

## Chapter 4

### Huian County

The data for Huian County [惠安县] are collected in 22 spreadsheets, in the subdirectory *PrefCountiesJJ\Huian*:

Spreadsheet	Variables
Huian_grain	grain output and area
Huian_grainDetail	components of output and area
Huian_zhenggou	procurement
Huian_zhenggouDetail	procurement, by type of grain
Huian_transfers	inflows and outflows, at planned prices
Huian_sales	total sales and components thereof
Huian_negotiated	negotiated purchases and sales
Huian_transferNego	inflows and outflows, at negotiated prices
Huian_consRural	rural grain per capita
Huian_popDL	ration-eligible population, by work type and age group
Huian_cultArea	cultivated area
Huian_pop	population and labor force
Huian_balanceRural	rural grain balance
Huian_pricesPurchase	government purchase prices, 1950–90
Huian_pricesSale1	government sale prices, 1950–87

List continues.

Spreadsheet	Variables
Huian_pricesSale2	government sale prices, 1988–90
Huian_stocks	government storage capacity and grain stocks
Huian_processing	output of processed rice, flour, grain products, and feed
Huian_riceDetail	output of processed rice, by type and factory
Huian_fuzhipin	output of grain products (noodles, etc.), by type and factory
Huian_feed	output of feed, by type and factory
Huian_profit	profit realized by the Huian grain system

The data for Huian are quite complete—and, in some cases, are of sorts seldom encountered in sources for other counties. Unfortunately, some of the data are inconsistent, across sources and sometimes within a single source, and some are marred by typographic and arithmetic errors.

Output data are complete, 1949–89—but with a second, different, series for 1953–90. Data pertaining to procurement, sales, and transfers are complete for 1953–90, with some detail as to composition of all of these. Data pertaining to rural consumption per capita are complete, 1953–90. Negotiated purchases and sales are reported for all years 1965–70 and 1978–90.

Data pertaining to prices and to grain processing are unusually detailed. These data are collected in several spreadsheets, accompanied by fairly extensive explanatory text (in Sections 7.4 and 7.6).

The following discussion is divided into seven sections:

- production (2 spreadsheets)
- procurement (2 spreadsheets)
- transfers (1 spreadsheet)
- sales (1 spreadsheet)
- negotiated purchases and sales (2 spreadsheets)
- consumption (2 spreadsheets)
- other data (12 spreadsheets).

Huian was affected by one boundary change. In late 1955, 37 natural villages, in four xiang, were transferred from Huian to Xianyou county. (Four xiang, as listed in 惠安县志, p. 38; the same source, pp. 60 and 63, gives three xiang.) Concerning boundary changes, see also *Fujian before Reform, Part 1*, Appendix 3.

### Explanatory Text and Additional Data (page numbers as indicated below)

Beginning in late 1953, China implemented a policy of planned purchase of grain from grain-surplus households (a policy commonly called “unified purchase” [统购]). Over the next 30-odd years, unified purchase passed through four phases: consultative unified purchases [协商统购] (1953–54); the “three fixes” (1955–57); fixing quota for three years or five years (1958–80); and responsibility purchases (1981–84), followed by contract purchases (from 1985). (惠安县志, p. 508)

### Procurement

**Planned purchases, 1953–54** (惠安县粮食志, pp. 35-40, unless otherwise indicated)  
On 16 October 1953, the party center issued a decision concerning planned purchase and supply of grain [关于实行粮食的计划收购与计划供应的决议]. On 15 November, the Administrative Council issued a related command [关于实行粮食的计划收购和计划供应的命令]. (惠安县粮食志, p. 35; 当代中国的粮食工作, pp. 554-55). The substance of the new policy was as follows.

- (1) Unified purchase, from rural grain-surplus households. The government would adhere to the principle of buying more grain from households with larger surpluses and buying less grain from those with smaller surpluses, and of not buying grain from households without surpluses. A household’s surplus would be determined on the basis of actual output, less tax grain and the quantity exempted [for the household’s own use], with this determination subject to democratic discussion [民主评议].
- (2) Unified sale, for urban residents and for the rural grain-short population. For people in urban areas, industrial and mining districts, and economic-crop regions, for fishing and salt district workers, and for [other] residents not producing grain, the government would issue household grain-purchase certificates. Collective dining units (in government agencies and other organizations, schools, and industrial and mining enterprises) were to compile quarterly plans. The government would then issue grain-purchase certificates on the basis of which those units would be supplied with grain each month.

