地区人民公社粮食分配情况表, both p. 646 in 漳州市志. Distributed foodgrain per capita: 1978, 242.5 kg; 1957, not given. See also the discussion of spreadsheet *LongxiPref\_consRural*, above.

**§6.2 — Urban**

[no spreadsheet]

**Explanatory Text and Data**

**Average Urban Grain Rations (kg per person per month)**

Date	Ration	Notes
1955, prior to 1 October	11.52	1 October, began implementation of rationing by work type and age
1955, after 10 December	12	10 December, implementation of new rationing regime completed
1956, April	12.87	after first of three adjustments in ration standards
1956, July	13.14	after second of three adjustments in ration standards
1956, October	13.5	after third of three adjustments in ration standards
1957, April	13.39	after reductions in some ration standards

Table continues.