



LUND
UNIVERSITY

There is always a little famine going on

*A study of articles in the People's Daily,
during the Great Famine in China*

Evelina Bengtsson

Supervisor: Michael Schoenhals

Centre for Language and Literature, Lund University

MA in Language and Linguistics, Chinese Specialisation

SPVR01 Language and Linguistics: Degree Project – Master's (Two Years) Thesis,
30 credits

October 2017

Abstract

This thesis is a study of the articles published in the Chinese newspaper 人民日报 *Renmin Ribao*, the *People's Daily*, during the Great Chinese famine 1959-1961. The famine is considered to be the worst famine in the history of China and an estimated more than 30 million people died of starvation or illnesses brought about by starvation during these years. This thesis will be focusing on the articles published in *People's Daily* during the year 1960, and the aim of the thesis is to find out what the newspaper published about the then on-going famine. In order to conduct this research, a list of famine related words and expressions have been selected and then searched for in the newspaper's own online database. The results found have then been studied in order to determine whether or not they are related to the famine unfolding in China.

论文摘要

本论文旨在研究中国报纸《人民日报》在大饥荒时期(1959-1961)所发表的一系列报道。大饥荒被认为是整个中国历史中最严重的饥荒，在此时期估计有超过三千万人死于饥饿或由饥饿引起的疾病。本论文着重于研究人民日报于1960年发表的所有报道，旨在探讨《人民日报》对于大饥荒所进行的报道的及其内容。本论文所使用的研究的方法为建立饥荒相关词语一览表并在《人民日报》网上数据库就此类词语进行搜索。最终将得到的结果进行筛选，找出并确定此类报道与饥荒的联系。

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without all the help I received from my supervisor, Michael Schoenhals. He supported me from start to finish, and helped with everything from providing plentiful sources, comments and translations, to important reminders about time restrictions and deadlines. I would also like to thank my partner, who might have read my thesis more times than I have done and given me valuable feedback in the process. My friends, family and classmates within the Language and Linguistics Master programme all deserve a thank you for their support and feedback. Last but not least, I need to thank my friend He Xiaoyan, who helped me with difficult articles and Chinese expressions, and her help with some of the more tricky translations was invaluable.

Table of Contents

1	INTRODUCTION	1
2	HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.....	3
3	THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	7
3.1	PREVIOUS STUDIES ABOUT THE CHINESE FAMINE.....	9
3.2	THE PEOPLE'S DAILY	10
3.3	HYPOTHESIS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	11
3.4	METHODS	12
4	THE WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS	14
4.1	LIMITATIONS.....	15
5	RESULTS.....	17
5.1	饥荒 JIHUANG AND 大饥荒 DAJIHUANG	18
5.2	饥谨 JIJIN.....	19
5.3	饥 JI.....	20
5.4	饥饿 JI'E.....	23
5.5	饥寒 JIHAN	26
5.6	饥民 JIMIN	27
5.7	挨饿 AI'E.....	28
5.8	饿死 ESI	29
5.9	饿殍 EPIAO	31
5.10	逃荒 TAOHUANG	31
5.11	没有食品 / 食物 / 粮 MEIYOU SHIPIN/SHIWU/LIANG	32
5.12	代食品 DAI SHIPIN.....	33
5.13	浮肿 FUZHONG.....	34
5.14	人祸 RENHUO.....	35
5.15	灾荒 ZAIHUANG	36
5.16	THE TOTAL RESULTS.....	38
6	DISCUSSION.....	42
7	CONCLUSION	46
7.1	FURTHER RESEARCH.....	47
8	REFERENCES.....	50
8.1	ARTICLES FROM THE <i>PEOPLE'S DAILY</i> :	52

1 Introduction

In the late 1950s the Chinese government implemented an elaborate plan for the future of China, namely *The Great Leap Forward*. This project aimed to move the People's Republic of China, referred to below as the PRC or China, into a new great era but it ended in a catastrophe. The plan was too extreme and the goals far too high to even be remotely achievable. The result was instead *The Great Chinese Famine* that is estimated to have cost more than 30 million lives from 1959 to 1961 (Karlsson and Schoenhals, 2008). One of the major newspapers at the time was the 人民日报 *Renmin Ribao*, *People's Daily*, a government newspaper published in Beijing and officially the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, CCP. This thesis will investigate what the newspaper wrote about the on-going famine at the time. Or more importantly: What did it *not* write about as far as the famine was concerned? The Chinese government most likely censored their official newspaper, something confirmed by the author of the article *Command Communication: The Politics of Editorial Formulation in the People's Daily*, who writes: "There is undoubtedly a censorship system in China; the question here is not whether censorship procedures exist but how they work" (Wu, 1994, p. 205). This thesis will try to claim that in regards to the famine in China, the newspaper was censored in order to hide that something was going horribly wrong in China at the time.¹

This study aims to investigate what the newspaper *People's Daily* did and did not report during the Great Famine in China, which is considered to be one of the most severe manmade catastrophes in modern history (Karlsson and Schoenhals, 2008). I want to investigate how much the people in China could find out about the current situation in their country when reading the newspaper. I also believe that newspapers play a major role in spreading news, and sometimes they are people's main, or even sole, source of information. Therefore, in this case, it is even more intriguing to study what they published during the famine. This thesis has an additional clear relevance to

¹ In order to clarify the definition of censorship: "... The changing or the suppression or prohibition of speech or writing that is deemed subversive of the common good" (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2017).

our present time since what the news may be deliberately concealing in its reporting from all over the world is still a current issue.

Previous studies have investigated the reasons behind the famine, its outcome and consequences, as well as published personal stories and facts about what occurred, but none, to my knowledge, has studied specifically what the news media in China reported at the time when the famine was actually happening.

For the sake of this research, I have studied several historical works covering the period of the Great Famine in China and noted what, according to these sources, happened during these years. Then a list of potential keywords and expressions connected to the famine, which have been logically elicited from the history books and dictionaries, has been drawn up. Then I have used the online database of the newspaper *People's Daily* where I have searched for mentions of these words and expressions. Even if the famine took place during a span of roughly three years, from 1959 to 1961, this study will only focus on the articles the newspaper published in 1960. A more thorough explanation for this choice can be found in the chapter discussing methods for this thesis. The articles where these words and expressions then occurred have been read and studied in order to determine whether or not they are connected to the Chinese famine.

The thesis is divided into the following parts: It begins with a historical as well as a theoretical background, followed by an introduction to the newspaper *People's Daily*. Thereafter the words and the results are presented, and finally there is a discussion and a conclusion.

2 Historical Background

“It was a fantastic dream, and it lead to catastrophe for millions of people as famine followed euphoria” (Spence 1999, p. 416).

The Great Leap Forward, as it is still commonly referred to, is the period preceding the Great Famine. The Great Leap Forward, henceforth abbreviated as the GLF, and the Great Famine are respectively called 大跃进 *Dayuejin* and 大饥荒 *Dajihuang* in Chinese (Oxford 2010). The GLF took place in the late 1950s and affected all of China (Schoenhals 1987). The goal was to develop China’s industry and economy and to go through some fundamental changes, fairly similar to an industrial revolution, in order to achieve the goal to “Catch up with Britain within 15 years”, and the slogan for the movement was “More, faster, better, and more economically” (Schoenhals 1987). The goals for production were raised and several new techniques for farming, housing and production were developed. In the end, production did not at all go up as significantly as had been hoped for and some inventions did more damage than good and the result in the end was not what was expected. Even if some good things came from it – such as finding a few new natural resources and the encouragement of poetry writing led to several new poets being discovered – the main consequence of the Great Leap Forward was the Great Famine (Spence 1999).

The Great Famine in China, which will henceforth be referred to as simply the famine, struck in most if not all parts of the country during a period of roughly 3 years, 1959 to 1961. The famine, and its possible causes, is discussed in an article by Schoenhals in the research review *Crimes against Humanity under Communist Regimes* by Klas-Göran Karlsson and Michael Schoenhals, (2008).² One of the topics discussed is the fact that *why* the famine did occur is still a hotly debated topic. Some specialists blame it on natural disasters and extremely bad weather, while others claim that it was the consequence of ill-conceived politics. Even CCP Chairman Mao Zedong’s precise level of involvement is contemplated in the review. Accordingly, several people say

² The first part of the catchy title *Crimes against humanity [...]*, is also used by other researchers when they are discussing famines from across the globe. For example, Vanhaute states in his article: “Modern famines however are typically regarded as avoidable humanitarian crises, or more bluntly, as crimes against humanity” (2011, p. 52).

the Great Famine was mostly Mao's fault, but the opinions differ about his involvement, depending on how authors have portrayed his personality: He was either evil and enjoyed killing people, or he was a ruthless politician who knew what was happening but saw it all as necessary to reach the goals he had set for the country (Schoenhals, 2008). Either or, the GLF and the famine did occur and they are summarized in the research review as follows: "The result of the arrogance of the Great Leap Forward was an unprecedented economic and social catastrophe, and more than anything else, it was a human tragedy in the form of the worst famine in the history of China" (Schoenhals 2008, p. 76).