(3) Strengthened management of grain markets. The government strictly prohibited private parties from dealing in grain—except that producers and consumers could trade directly with one another in government-managed grain markets. Grain processors (mills and handwork shops) were not permitted to buy unprocessed grain and sell processed grain; they could only process grain for the government or for farmers. [The government contracted with processors to mill grain owned by the government and permitted processors to sell milling services to farmers—but not to take possession of the grain.]

After convening a series of meetings concerning the new grain policy, in late 1953 the county assigned personnel to accompany a prefectural work team that set up two trial points. One was set up in Lantian xiang, which produced rice, and the other in Ruidong xiang, which produced peanuts and sweet potatoes.

In early 1954, the county launched a mass campaign to popularize the new policy. The county and the districts assigned personnel to work teams, which set up work points in four xiang. The teams' work progressed through three stages:

first, educating cadres and the general public about the new policy and mobilizing members of the party and youth league and local activists to take the lead [in the campaign];

second, organizing personnel to determine, for each season, the grain output of each household and, after discussion of these figures, to publicly announce them;

third, issuing procurement notices [informing households of their unified-purchase quotas] and overseeing that year's autumn procurement work, while also dealing with repayment of loans (previously made to households, as either cash or grain), and advance payments [made to households at planting time].

During June 1954, the county government announced that soybeans were subject to unified purchase. During periods when unified purchases were being conducted, soybeans were not to be traded in periodic markets. (惠安县粮食志, p. 15)

On 28 November 1954, the county party committee convened a meeting of county, district and xiang cadres. [District (区): At that time, a level of administration between county and xiang.] At the meeting, the county head announced the following regulations, based upon the provincial government's temporary unified-purchase methods [福建省粮食计划收购暂行办法 (10 November 1954)].

(1) The policy of unified purchase and sale is intended mainly to differentiate grain-surplus from grain-short [households] and to buy more from those with larger surpluses, less from those with smaller surpluses, and none from those without surpluses. First, the quantity exempted from purchase must be determined [for each household]. This exempted quantity includes foodgrain, seed,

and essential feed grain. Countywide, the exempted amount is set at 218 kg [436 jin] per person. [This is apparently the intended countywide average.] In each district, the quantity to be exempted should be set in light of that district's consumption habits and historical situation, without seeking uniformity from place to place; a single xiang, however, cannot have two different standards.

The method [of determining quantities subject to unified purchase] is as follows. Starting with [a household's] actual output, deduct tax grain and the exempted quantity [of food, seed, and feed, as above]. The purchasing threshold is 7.5 kg per person. [If the surplus (output less tax less exempted quantity) is less than 7.5 kg per person, the government does not purchase from that household.] A household with a surplus of 8–75 kg per person is permitted to retain 7.5 kg per person. [The remainder is the household's unified-purchase quota.] A household with a surplus of 75.5–150 kg per person is permitted to retain 10 kg per person; one with a surplus of at least 150.5 kg per person is permitted to retain 12.5 kg per person. [With this method, the government does not purchase from households having no surpluses—nor does it purchase from households having small surpluses (of less than 7.5 kg per person). In the source, the threshold and ranges are given in terms of jin (0.5 kg), with surpluses rounded to the nearest jin.]

(2) Unified-purchase quotas are distributed downward, level by level [from county to district, and so on]. When quotas reach the lowest level [to be parceled out among households], they are subject to democratic discussion. Discussion uses the method of fixing most [quotas] and focusing upon a few—that is, accepting those quotas in the middle and discussing the two extremes, with the extent of the discussion generally limited to 15 percent [of the quotas]. At the same time, distribution of quotas must give special consideration to poor peasants. After setting purchase quotas for rich peasants in accord with the regulations, the quotas of those [rich peasants] with large surpluses should be further increased, so that they do not retain more grain than ordinary peasants. [This provision permits departures from the general rules set out in item (1), above, allowing some redistribution of quotas between rich and relatively poor households.]