There are some statistics that can show that during the years of the famine the weather was not good, which probably caused bad harvests and very likely even contributed to starvation on some occasions (Houser, Sands & Xiao, 2009). The weather alone, however, can only be blamed for a small percentage of the reasons behind the famine, because the number of victims is too great to have been caused by weather conditions alone, or as Gooch explains it: "There is growing evidence that the Great Chinese famine has little to do with natural events such as weather, drought, etc." (2017, p.149).

One of the few confirmed examples of the bad weather conditions comes from Henan province. In *The Origins of the Great Leap Forward*, the author Domenach states that Henan province did indeed suffer from several droughts and other calamities during these years, but the number of starvation victims is not discussed in this work (1995). Another author who discusses the fate of Henan province is Wemheuer. He writes that Henan was one of the model provinces of the Great Leap Forward and since the people in the province did the most radical changes and so-called improvements during the leap, they also suffered more severely in the famine that followed (Wemheuer, 2010) As can be seen later in the results, Henan is actually mentioned in connection to famine and starvation in some of the articles in the *People's Daily*.

Another reason for the famine occurring could be that many of the people working with and promoting the GLF and its goals were not specialists in their fields (Fairbank & Goldman 2006). Many were merely enthusiasts with no experience of farming,

economy or statistics, but they were still considered to be the most perfect for the position they had been assigned because of their ambition to achieve great things as soon as possible. One of the reasons for the positions being available in the first place was that many good statisticians had been removed from their posts in 1957, during the Hundred Flowers and Anti-rightists campaigns (Spence 1999).³

There are several theories to why the famine did not end sooner, and one is that it was not a widely accepted or known fact that there was a famine at all. The famine did most severely affect the rural areas of China, and while the people in the cities suffered shortages of food, they did not at all experience starvation to the same extreme extent as the countryside (Meng, Qian & Yared, 2015). Furthermore, when the whole country was trying too hard to fulfil the high goals of the GLF, several reports about the production and harvests from all over the country were greatly exaggerated (Fairbank & Goldman 2006, Schoenhals 1987). No one wanted to admit to their officials that they had “failed” to comply with the goals that everyone else seemed to have immense success with, at least on paper. In China there is an expression called 丢脸 *diulian*, which can be translated as *To Lose Face*. The meaning of the expression is to be embarrassed in front of others and as a consequence risk losing your good name or the respect others have for you (Ho, 1976). This fear of losing face and admit failure was most likely connected to the reasons for the exaggerated reports, since probably no one wanted to look bad and be the only ones to report failure when everyone else seemed to be so immensely successful. The actual statistics and results of production were not starting to emerge until 1960 when high and widespread mortality rates were discovered (Fairbank & Goldman 2006).

How early or late Mao became aware is, as mentioned before, still being debated. According to Schoenhals, Mao was at least in 1958 oblivious to what was really starting to happen in China: “As far as the size of the 1958 harvest was concerned, Mao was still totally oblivious of the extent to which he was being fed erroneous predictions by his intelligence apparatus.” (1987, p.153). Spence is agreeing with

³ The Hundred Flowers campaign started in 1956 and ended abruptly in 1957. It was originally a campaign to let the people, and above all intellectuals, criticise the Party in order to improve their work. After merely a couple of months however, Mao and the Party realized that they received too much criticism and therefore declared that all of those who had dared to oppose the Party were actually dangerous rightists. The anti-rightists campaign started and led to that hundreds of thousands of people lost their jobs or were sent to the outskirts to be reformed by labour, and some were sent to prison (Bachman, 1991).

Schoenhals on this and writes that Mao received and read the exaggerated reports and believed them even to the point that he ordered people to leave farmable fields alone and let the harvest go to waste, because they had not enough storage room to store all the food that the reports said they were currently producing (1999).

The number of victims of the famine will probably never be known, and different sources give different numbers. In *China a new history*, the authors write that some 20-30 million lost their lives due to malnutrition and famine, and the author of *The Search for modern China* writes that the famine took 20 million lives (Fairbank & Goldman 2006, Spence 1999). In *Crimes against Humanity under Communist Regimes* the problem is recognised and discussed, saying that some sources say 40 million victims and others say 30 million victims, while the official numbers from the CCP's Central Propaganda Department says that approximately 20 to 30 million people died during these difficult years (Karlsson & Schoenhals 2008). Another article has a slightly different approach, and instead of stating the number of millions, it says that the famine claimed the lives of 2 % of the population (Vanhaute, 2011). Moreover, apart from the many millions that died during these years, many more suffered from malnutrition and sickness and the long-term impact of the famine affected survivors for years afterwards (Gooch, 2017).

Furthermore, even if the worst part of the famine ended in 1961, the country had not recovered and was back on its feet, so to speak, until 1965 (Chan, 2001). Ironically, 15 years after the launch of the Great Leap Forward, however, China had after all – after the famine and even a cultural revolution – fulfilled the economic goal to “catch up with Great Britain” (Schoenhals 1987). Even if it might not have happened the way it was planned and intended, the goal in simple terms of numbers was nevertheless achieved.

3 Theoretical framework

What is famine? The concepts of hunger, famine and starvation are all fairly well known, but for the sake of clarity in this thesis, the following definitions are offered. One definition of a famine is: "... [a] 'severe' shortage of food accompanied by 'significant' increased mortality" (Vanhaute 2011). Encyclopaedia Britannica provides a similar definition: "Severe and prolonged hunger in a substantial proportion of the population of a region or country, resulting in widespread and acute malnutrition and death by starvation and disease" (2017). It is also pointed out that a famine cannot be endless or indefinite. A famine is thus an occurrence including hunger and starvation, and it has to affect a fair amount of people. The Great Chinese famine fulfils all of these requirements and is most definitely a famine.

The article *From famine to food crisis: what history can teach us about local and global subsistence crises* by Vanhaute gives a valuable insight into previous research that has been conducted within the field of famine studies (2011). First of all, he states that from a global perspective, the overall number of famines and severe shortages of food has declined drastically during the last centuries. The causes of famines have also changed with time:

"Contemporary famine research has shifted the perception of hunger crises as natural or technical problems related to the disruption of a food system, to famines as a lack of accountability and failed responses by public actors [...]
'[N]ew famines' are almost always political events because they are almost always preventable" (Vanhaute, 2011, p. 49).

It is very tempting but slightly difficult to immediately place the Chinese famine in the category wherein famine is caused by political events, because even if the situation in the sixties definitely was highly influenced by political powers, Vanhaute's article is a bit unspecific about the distinction between new and historical famines. The examples in his text, however, are either old famines from the 19th century or new ones from the 1970s up to our present time. Therefore the Chinese

famine might be categorised as a new famine, and thus, according to the quote above, as one that could most likely have been prevented.

In the eighties there was a broadening within the field of famine research when entitlement started to be considered to play a major part of famine causes and food shortages (Vanhaute 2011). Before, the main focus had been on how much food was produced in a country, but now there was a developing interest in how the land, and the food grown on it, instead was distributed among the population. There was the realization that the production number was not as important a factor as the market was. Because, it did not matter if a country produced an abundant amount of food if the population itself did not have the means to buy it. Therefore the conclusion was drawn that shortages of food may also occur in countries with fairly good production numbers (Vanhaute 2011). One of the better-known works about entitlement in connection to famine is the Indian economist Amartya Sen's work *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation* (1981). He writes that: "Starvation is the characteristic of some people not *having* enough food to eat. It is not the characteristic of there *being* not enough food to eat" (1).

Apart from the most gruesome aspect of a famine wherein a larger number of victims starve to death, famine could be considered to be an interesting research choice. A famine is simultaneously an event, a process and a structure, in the way that it often starts with a war or a natural disaster, then it is followed by a period of starvation, and all the time the society's structure, breakdown and/or involvement play a crucial part (Vanhaute, 2011). These three components together contribute to famine research being a varied and interesting field, leading to the high number of studies already made. Of course, the aim to extinguish and prevent starvation in the world definitely contributes to continued research.

One of the most famous famines in the world is the Irish famine in 1845-1848 (Vanhaute, 2011). One million people died, which might seem to be a relatively low number, but it amounted to circa 11% of the total population on Ireland, and the main, most probable cause was that a fungus attacked the potatoes countrywide and made them inedible (Gráda, 1989). This famine and a hunger crisis in Finland in 1868, are considered to be last severe famines in Europe (Vanhaute, 2011). Even if periods of

hunger still exist in some countries and during shorter periods of time, not any occurrence has been labelled as a famine or starvation crisis in Europe for over hundred years. The rest of the world has not been as lucky, since it is estimated that around 70-80 million people died of starvation during the twentieth century in the rest of the world (Vanhaute, 2011).