(3) After fulfilling their unified-purchase quotas, households having additional grain can retain it, sell it to the government, or sell it directly [to consumers] in government-managed grain markets.

(4) The types of grain subject to unified purchase are paddy, soybeans, barley, wheat, and dried sweet potatoes. Unified purchase is to be conducted each season, with the quantities purchased reckoned for the entire year [to determine whether or not a household fulfilled its quota].

(5) The county will establish an office in charge of grain procurement and sales. The districts will assign cadres specifically responsible for unified purchase and sale work. The xiang will establish discussion committees and the villages, discussion small groups. Assemblies will be convened to honor cooperatives, mutual aid teams, and individuals demonstrating enthusiasm and doing good work in fulfilling procurement quotas. At the same time, local governments will target persons who disrupt unified purchases and sales, dealing with such persons in accord with the law and in keeping with the severity of their offenses.

In carrying out unified purchases across the county, the affected area [grain sown area, which entered into determination of expected output] was 672,421 mu. [Expected] output was set at 79,183.85 tons. The quantity of tax grain payable [the sum of household tax quotas across the county] was 2813.3 tons, and the sum of unified-purchase quotas was 3647.4 tons—4.6 percent of grain output. After unified purchase, 2421.4 tons were to remain [in the hands of grain-surplus households]—28.46 percent of the surplus grain. [The same figures are repeated in 惠安县志, p. 508. Here, “surplus grain” appears to mean expected output less grain exempted from purchase (not including tax grain).]

Through implementation of unified purchase and sale, the government restricted the grain market, stabilized grain prices, and ensured the subsistence of urban and rural residents. At the same time, the government’s advance payments [for grain subject to unified purchase] solved the funding problems that some villages encountered in their attempts to develop production and improve living conditions.

[The table below provides details concerning procurement in 1954. In the table, the grain exempted from purchase for use as food, feed, and seed amounts to about 218 kg per capita. For the county as a whole, the total amount exempted from purchase exceeded the amount of grain available in the countryside (prior to rural sales). In other words, the amount subject to procurement was not sufficient to make up the deficits of grain-short rural households.]

In 1954, the total amount of grain actually procured was 10,850 tons (惠安县志, p. 508, and spreadsheet *Huian\_zhenggou*). [This total considerably exceeds the sum of tax grain and planned purchases in the table for 1954. The difference might include above-quota grain (统购后尚存余粮) that households chose to sell to the government.]

**The three fixes [fixing output, purchases, and rural sales], 1955–57** (惠安县粮食志, pp. 41-49, unless otherwise indicated)

In August 1955, the State Council issued regulations concerning rural purchase and sale of grain [农村粮食统购统销暂行办法]. In September, the provincial government issued implementing regulations [福建省粮食统购统销实施细则 and 关于粮食定产,定购,定销工作的指示]. The substance of these documents was as follows.

**Procurement in 1954**

Number of households [户数]	108,759
Number of persons [实有吃饭人口]	465,652
Grain sown area [种植面积]	675,555 mu
Grain available (prior to rural sales) [粮食收入]	80,977.4 tons
planned output [计划总产量]	79,626.0 tons
other [其他收入]	1351.4 tons
Grain exempted from purchase [免购额]	105,254.55 tons
tax grain [公粮]	2842.15 tons
food, feed and seed [免购额]	101,409.2 tons
other [其他支出]	1003.2 tons
Grain-surplus households [余粮户]	
number of households [户数]	26,519
persons in such households [人口]	107,087
surplus grain [余粮数量]	8,547.65 tons
purchases [统购]	4013.75 tons
grain remaining after purchases [统购后尚存余粮]	4533.9 tons
Self-sufficient households [自给户]	
number of households [户数]	7950
persons in such households [人口]	31,328
total amount of grain [自给数量]	7219.35 tons
Grain-short households [缺粮户]	
number of households [户数]	74,290
persons in such households [人口]	326,235
grain shortfall [缺粮数量]	21,334.25 tons

All data from table, 惠安县1954年计划收购,计划供应综合统计表, pp. 38-40, except (1) grain exempted from purchase, corrected (original, 2,106,091市担, or 105,305.55 tons), and (2) purchases, derived as surplus grain less grain remaining after purchases. All grain data given in dan [市担], converted to tons at 20 dan = 1 ton. The original table also gives data for each district. There are several typographical or arithmetic errors in the original [e.g., reported totals across districts that differ from the corresponding sums]; these do not appear to substantially affect the data shown here. Area, output, tax grain, and purchases, as given in this table, differ from the figures in the text, above—probably because (in the case of output, tax grain, and purchases) the table reports results, not expectations or quotas.

- (1) Grain-producing agricultural households that produce surpluses beyond their own needs and their tax obligations are “grain-surplus households.” Grain-producing agricultural households that do not produce enough grain [for their own needs] and rural residents who do not produce grain are “grain-short households.” Households that are neither grain-surplus nor grain-short are “self-sufficient households.”
- (2) The government sets a unified-purchase quota for each grain-surplus household and a sales target for each grain-short household. The government neither buys from, nor sells to, self-sufficient households.
- (3) Beginning with 1955, for each grain-surplus household the government sets normal-year output and a purchase quota, for three years [meaning that expected output numbers and purchase quotas are set once and left unchanged for three years]. For grain-short households, sales targets are set each year.

Beginning in September 1955, the county party committee assigned cadres to two work teams, to set up “three fix” trial points in Lantian xiang (in #9 district) and Bin-feng xiang [in #3 district]. In early October, the party committee convened a series of meetings for county officials and staff, while the county rural-work section [of the party] took the lead in organizing training classes for over 120 rural grain workers. In early November, [further] trial-point work of various sorts was launched in the districts. The county party committee also assigned six cadres from the grain bureau to work with ten-plus people from the committee’s training class, to run a trial point in Qingmei xiang (in a grain-producing district). The work group [assigned to a trial point, such as Qingmei] set output for each parcel of farmland in the trial point and classified local households as grain-surplus or grain-deficit, then put forth a preliminary three-fix plan for the peasant representative assembly to discuss. The plan, with any revisions, was submitted to the party committee of the county and was also submitted for approval by the people’s representative assembly of the xiang. Finally, the plan was posted publicly. At the same time, the masses were mobilized to deliver grain to the government during the autumn procurement period.

Based upon the trial-point work and in the spirit of relevant central and provincial pronouncements, the county party committee put forth the following regulations.

- (1) Setting output [定产]. Taking 1954 cultivated area as a basis, considering soil quality, farming conditions, and past production, and considering both national interests and the actual productive capacity of the masses, local officials should avoid setting output either too high or too low. In principle, [expected normal-year] output should not be set in excess of actual output.
- (2) Setting purchases [订购]. After setting output and then deducting foodgrain, seed, and feed [according to the standards below], officials should differentiate between grain-surplus and grain-short households and then set purchases [for



grain-surplus households].

Foodgrain standards. The countywide foodgrain standard for grain-surplus households is 210 kg per person. The standard for grain-short households is to be 10 percent lower than that for grain-surplus households. The government neither buys from, nor sells to, self-sufficient households, for whom the standard is intermediate, between those for the other two types.

Seed standards. For the various types of grain, allow 7 kg of seed per mu; for sweet potatoes, the standard is to accord with conditions in each locale.

Feed standards. The unified standards for the county are: cattle, 30 kg per head; breeding sows and boars, 100 kg per head; pigs raised for slaughter, 25 kg per head; horses, 30 kg per head; ducks (when laying eggs), 2 liang of rice per bird per day. [At that time, 16 liang (两) = 1 jin = 0.5 kg.]

For ordinary grain-surplus households, 90 percent of the surplus is subject to unified purchase—but for landlord and rich peasant households, 95 percent. The remainder [10 percent, for ordinary households] serves as a societal surplus left with the peasants.

(3) Setting sales [定销]. After identifying grain-short households, the shortfall of each such household is determined through consultation and a sale quota is fixed, with the government arranging supplies during periods of shortage.