3.1 Previous studies about the Chinese famine

There have been many studies conducted on the famine in China, covering several angles such as why, how and the consequences in the aftermath. What makes this famine particularly worth studying, is the fact that it stands out a little bit in comparison to other famines across the world. Normally, a famine of greater proportions happens in times of war, genocide or mass migration, but the famine in China did in comparison occur during a relatively peaceful period (Gooch, 2017).

The country did suffer a couple of years with bad weather and bad harvests (Houser et al., 2009). But, as mentioned before, the weather alone cannot have been the only contributor to a famine of this magnitude. Political actions and decisions very likely made the comparably small damage done by the forces of nature multiply in tenfold (Vanhaute, 2011). Furthermore, the Chinese famine killed more than 20-30 million people, as mentioned before, which is more than any known famine in history (Meng et al., 2015).

There have been several previous studies about the famine, with focus on different aspects. Some focus on the reasons behind the famine, the outcome and consequences, or personal stories about what occurred. Here are a few examples of some of the slightly more well-known ones: *Mao's Great Famine: The History of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe, 1958-62* by Frank Dikötter is a work based on four years' research and the main sources, according to Dikötter, are from recently opened archives in China (2010). In the archives the author's research assistants found records about what happened during the famine, including everything from documents about population and births to personal diaries and short notes about the current situation. Another one is *Tombstone: The Great Chinese Famine, 1958-1962*

by Yang Jisheng (2009). This work is similar to Dikötter's previous study, but the most significant difference is that the original is written in Chinese and published in Hong Kong, which gives the study a more serious angle since the author has more personal ties to the famine. One of the most recognised works only published in Chinese is Cao Shuji's 大饥荒 1959-1961 年的中国人口, *Dajihuang 1959-1961 nian de Zhongguo renkou* (2005).⁴ This work offers a detailed overview of the demographic changes during these years and shows beyond a doubt that the number of Chinese people who died during this period is extremely high.

There are of course many more studies about the famine, but even if they are plenty in numbers, none has however studied what the news media reported at the time when the famine was actually happening, at least not any that I am currently aware of.

3.2 The People's Daily

The newspaper, 人民日报, *Renmin Ribao*, henceforth only referred to as the *People's Daily*, which is the English name, or simply "the newspaper" since it is the only newspaper this thesis is working with. It is a newspaper published by the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee, CCP. It was established in the end of the 1940s and has since then been one of the main newspapers in China (*Renmin ribaoshe jianjie*, 2017/05/20). The central role that it plays has been described as follows:

"The *People's Daily* (*Renmin ribao*) is the mouthpiece of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), the top decisionmaking body in China, and is controlled by the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee. Editorials and commentaries in the *People's Daily* represent the viewpoints of the Chinese leadership. Thus the *People's Daily* is central to understanding the Chinese propaganda state, as well as elite politics". (Wu, 1994, p. 195).

⁴ "The Great Famine – China's population 1950-1960", own translation.

The reason for choosing to work with the *People's Daily* for this thesis is because it was the biggest and most widely spread newspaper at the time. Also, since it was directly linked to the CCP leadership, other lesser newspapers were strongly encouraged to simply copy the articles from *People's Daily* and use it in their own publications (Wu, 1994).

The news itself was provided by the official news agency of the state, namely Xinhua (Schoenhals, 1985). One of the main purposes of Xinhua, however, is not only to provide news to the public, but also to provide a lot more information exclusively to China's political elite. There is much information that reaches a small percentage of the people in charge in the form of secret documents and publications never meant for the eyes of the public (Schoenhals, 1985). Since this system of news distribution definitely was in place well before 1960, it is fair to assume that the CCP did most definitely know more than the ordinary population about what was going on in China at the time.

There is a great variation in the material studied in the *People's Daily*, since apart from classical news articles there are also several poems, both from foreign writers and Chinese ones, as well as straightforward instructions and recommendations on how to best live your everyday life. Furthermore, some of the articles have authors, while some of them are unsigned. The names of the authors or reporters need not have been authentic, however, since the people working at *People's Daily* occasionally composed articles together and then used a pseudonym when signing (Tsai & Kao, 2013). Regardless of this fact, if the articles used in this thesis have an author, they have been cited as such nevertheless.

3.3 Hypothesis and Research Questions

My hypothesis for the thesis is: "During the Great Famine in China, one of the most severe man-made famines in history, the Chinese newspaper *People's Daily* censored reports and did not let readers know to which extent the famine was affecting the Chinese citizenry at the time".

In order to investigate whether my hypothesis is true or not, I have formulated the following research questions to which I try to find the answers:

1. To what extent is it written in the newspaper *People's Daily* in 1960 about the on-going famine?
2. If there are articles containing the words searched for, do they concern the on-going famine in China? If not, what are they about?

3.4 Methods

The method used for this thesis is corpus studies. The corpus is the *People's Daily's* own database, with a focus on the material published the year 1960. The database covers the years 1946-2012. During 1960 the number of articles and materials that can be read consists in total of 23942 items. Two examples of previous studies concerning the material published in the *People's Daily* are *Public discourse as the mirror of ideological change: a keyword study of editorials in People's Daily* by Karen Wu Rongquan and *Sweden through China's Migration Lenses: A Content Analysis of the People's Daily's News Reports on Sweden in Migration Contexts* by Anders Deigård (2001 & 2015). Both of these works uses the database as a corpus, and their research is mainly based on the material found in the newspaper. This present thesis is using the same method as Rongquan and Deigård, but the focus is on the articles concerning famine related words and expressions published during 1960.

I have created a semantic field, a list of words and expressions, all of them in one way or another connected to famine. The semantic field theory was founded as early as the middle of 19th century by W. Humboldt and then it was developed further by several famous linguistics, for example Jolls, Parzig, Ipsen and J. Trier (Gao & Xu, 2013). A semantic field is a set of words that are related in meaning and have a connection to each other (Nordquist, 2017). In this thesis, the semantic field was created based on which words that could be logically elicited from the *Oxford Chinese Dictionary*, with focus on words and expressions that are synonyms to famine in various forms (2010).

This thesis will focus on the articles published in *People's Daily* during the year 1960. The famine itself went on for several years, with the three years 1959-1961 being the most prominent ones. It would undoubtedly be most beneficial if all of the years were studied, but due to time restrictions and the huge amount of material that such a study would involve, only one year will be studied. During this period, the years 1959 and 1960 are often considered to be those when the famine was most severe (Houser et al., 2009). Therefore, one of these years would be best to focus on. The decision not to choose 1959 was because at least the beginning of 1959 was still a period filled with the hype of the great success of the Great Leap Forward, complete with false statistics and exaggerated reports, leading the higher officials to believe everything was great (Fairbank & Goldman 2006). And if not even the highest politicians knew everything about what was going on, it is highly unlikely that they would publish anything in their own newspaper about a famine they did not yet know was in the making. Therefore 1960 is undoubtedly a good year to investigate.

The words and expressions in the semantic field have then been located in the newspaper *People's Daily*, using the newspaper's own online database. In the database, the articles can be sorted on publication year, which means that there are searchable folders for 1959, 1960, et cetera. After choosing to search within only 1960, all the selected words and expressions have been searched for. Some of them consist of two or more Chinese characters, but fortunately the online database is an intelligent search engine. This means that if two characters are searched for together, for example 饥饿 *ji'e*, only hits with 饥 *ji* + 饿 *e* are presented in the results. Additionally, when for example searching for only 饥 *ji*, the results do not include words where *ji* is part of another word. Therefore, in the results for *ji*, words that consist of two characters such as *jihuang*, *ji'e*, and *jijin* et cetera are not included. The hits wherein these words then occur will be read and studied in order to determine whether or not they are connected to the on-going famine in China.

4 The words and expressions

The words and expressions have been translated by the help of *Oxford Chinese Dictionary*, which will henceforth be referred to simply as the dictionary (2010).

The words and expressions have been chosen after searching the dictionary for various synonyms to the word famine. Additionally, some expressions strongly connected to famine have been added after finding them in the historical sources used for this thesis. Finally, the list has been modified with the help of the supervisor for this thesis, in order to determine which words and expressions would be the best ones to search for in the newspaper.

<u>Words:</u>	<u>Meaning:</u>
大饥荒 <i>dajihuang</i>	Great Famine
饥荒 <i>jihuang</i> :	Famine
饥馑 <i>jijin</i>	Famine
饥 <i>ji</i>	Famished, hungry
饥饿 <i>ji'e</i>	Starved
饥寒 <i>jihan</i>	Suffer from cold and hunger
饥民 <i>jimin</i>	Starving people
挨饿 <i>ai'e</i>	To starve
饿死 <i>esi</i>	Starve to death
饿殍 <i>epiao</i>	Corpses of the starved
逃荒 <i>taohuang</i>	To run away from famine
没有食品 / 食物 / 粮 <i>meiyou shipin/shiwu/liang</i>	No food
代食品 <i>dai shipin</i>	Substitute food
浮肿 <i>fuzhong</i>	Oedema
人祸 <i>renhuo</i>	Man-made disaster
灾荒 <i>zaihuang</i>	Famine (caused by draught or flood)

4.1 Limitations

The list of keywords and expressions to search for in the newspaper has been revised and shortened several times. In these following paragraphs, the words that are not included in the thesis are briefly discussed.

The keywords that were originally selected but in the end chosen not to be analysed in the thesis are: 自然灾害 *ziran zaihai* and 天灾 *tianzai* which both mean *natural disaster*, 灾祸 *zaihuo*, 灾难 *zainan* and 灾害 *zaihai* all mean *disaster of an unspecific nature*, 水灾 *shuizai* and 洪灾 *hongzai* both means *flood disaster*, 旱灾 *hanzai* means *drought*, 受灾 *shouzai* means *to be hit by a natural disaster*, 灾情 *zaiqing* means *damage caused by a disaster*, 灾民 *zaimin* means *disaster victims*, 收成不好 *shoucheng buhao* means *bad harvest*, 歉收 *qianshou* means *crop failure*, 食物中毒 *shiwuzhongdu* which means *food poisoning*, 饿 *e* means *hungry*, and 死 *si* which means *to die* (Oxford 2010).

The reason for not including 自然灾害 *ziran zaihai*, *natural disasters*, in this thesis is that *natural disasters* are not related to the aim of the thesis. The word itself does not have any direct connection with famine and people who are starving, even if the consequences of a natural disaster more often than not result in shortages of food. This thesis is not focusing on exactly *how* the *People's Daily* wrote about the current situation, because if this was the case, *natural disasters* would definitely be one of the keywords with highest priority. This thesis is instead investigating if the newspaper is writing specifically about famine and starvation, and therefore hits containing *natural disasters*, which are not appearing in combination with the selected words connected to famine, hunger and starvation, are not discussed in this thesis. Admittedly, as is discussed in the chapter about further research later on, to investigate the occurrences of natural disasters in the newspaper would be an interesting angle to explore further in the future.

Furthermore, the words and expressions connected to disasters in general, *tianzai*, *zaihuo*, *zainan*, *zaihai*, *shuizai*, *hongzai*, *hanzai*, *shouzai*, *zaiqing*, and *zaimin* have all

been excluded based on the same reasons *ziran zaihai* was. *Qianshou* and *shoucheng buhao* are both related to food supply, but since a harvest can be poor without necessarily ending in famine they have also been excluded. *Shiwuzhongdu* has also clear relevance, but if the term does not occur in the articles discussing famine or other hunger related issues, it has been excluded. Finally, the meaning and usage of *e* and *si* are both unfortunately too vague and the results are too broad to be included in this thesis.

5 Results

The numbers of articles, the hits, in the results are presented both with and without parentheses, due to their slightly different meaning. The actual numbers of articles found, the hits, have no parentheses in the list down below. The numbers within the parentheses next to the hit number however, are the ones that have not occurred before and are therefore this is the number of articles that will be discussed. For example: *Ji* has 69 hits in the newspaper, but six of these hits were also present in either *dajihuang*, *jihuang* or *jijin*, and thus they have already been commented on. Therefore only the 63 remaining hits with *ji* will be discussed further, since they are new material.

Words:	Meaning:	Results:
大饥荒 <i>dajihuang</i>	Great Famine	2
饥荒 <i>jihuang</i>	Famine	21
饥谨 <i>jijin</i>	Famine	6
饥 <i>ji</i>	Famished, hungry	69 (63)
饥饿 <i>ji'e</i>	Starved	215 (202)
饥寒 <i>jihan</i>	Suffer from cold and hunger	18 (16)
饥民 <i>jimin</i>	Starving people	2 (0)
挨饿 <i>ai'e</i>	To starve	65 (34)
饿死 <i>esi</i>	Starve to death	77 (56)
饿殍 <i>epiao</i>	Corpses of the starved	8 (5)
逃荒 <i>taohuang</i>	To run away from famine	49 (25)
没有食品 / 食物 / 粮 <i>meiyou shipin/shiwu/liang</i>	No food	7 (6)
代食品 <i>dai shipin</i>	Substitute food	7
浮肿 <i>fuzhong</i>	Oedema	6 (4)
人祸 <i>renhuo</i>	Man-made disaster	5 (2)
灾荒 <i>zaihuang</i>	Famine (caused by draught or flood)	49 (30)

The total number of hits when searching the newspaper for the words and expressions is 606, but as mentioned above, in order to avoid reading the same article twice only 479 hits will be discussed in the results.

Furthermore, all search results concerning Taiwan will be regarded as news concerning a foreign country, since the government of the Republic of China (ROC), which is not the same as the PRC, ruled the island province of Taiwan at the time (Rubinstein 2015).

5.1 饥荒 Jihuang and 大饥荒 Dajihuang

Two of the words and expressions that have been studied are 饥荒 *jihuang*, and 大饥荒 *dajihuang*. These are two of the search terms on the list that have a relatively straightforward meaning. There is not much room for interpretations or deviating translations, since they are simply translated as *famine*, or *great famine* when in combination with the word 大 *da*, which in itself means *big* or *great* (Oxford, 2010). The results after searching the online version of the newspaper, in total 23 hits, are as follows:

- Historical famine (famine in China, but in the past): 4 hits
- Vietnam: 6 hits
- India: 3 hits
- One hit each concerning: The Soviet Union, USA, Congo, Laos, Guinea and Southeast Asia in general
- One hit is about art to describing the brilliant modern history of China
- One is about a dean, a head of church, in England who talks about how great socialism is working out for China, and that the rest of the world should follow China's example
- One is a piece of fiction

- One is a hit from a Cambodian newspaper which claims that famine in China is merely a rumour created by some ill-wishing Westerners

大饥荒 *Dajihuang* is a commonly used expression nowadays when referring to the Great Famine in China (Yang, 2009). Interestingly enough, it was not used even once in the newspaper when talking about contemporary China in 1960. *Dajihuang* only occurs twice: once in one of the articles about famine in Vietnam, and once when discussing an art exhibition that skilfully reflects the brilliant history of the Party's rule in China. This article about the art exhibition does mention *dajihuang*, but merely as something that happened in the past, not in the present.

One of the most interesting conclusions that can be logically elicited from these search results is that the word, *jihuang*, which without hesitation means famine, was not once used to describe the current situation in China. It was used exclusively when discussing foreign catastrophes and politics, fictitious stories or when referring to something belonging in history.

The article about the dean in England is, to put it frankly, quite entertaining to read.⁵ The dean of Canterbury is in his Christmas greeting praising the Chinese socialism. He talks about how great socialism is working out for China, and that they now are truly prepared when a natural disaster strikes. As an example, he talks about how China twelve years ago was hit by a natural disaster and as a consequence people starved. Nowadays, on the other hand, when similar situations occur, no one suffers the same fate thanks to socialism (1960.12.26).

5.2 饥馑 Jijin

Another word that has been studied is 饥馑 *jijin*. The translation of this word, according to the dictionary, is simply *famine*, the exact same as previously mentioned

⁵ This article could possibly be about Geoffrey Fisher, who was an important man within the Christian Church in England, and he was a devoted supporter of socialism and visited China several times during his life (Carpenter, 1991).

jihuang. The difference between *jihuang* and *jijin* is that *jijin* is only used in more formal contexts and almost only in writing, not in speech. In the newspaper it occurs six times:

- South Korea: 2 hits
- Taiwan: 1 hit
- The Soviet Union: 1 hit
- Vietnam 1 hit

- One hit is about an American who expresses his opinion that famine in China occurs from time to time, as it should, because famine is a normal and inevitable phenomenon

The search results for *jijin* are incredibly similar to the results for *jihuang*, and this is perhaps not surprising since both of them are translated as famine, but neither of the expressions are used in contexts describing the current situation in China. The article about the American's comments might be considered an exception, since he is actually asserting that there is famine in China. He is, on the other hand, not very specific and he is saying that famine is a normal and inevitable recurring event (Yang, 1960.09.19).