Three-fix work began in late 1955 and was concluded in February 1956. Expected output was 91,076.71 tons (182,153,419斤), computed on a sown area of 679,846 mu (p. 42). [Output is given as 182,513,419斤, on p. 42, in error. The correct figure is given on pp. 44 and 49. See the table below.] As compared to 1955, this was an increase of 10.6 percent in output (p. 42) [or 10.06 percent (p. 49)], but a decrease of 7.44 percent in area sown to grain (down from 734,750 mu).

The county's purchase quota was 7573.08 tons. Rural sales were set at 15,682.50 tons. [According to the three-fix regulations of August and September 1955, the expected output figures and purchase quotas were to remain unchanged for three years, 1955–57, and sales quotas were to be set year by year.]

The average foodgrain standard was 197.64 kg per person, across all rural households subject to the three-fix regulations.

Regulations concerning urban grain rationing were implemented for 2531 households in the towns of Chengguan and Luoyang (with 9793 permanent residents [given as 7993 in the source, apparently in error]); for 7560 persons in agencies of government, mass organizations, schools, and enterprises; and for 28,805 long-term “floating” workers [those employed for long periods away from their places of registration].

The results of the rural three-fix exercise are collected in two tables, below.

**Results of Three-Fix Work (1)**

Number of rural households subject to three-fix regulations [户数]	106,064
Number of persons resident in three-fix households [常年在家人口]	449,404
Area of grain fields [粮田面积] (mu)	515,077.64
Expected normal-year grain output [粮食常年产量] (tons)	91,076.71
of which, sweet potatoes (in grain-equivalent units) [薯类折粮]	54,928.47
Grain usage [全年用粮数] (tons)	102,319.80
foodgrain [口粮]	95,608.74
feed [饲料]	3909.04
seed [种子]	2802.02
Tax grain, actually paid [实缴公粮] (tons)	2826.06
Surplus grain [in grain-surplus households] [余粮数] (tons)	8403.58
Grain shortage [in grain-short households] [缺粮数] (tons)	22,608.38
Actual three-fix purchase number [实际定购数] (tons)	7573.08
Three-fix sales [定销数] (tons)	15,682.50
Foodgrain actually retained [实留口粮] (tons)	88,818.51
foodgrain per capita [每人平均] (kg)	197.64

All data from table, 1955–1956 惠安农村粮食产、需、购、供综合情况表, pp. 44-48. Original data given in terms of jin [市斤], converted at 2000 jin = 1 ton. (1) The precise meaning of “area of grain fields” is not clear. (2) Three-fix purchases are labeled “actual fixed-purchase number” in the source table, but “fixed-purchase quota” [定购任务] in the text. (3) A note to the source table states that the figure for “foodgrain actually retained” does not include “societal surplus grain” [社会余粮] and that, if this were to be included, the figure for foodgrain retained would be 89,818.51 tons (an increase of precisely 1000 tons). (4) Feed includes allowances for cattle, pigs, horses, donkeys, and ducks.

The total number of households [subject to rural unified purchase and sale or to rationing] was 108,595. The population subject to these regulations [including some individuals not included in the households] totaled 495,562. [This total is consistent with the four components enumerated above (members of rural households; members of urban households subject to rationing; persons in agencies of government, mass organizations, schools, and enterprises; and long-term “floating” workers)—using the corrected figure for the second component.]

**Results of Three-Fix Work (2): Grain-Surplus, Self-Sufficient, and Grain-Short Households**

	Grain-surplus	Self-sufficient	Grain-short
Number of households	40,125	6498	59,441
Number of persons	164,392	28,449	256,563
Area of grain fields (mu)	272,560.35	35,664.44	206,852.85
Expected normal-year grain output (tons)	49,455.79	6291.37	35,329.55
sweet potatoes (grain-equivalent units )	27,128.36	3616.76	24178.85
Grain usage (tons)	39,117.75	6410.21	56,791.84
foodgrain	35,387.67	5957.25	54,263.82
feed	2148.64	259.43	1500.96
seed	1581.44	193.52	1027.06
Tax grain, actually paid (tons)	2391.86	158.92	275.29
Surplus grain (tons)	8403.58		
Grain shortage (tons)			22,608.38
Actual three-fix purchases (tons)	7573.08		
Three-fix sales (tons)			15,682.50
Foodgrain actually retained (tons)	34930.27	5679.50	48,008.75
foodgrain per capita (kg)	212.38	199.635	187.90