5.3 饥 Ji

The next word is 饥 *ji*, which is translated as *famished* or *being hungry*. This word occurs in the newspaper 69 times, but only 63 of these will be discussed, for the reasons explained earlier. The results are as follows:

- Historical famine: 22 hits
- Soldiers' experiences: 9 hits

- Cuba: 6 hits

- Vietnam: 2 hits
- One hit each concerning: Cyprus, Turkey, Guinea, South Africa, Japan, USA, Indonesia, Algeria, Taiwan and Great Britain
- Pieces of fiction, in the form of stories, songs, poems and plays: 7 hits
- Instructions and recommendations on how to take care of livestock: 3 hits
- How China should act in the world and aid others: 2 hits
- One hit about a foreigner's travel experience in China
- One hit about how the people studying to become doctors in China learn about all kinds of different sicknesses and cures, including identifying the symptoms of severe hunger *ji*

With *ji*, the trend to describe the current situation in foreign countries seen in previous results, continues steadily. There are hits concerning several other countries all over the world, with a tendency to focus on Cuba. Moreover, there is also an article focusing on a foreign traveller in China. This traveller tells the reporter how his expectations about China before visiting were low, but that he now sees this wonderful country very differently and in a positive light. He blames his ignorance on previous readings, because what he had read had given him a false picture of China as a poor and famished country. He now says that he stands happily corrected (1960.05.11).

The majority of the hits containing the word *ji* are actually focused on China, but not on the current situation. Instead they deal with historical events and several of them compare the distress of the past with the happiness of the present. The hunger *ji* could be seen everywhere before the Communist Party liberated China from the rule of the Kuomintang. Everything before this, especially the period just before this happened is called *Before liberation*. The famine is now nowhere to be found because the CCP and Mao Zedong have successfully eliminated it (Gan , 1960.08.20).

Several hits containing *ji* also focus on soldiers' tales and experiences. Some of them are presented in the format of serious interviews with gruesome examples, while

others are simpler storytelling complete with reconstructed dialogues. Some tell stories from the Red Army's legendary Long March in the mid-1930s, while others focus on slightly more recent events that occurred during the Korean War in the early 1950s.

Some of the hits tell rural residents how to best take care of their livestock. Everything from describing the best methods to keep and feed them to how to prevent them from starving, *ji*, is covered. To give instructions on how to take care of your livestock in a national newspaper might seem odd, but the CCP had traditionally used the press to distribute instructions and manuals to the Chinese people on all sorts of subjects (Bengtsson 2017).

The articles about how China as a country should act in the world are interesting to read. In these, the focus is on how China should aid other countries that are not as fortunate as China, and set a good example for the world about helping others in need who are suffering from hunger and famine. Even if this way of thinking definitely is wonderful and should be something to strive for, it might seem odd that China should not prioritize to use its own resources to feed its own population in times of famine. Other sources do, however, confirm that China actually did aid other countries financially and exported a far from insignificant amount of grain during the country's own crisis (Spence 1999, Dikötter 2010).

Some of the articles claim that China's peasants now longed for intellectual nourishment. The people in the countryside no longer have to suffer from famine, starvation or hunger, the Remin Ribao claimed, and therefore they are now hungry for something else. They feel the need for some other kind of sustenance, now that their most basic needs are fulfilled. Therefore they now long for intellectual nourishment (1960.04.10).

5.4 饥饿 Ji'e

The next word is 饥饿 *ji'e*, which is translated as *starved*. This word occurs in the newspaper 215 times, but only 202 of these will be discussed. The results are as follows:

- Historical famine: 14 hits
- Historical, with specific focus on *Before liberation*: 25 hits
- North Korea: 18 hits
- South Korea: 17 hits
- USA and other “imperialistic countries” in general: 14 hits
- Cuba: 15 hits
- The Soviet Union: 8 hits
- Japan: 5 hits
- Latin America in general: 5 hits
- Vietnam: 5 hits
- Taiwan: 4 hits
- Argentina: 3 hits
- Hungary: 3 hits
- Two hits each about: Turkey, South Africa, Indonesia, India, Congo, Chile, Africa in general and South East Asia in general
- One hit each concerning: Guinea, Algeria, Senegal, Paraguay, Spain, Colombia, Panama, Mali, Bolivia, Mongolia, Albania, Romania, Italy and Peru
- Speeches at various conferences, on the topic of starvation globally: 11 hits
- Pieces of fiction in the form of stories, songs, poems, plays and a movie: 8 hits
- “Nobody is starving!”: 7 hits
- *Ji'e* used in slogans or metaphors: 4 hits
- Visitors say how great China is now: 3 hits
- How China should act in the world and aid others: 1 article

- Instructions and recommendations on how to take care of livestock: 1 hit
- An article from a Cuban newspaper describing the positive situation in China at the moment

A major part of the hits including *ji'e* are focusing on the situation in foreign countries. There are articles concerning several other countries all over the world, in particular North Korea, South Korea and Cuba. When reporting the situation in these countries, there is more often than not a tendency to include some criticism of the USA and its contribution to the misery and starvation that can be found in these countries. It is necessary to point out, however, that this thesis will not go into detail about exactly what any of these articles concerning famine and foreign countries are about, since this thesis is focusing on the content in the articles concerning China. The articles concerning foreign countries are merely included here for statistical purposes.

Several of the hits are again about famine in China, but in the past. Since a large majority of these are solely focused on the period “*Before liberation*”, they have been separated from the rest of the historical articles and have been put in their own category, and from now on they will continue to be sorted in this way. The rest of the historical articles are covering different periods of China’s history, such as the period of the Japanese occupation or when China was ruled by an emperor. Others are for example about different people’s childhood and how they grew up with famine in their vicinity. Thus they are very likely also occurring during the period *before liberation*, but since they lack any indication that points directly at this time they are still sorted as plainly historical.

It is interesting to see that the authors of the articles published in *People’s Daily* were often creative when naming the period known as *before liberation* 解放前 *jiefang qian*. This liberation occurred in and around 1949 when the communist party took over China from the Kuomintang and founded the PRC (Fairbank and Goldman 2006). The period before this occurrence is in the articles for example referred to as: 解放前 *jiefang qian*, “before liberation”, 旧社会 *jiu shehui* “the old society”, 国民党反动政府 *guomindang fandong zhengfu* “the government of the reactionary Kuomintang”, or using an even longer and more explicitly describing name: 在国民党反动派的黑暗

统治下 *zai guomindang fandongpai de heian tongzhi xia* ”During the dark rule of the reactionary Kuomintang” (1960.04.16, 1960.06.17, 1960.04.14 & 1960.06.10).

Three of the hits are about foreigners in China and about their impressions of the country. The first one is about some representatives from the Tunisian government who are visiting China. They knew that China had a history of famine and misery, but they could not see any such thing at the moment in China. They are impressed with the current state of the country and praise the fact that everyone of the population has employment, enjoys good health and has food on the table (1960.11.11). In the second article a representative of the government of Burma is saying in an interview that the rumors he had heard about famine and starvation in China were in fact merely rumors (1960.11.10). The third article is not about a foreign visitor’s impression, but it is about foreigner’s opinion about the current state of China. It is an article about a speech held at an international conference by the President of Czechoslovakia, in which the speaker says that China has fought and defeated famine and hunger, and the life situation for everyone is constantly improving (1960.10.09).

Some of the hits are discussing the amazing fact that no one is starving in China anymore, and that this, of course, is only possible thanks to the amazing work done by the Communist Party and Mao Zedong himself. The creation of the People’s Communes has also contributed greatly to this stability.⁶ These articles are especially interesting since the claim that “no one is starving in China” is, according to other sources as have been discussed earlier on in this thesis, a completely false statement.

Among these hits there are some that contain slogans with *ji’e*, for example “口渴想起上甘岭，饥饿想起老红军” *kouke xiangqi shangganling, ji’e xiangqi laohongjun*, which is used in two different articles that are interestingly enough published the day after one another (1960.04.06 & 1960.04.07).⁷ There are also a few cases where *ji’e* is

⁶ Domenach writes in his work, *The Origins of the Great Leap Forward*, more thoroughly about these communes (1995). The People’s Communes started to be created in the summer of 1958, and then quickly spread throughout the country. The fundamental idea behind the People’s Communes was that people could more easily help each other if they started to live closer together and share responsibilities, such as cooking and childcare. This led to the establishments of public canteens where everyone went to eat and the children and the elderly were cared for in kindergartens and old people’s homes. At least on paper these establishments were put up and worked out magnificently all over the country, but as mentioned before in this thesis, these reports were often highly exaggerated.

⁷ ”When thirsty remember Shangganling, when starving remember the old Red Army”, own translation.

used in a more abstract way, for example when it is written that to eat is a basic need: “...人们的第一个要求是吃饱饭，摆脱饥饿的生活 *Renmen de di yi ge yaoqiu shi chi bao fan, baituo ji'e de shenghuo*” (Li & Fang 1960.02.17).

5.5 饥寒 *jihan*

The next expression is 饥寒 *jihan*, which is translated as *to suffer from cold and hunger*. This expression occurs in the newspaper 18 times, but only 16 of these will be discussed. The results are as follows:

- Historical famine: 5 hits
- Historical, with specific focus on *Before liberation*: 5 hits
- Japan: 1 article
- Pieces of fiction: 2 hits
- Instructions and recommendations on how to take care of livestock: 1 hit
- “In the future there might be famine”: 1 hit
- The importance of hygiene: 1 hit

Once again there is a clear connection between famine and hunger and the past tense since 10 out of 16 hits are focused on events in the past. *Jihan*, “to suffer from cold and hunger”, was apparently something that mainly happened in history and not the present time.

One of the hits does however stand apart from the rest. It has a fairly unique “futuristic” approach. The article is stating that there might be *jihan* in the future. It is a very vague statement with no mention of when exactly this might occur, instead it is only an encouragement to be prepared for whatever the future might bring. (Bao 1960.02.14)

The most noteworthy finding when searching the newspaper for *jihan*, is that there is a striking lack of hits on this topic concerning foreign countries. Only one of the results is about a foreign country, Japan, but the rest are interestingly enough focused on China.

Among the items there are two poems. The style of the poems, which follows a common pattern, is praise for the achievements done by the Party and Mao Zedong. “千支电灯辉煌 *qian zhi diandeng huihuang*”, “Like a thousand brilliant electric lights”, is only one of many ways to describe the current wonderful situation (Cui, 1960.07.21). As have already been discussed, it is quite common to thank the eminent leaders for their work to successfully build a society without famine, or in this case, without cold and hunger.

There is also once again a hit about recommendations on how to best take care of livestock, but what has not been seen before is a hit about how to manage everyday hygiene issues. People are recommended to wash their hands often and be a bit more careful with their personal hygiene, all in order to prevent *jihan* from emerging (Fu, 1960.06.12).

5.6 饥民 *jimin*

The next expression is 饥民 *jimin*, which may be translated as *starving people*. This expression occurs in the newspaper only twice, but both of these hits have already been discussed. It is, however, worth mentioning that neither of these hits have anything to do with the on-going famine in China. One of them is about Taiwan, and the other is about India.

5.7 挨饿 ai'e

The next word is 挨饿 *ai'e*, which is translated *as to be starving*. This word occurs in the newspaper 65 times, but only 34 of these will be discussed. The results are as follows:

- Historical famine: 6 hits
- Historical, with focus on *Before liberation*: 4 hits
- Soldiers' experiences: 1 hit

- Cuba: 2 hits
- USA: 2 hits
- One hit each concerning: Japan, South Korea, India, the French colonies, Algeria, Laos and Argentina

- "No famine thanks to the People's Communes": 4 hits
- Pieces of fiction: 2 hits
- People who are starving in general terms from all over the world: 1 hit
- How China should act in the world and aid others: 1 hit
- One hit is a true story of Wang Fuzhou successfully climbing Mount Everest⁸
- One hit is a reportage from a Tibetan village
- One hit is a poem by an Angolan writer
- One hit is about problems in Shandong

Once more, a major part of the hits in the search results are about foreign events or famines in the past. An actual third of the hits containing *aie* are focused on other countries, and another third concern historical starvation crises in China. The final third is equally divided amongst poems, pieces of fiction, various life stories and praise for the People's Communes.

⁸ Wang Fuzhou, along with his team, was the first Chinese to successfully climb Mount Everest from the north side in 1960. He became quite famous in China for this feat and he passed away in 2015, 80 years old ("How high is Everest?", 1987 & "Wang Fuzhou", 2015).

One of the hits is a story or reportage from a Tibetan village. In it, they describe how people live their everyday life and that *aie* occasionally can happen and that this is nothing strange. The aim of the article is not to seek aid for *aie*, it is simply mentioned casually as something that sometimes occurs (1960.04.02).

Among the hits with *aie*, there is one about problems in Shandong province. The province had been hit by disasters, among them severe flooding, and the article is about which methods the people used to cope in the aftermath. Instead of simply waiting for *aie*, or any other dire consequences, to happen, people worked together and came up with numerous impromptu solutions. Thus, *aie* is not used in this article as a word describing the current situation; instead it is used to describe a possible but avoidable situation (1960.11.29).

5.8 饿死 **esi**

The next expression is 饿死 *esi*, which is translated as *to starve to death*. This expression occurs in the newspaper 77 times, but only 56 of these will be discussed. The results are as follows:

- Historical famine: 18 hits
- Historical, with focus on *Before liberation*: 9 hits

- South Korea: 3 hits
- Cuba: 2 hits
- One hit each concerning: North Korea, Turkey and Taiwan

- Hunger after a natural disaster, such as a flood or a drought: 5 hits
- “No one is starving now!”: 5 hits
- Drought in Henan – comparison between then and now: 3 hits
- Pieces of fiction: 2 hits

- Instructions and recommendations on how to take care of livestock: 1 hit
- One hit about a journalist from Costa Rica who writes that before there was always famine in China, but look at it now
- One hit about a village in Hebei province and how they solved the problems during hard times in order to avoid *esi*
- One hit is about a Chinese author⁹
- One hit is about a speech by a purged politician¹⁰
- One hit uses *esi* in a metaphor

A little more than a third of the hits containing *esi* are about famines and hunger in the past, either specifically from *before liberation*, or simply in an unspecified past. There are some hits focusing on the 1959 drought in Henan, and among these several hits are comparing the current situation after the drought that occurred in 1959 with the one that occurred in 1942. According to these articles, when the drought occurred in 1942 there was starvation afterwards, but after the one in 1959 no one starved. Domenach confirms, as mentioned before, that Henan province did indeed suffer from several droughts and other calamities during these years, but does not speculate about the number of starvation victims (1995).

What is most interesting about the search results for *esi* is that some of the hits actually acknowledge that there is famine and hunger happening right now. On the other hand, all of these articles firmly point out that there are natural causes behind the starvation. Natural disasters are always the culprits, either in the form of a flood or a drought.

One of the hits are using *esi* in a quote where the speaker talks about *esi* on a more abstract level and simply uses it as a metaphorical tool: “有饭撑死，没饭饿死 *you fan chengsi, meifan esi*” (Bing, 1960.03.10).¹¹

⁹ The article is about the Chinese author 朱自清 Zhu Ziqing who would rather die from starvation, *esi*, than accept the so called help from the United States. Zhu Ziqing is one of China's most famous writers and poets and he lived 1898-1948. One of his most famous work is called 背景 *Beijing* (Pollard, 2000).

¹⁰ 章乃器 Zhang Naiqi was a famous politician who had great success in the beginning of his political career, but he was removed from office and declared to be one of the dangerous rightists in 1957 (Coble, 2015).

¹¹ “If you have food you eat to much, if you do not have food you starve to death” (own translation).

Furthermore, of all of the hits containing *esi*, a mere eight are focusing on foreign famines. This is noteworthy, because this is one of the few words and expressions wherein a high number of the found articles are not about foreign famines.

5.9 饿殍 **epiao**

The next expression is 饿殍 *epiao*, which is translated as *corpses of the starved*. This expression occurs in the newspaper 8 times, but only 5 of these will be discussed. The results are as follows:

- South Korea: 1 hit
- Drought in Henan – comparison between then and now: 3 hits
- “The People’s Communes are the strongest weapon against natural disasters and starvation”: 1 hit

The drought in Henan 1959 is once again brought up and compared to the one from 1942. The articles come with the same conclusion as the ones with *esi*: When it happened 1942 people starved to death, but after the one in 1959 no one did suffer the same fate.

5.10 逃荒 **taohuang**

The next expression is 逃荒 *taohuang*, which is translated as *to run away from famine*. This expression occurs in the newspaper 49 times, but only 25 of these will be discussed. The results are as follows:

- Historical famine: 8 hits
- Historical, with focus on *Before liberation*: 14 hits

- People who once fled famine could return after the liberation: 2 hits
- Pieces of fiction: 1 hit

All of these hits, except for the piece of fiction, have firmly categorized *taohuang* as an event of the past. People tell stories of troubled childhoods where they or their relatives had to flee famine. References to the period *before liberation* are also very frequent, and *taohuang* seems to be simply another thing that happened, exclusively, during this dark period of the past.

The articles about people who once fled famine and now can return to their homes, together with the articles about how no one has to be afraid of natural disasters anymore, are all written with a heart-warming and positive approach.