All variables, as in the preceding table, "Results of Three-Fix Work (1)." All data from table, 1955–1956 惠安农村粮食产,需,购,供综合情况表, pp. 44-48, except usage in grain-surplus households, corrected (original, 7,077,341市斤; 70,775,341 intended) and sales to grain-short households, corrected (original, 3,135,009市斤; 31,365,009 intended). The sum across the three components of sweet potato output differs from the total in the preceding table (sum, 109,847,931市斤; reported total, 109,856,931). The sum across the three components of foodgrain actually retained differs from the total in the preceding table (sum, 177,237,028市斤; reported total 177,637,028).

Among the grain-short households: disaster-stricken, 5542 (19,357 persons); grain-growing, 43,550 (194,516); fishing, 6343 (27,123); salt producers, 1062 (5658); other, 3044 (9909). These five components sum to 59,541 as compared to the total of 59,441 grain-short households given in the source table and shown above.

**Fixing quotas for three years or five years, 1958–80** (惠安县粮食志, pp. 50-53, unless otherwise indicated)

The Great Leap brought great changes to the countryside. By May 1958, the great majority of peasants had entered cooperatives. [As of 1957, roughly 65 percent of all rural households already belonged to advanced agricultural producer cooperatives (APCs); another 14 percent belonged to lower APCs.] In May 1958, 641 APCs were

reorganized into 181 consolidated cooperatives (联社). In August, these were reorganized into 150 large cooperatives (大社), with 105,669 member households—99.02 percent of the rural population. In September, five communes were established, by merging the large cooperatives. (惠安县农业志, pp. 108-09; 惠安县志, p. 196).

In keeping with the changes in rural organization through May 1958, in that month the provincial government issued new regulations concerning procurement [福建省农村粮食统购统销包干制度实施办法]. Under these regulations, the government would fix rural procurement and supply targets for three years (that is, set the targets in 1958, and leave them unchanged through 1960). The government would not increase procurement if output increased, nor would it decrease procurement if output decreased. Targets were to be set at the level of the cooperative (or household [in exceptional cases where households farmed independently]). The new “responsibility” method was based upon the three-fix numbers. For a grain-surplus cooperative [or household], the purchase quota was set by adding 40 percent of the increment in output [perhaps meaning 40 percent of the difference between a new expected-output number, set for three years, and the earlier three-fix expected output (of 1955–57)]. Increases in household size and in livestock holdings since 1955 were to be addressed using increased output [meaning the portion of the increment retained by the cooperative (or household)]. For a grain-short cooperative (or household), the sale target was to be set annually, with sales decreased by 60 percent of any increases in output. [Earlier in the same paragraph, supply targets were to be fixed for three years.]

A wave of exaggerationism [setting fantastic targets and falsely reporting results] deranged the new “responsibility” target-setting. The output target for 1959 was 360,000–384,000 tons (grain, including soybeans); that for 1960 was 300,000 tons (惠安县志, p. 525). Grain output averaged only 70,020 tons per year during 1958–60, down from 78,995 tons during 1955–57. [Series *grainAlt*, in spreadsheet *Huian\_grain*, yields a considerably smaller decrease in output between the two periods.] Procurement increased from 18,105 tons in 1958 to 30,385 tons in 1959 [even as grain output decreased] and averaged 22,695 tons per year during 1958–60, up from 11,430 tons during 1955–57. Despite an increase in rural resales, grain availability in the countryside decreased sharply, to only 120 kg per capita in 1960. [See Section 6.1.]

In 1961, the government implemented bonus sales of industrial products (including cloth, sugar, tobacco [cigarettes], and kerosene) for above-quota purchases of grain. [Teams from whom the government purchased above-quota grain were awarded the right to buy the designated industrial products.] In 1961, 830 teams exceeded their procurement quotas, by 214.8 tons.

In March 1962, the government further adjusted purchase and sale quotas and began implementing responsibility for purchase and sales [粮食购销大包干], with the team