In times of famine, not surprisingly, people grow desperate and want to flee from their current situation in the hope of finding better living conditions elsewhere (Mokyr & Grada, 2002). Therefore, one might generally expect there to be more hits about *taohuang* in contemporary China. However, in an article by Wemheuer, *Dealing with Responsibility for the Great Leap Forward*, a dire explanation for the lack of hits is given (2010). People were simply forced to stay in their home villages, because the CCP thought that people moving around or from one place to another without supervision would only cause even more problems.

5.11 没有食品 / 食物 / 粮 *meiyou shipin/shiwu/liang*

The next expression, or set of words, is 没有食品 / 食物 / 粮 *meiyou shipin/shiwu/liang*, which all are translated as *not having any food to eat*. These expressions occur in the newspaper 7 times, but only 6 of these will be discussed. The results are as follows:

- Historical famine: 3 hits

- The Soviet Union: 1 hit
- One is a piece of fiction, a story
- A article about economy, wherein the author says that if people would have no food, then it would be bad for the economy

All of these results more or less follow the same pattern as previous results: The hits are about food shortages in the past, about famines in foreign countries or famine as a part of a fictitious story. The only article that is slightly different is the article about economy and the if-situation. If there, theoretically of course, would be a famine or food shortages in the future, this would be bad for the whole country's economy.

5.12 代食品 **dai shipin**

The next word, or set of words, is 代食品 *dai shipin*, the translation of which is *substitute food(s)*, or *food substitutes*. This expression occurs in the newspaper 7 times, and contrary to the previous words and expressions that have been studied, *daishipin* does not occur in any of the previous hits. Therefore, all the hits found will be accounted for below. The results are as follows:

- Historical famine: 1 hit
- North Korea: 1 hit
- “If there would be a natural disaster in the future, then we would need substitute food”: 3 hits
- Reports from provinces who have been successful in finding new alternative food sources: 2 hits

In these hits concerning *daishipin*, there is a trend to praise people's imagination and creative ability to find new food sources. One of the hits is based on two reports, one

from Hebei province and one from Inner Mongolia, both describing and praising the people in these provinces who have managed to find new food sources. Another article notes that in Shaanxi province people are really good at finding alternative food sources, and have started eating things that previously was not considered to be food fit for human consumption. These articles are however lacking some very vital information, since none of them discuss in depth *why* people have to search for substitute food sources in the first place. In *The Search for Modern China*, Spence confirms that in 1960 in parts of China people did indeed start to eat anything they could get hold of, just as long as it bore at least a resemblance to food, including leaves and bark. The problems with these food sources though, was of course that they often brought more harm than salvation since people easily got sick from consuming them (1999). Throughout world history, the main reason for people dying in times of famine is not starvation, but diseases (Mokyr & Grada, 2002).

Three of the hits only, more or less, spell out recommendations that everyone should be prepared for a possible situation in the future where there might be a shortage of food supplies. In order to prepare for this event, people are encouraged to already in the present learn to identify substitute food sources.

5.13 浮肿 **fuzhong**

The next word is 浮肿 *fuzhong*, which is translated as *oedema* or *edema*.¹² The word occurs in the newspaper 6 times, but only 4 of these will be discussed. The results are as follows:

- Historical famine: 2 hits
- Instructions and recommendations on how to take care of livestock: 1 hit
- Pieces of fiction: 1 hit

¹² Oedema or edema is a medical term for a swollen body part, often the stomach, filled with fluid. It is not a disease on its own, but more a symptom. Amongst other things, starvation and severe hunger can be the cause of it (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2009).

Oedema is a fairly common term when discussing the state of victims of severe hunger. According to these hits, people in China have suffered it in the past, but there is no one currently suffering from it. There is also once again a hit with recommendations on how to best take care of your livestock. In this specific case, there are recommendations on how to deal with an animal that suffers from oedema.

The piece of fiction has used the word *fuzhong* metaphorically for a completely different purpose. A particular character from this novel has, for a bit unclear reason, a “swollen face” (Bai, 1960.10.15).

5.14 人祸 *renhuo*

The next expression is 人祸 *renhuo*, which is translated as *man-made disaster*. The expression occurs in the newspaper 5 times, but only 2 of these will be discussed. The results are as follows:

- One article is discussing disasters vaguely in general, and points out that natural disasters and man-made disasters often come in pair
- One article is about praise for *Mao Zedong Thought*: “With its help we can overcome any disaster, may it come from nature or man!”

This expression, *renhuo*, is one of the most interesting expressions of the entire list to investigate. *Renhuo* means man-made disaster, which is exactly what the Great Chinese famine is called nowadays decades later (Gooch 2017). Therefore, the fact that *renhuo* is more or less completely missing from the newspaper is definitely noteworthy.

The article about praise for *Mao Zedong Thought* is similar to previously discussed hits that praise the work of the Party, the People’s Communes or Mao himself, since all of these also did broadly claim that together the Chinese can overcome anything. The difference is that the previously mentioned results often specified that they think

that problems of the past, or possible future problems, or all have or will come from natural disasters, without even mentioning the possible influence of non natural forces (1960.04.10).

The article discussing disasters in general does interestingly enough point out that there often is a clear connection between natural forces and some poor decision-making when contemplating the reasons for catastrophes and disasters to occur. At a first glance, this article might seem to be the most interesting of them all, since the first impression is that the CCP admits that they maybe have played a part in the current events, but this is not the case. The examples in the text are from the 1940s and not the present (Sun, 1960.04.03).

5.15 灾荒 **zaihuang**

The next word is 灾荒 *zaihuang*, which is translated as *famine*, but with the important detail that it should only be used when talking about a *famine caused by drought or flood* (Oxford 2010). The word occurs in the newspaper 49 times, but only 30 of these will be discussed. The results are as follows:

- Historical famine: 2 hits
- Historical, with focus on *Before liberation*: 3 hits
- Instructions and recommendations on how to increase production during bad years: 5 hits
- How people in Shanxi province have come up with good ideas to fight famine: 4 hits
- “We can overcome anything together!”: 3 hits
- A story about a girl fighting famine in the countryside: 2 hits
- Before people starved, but now they do not thanks to the People’s Communes: 2 hits
- Problems in Shandong province: 2 hits

- Pieces of fiction: 1 hit
- One hit is an inspirational speech from Mao Zedong
- One hit is about that too much water was before considered to be a natural disaster, but now it is instead a resource
- One hit is about a newly built dam, which is a success and helps prevent famine
- One hit is about the need to save harvest since there could be shortage of food in the future
- One hit is about someone claiming that there is famine going on
- One hit is about an international study, which shows that socialistic countries fare much better than other ones in times of distress

The most interesting discovery that can be elicited from these results is that *zaihuang* definitely is acknowledged to occur in contemporary China. Several of the hits are about problems in Shandong and are discussing how others can help the people in the province. Other articles tell success stories about how individual persons or whole provinces, for example the people of Shanxi, work together in order to find solutions to fight famine. There is an undertone of fighting spirit, especially when it is written that “we should defeat famine and natural disasters, not let us be defeated by them” (1960.02.06).¹³

Moreover, not many hits of the hits with *zaihuang* focus on famine in the past, but instead it is more a constant event or a possible future one. It is not exactly categorized as “news”, but more as a notion that there may well be some small famine going on somewhere, caused by natural disasters of course, and therefore there is no cause for immediate alarm.

Several of the hits focus on and are giving instructions about how to improve harvesting, and one of them also advises the people to save more of their harvest in order to avoid possible future famines. This theme continues in Mao Zedong’s speech in which he advises that harvesting techniques need to be improved, otherwise there could be starvation problems in the future. All of these, together with the ones about

¹³ Own translation.

the problems in the provinces, do indicate that the *People's Daily* journalists – and therefore indirectly the central CCP leadership in Beijing as well – at least admit that 1960 is a bad year. The country might not necessarily be in the midst of a famine, but there is definitely something unfortunate going on.

In one of the hits there is an interview with a “rich peasant”. This peasant is claiming there are indeed problems with famine and food shortages in China. The article itself, however, gives a completely different angle and portrays the rich peasant as the one who is in the wrong. He is not truly a member or supporter of socialist society, and therefore he either has no real idea of what is going on, or he is simply exaggerating certain negative phenomena because that is simply the normal way for a rich peasant to behave (1960.04.14).

One of the most interesting hits is actually a discussion of the current situation in China. There is no admittance that there is an actual and on-going famine at the moment, but the discussion is about how to tackle a similar situation if a famine should occur in the future. The People's Communes are one of the topics discussed. Are the People's Communes truly the best method to ensure that the people would have enough food to eat during a crisis? There are no definite answers offered in this article, but the question is at least asked (Liu, 1960.12.20).

5.16 The Total Results

All of these figures will be discussed further in the discussion. This first Figure 1 shows the combined results of all the hits:

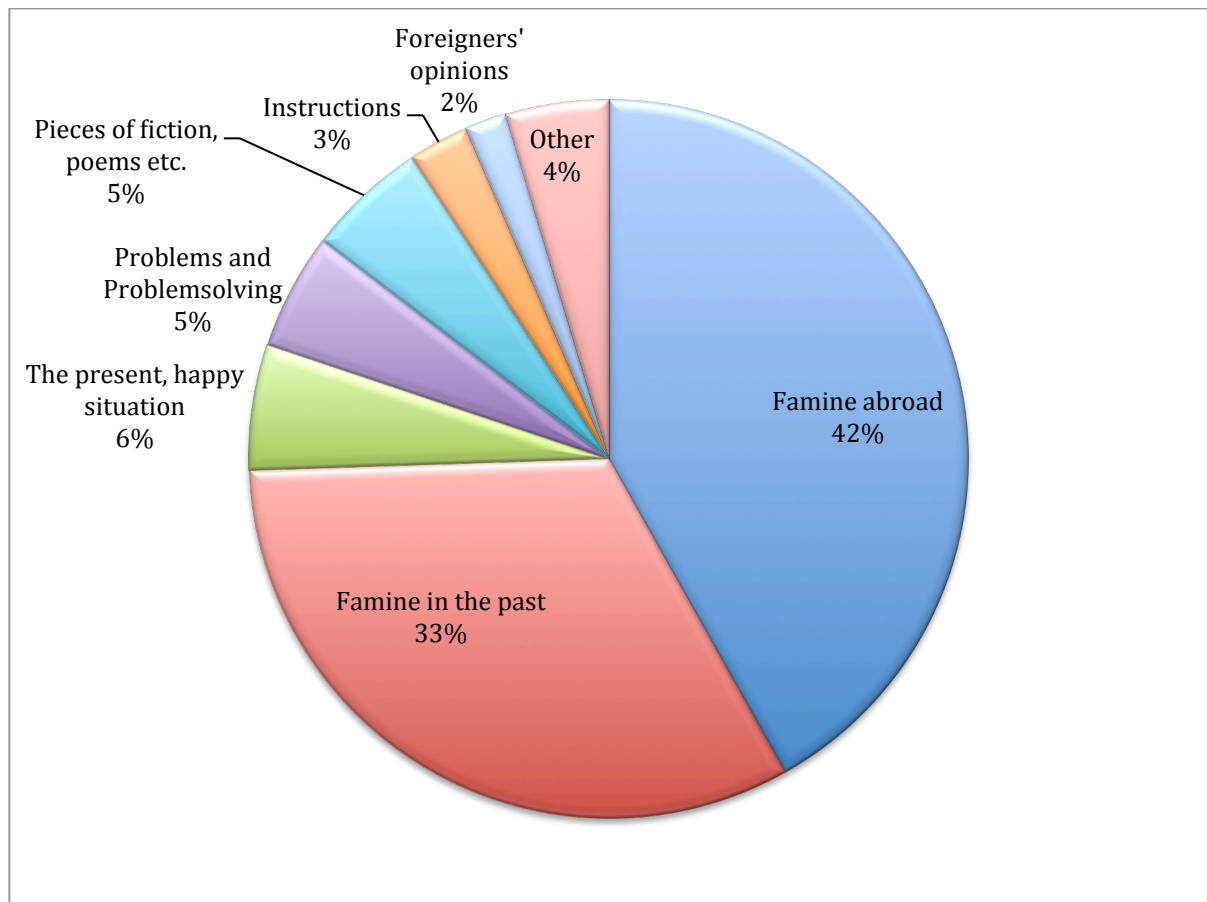


Figure 1: Total results

The next Figure 2 below shows the hits about foreign famines divided by country or region, followed by Figure 3, which is about famines occurring in China in the past.

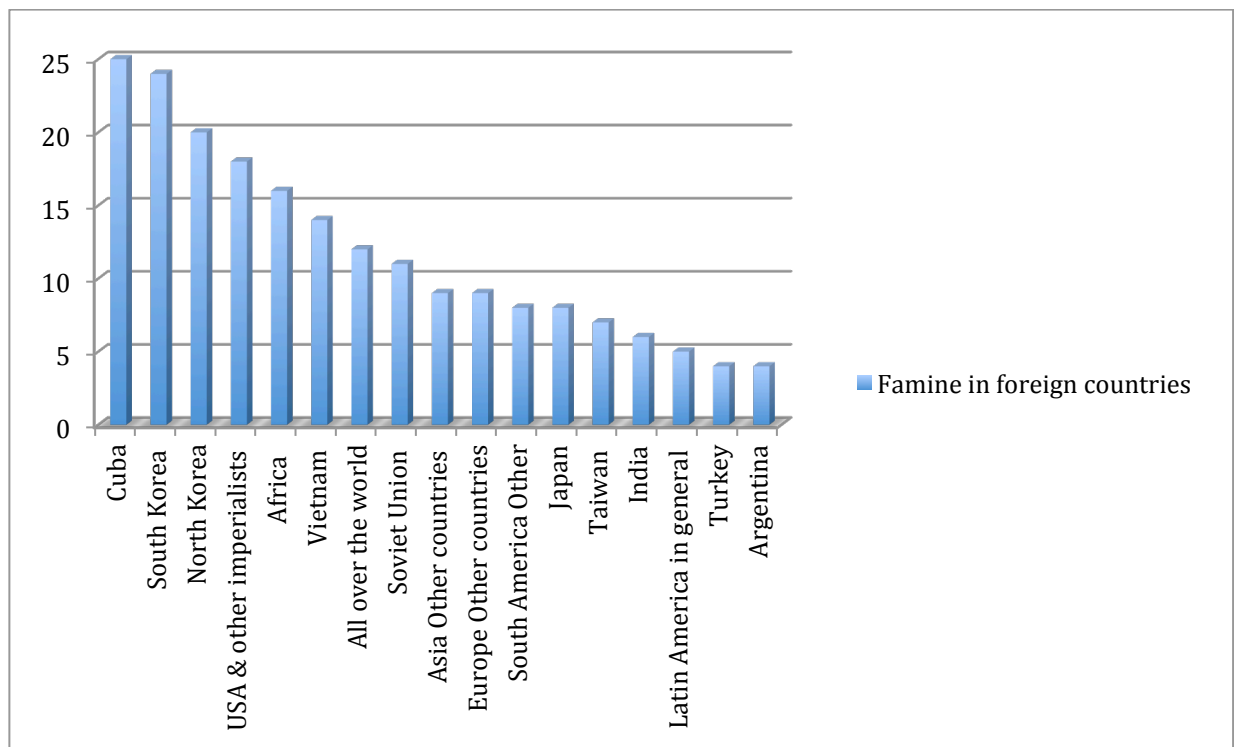


Figure 2: Famine in foreign countries

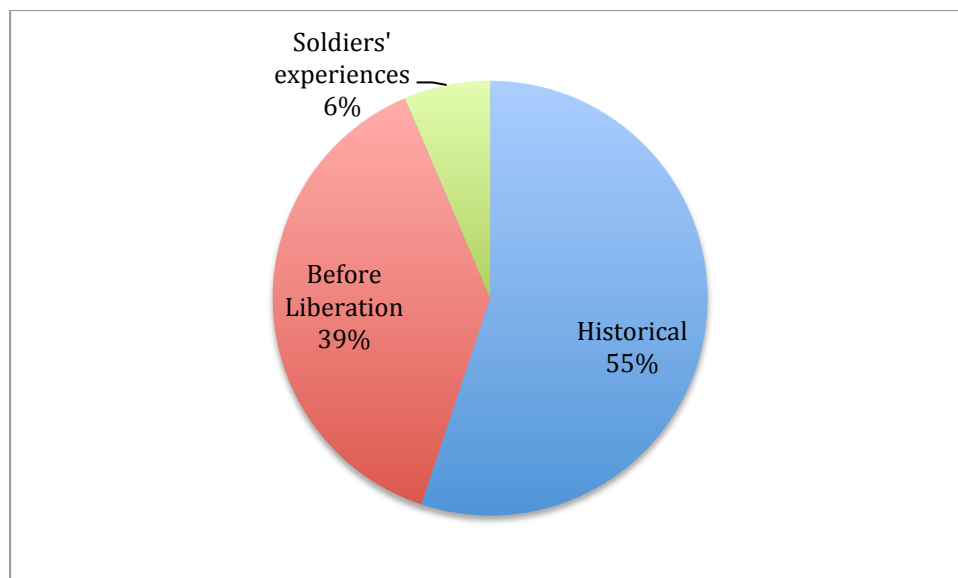


Figure 3: Famine in the past

As can be seen in the results, a small number of hits and articles are actually about the current situation in China. Figure 4 shows the results from the articles that have a very positive approach, contrary to Figure 5 that shows the articles that say instead that there are some problems occurring.

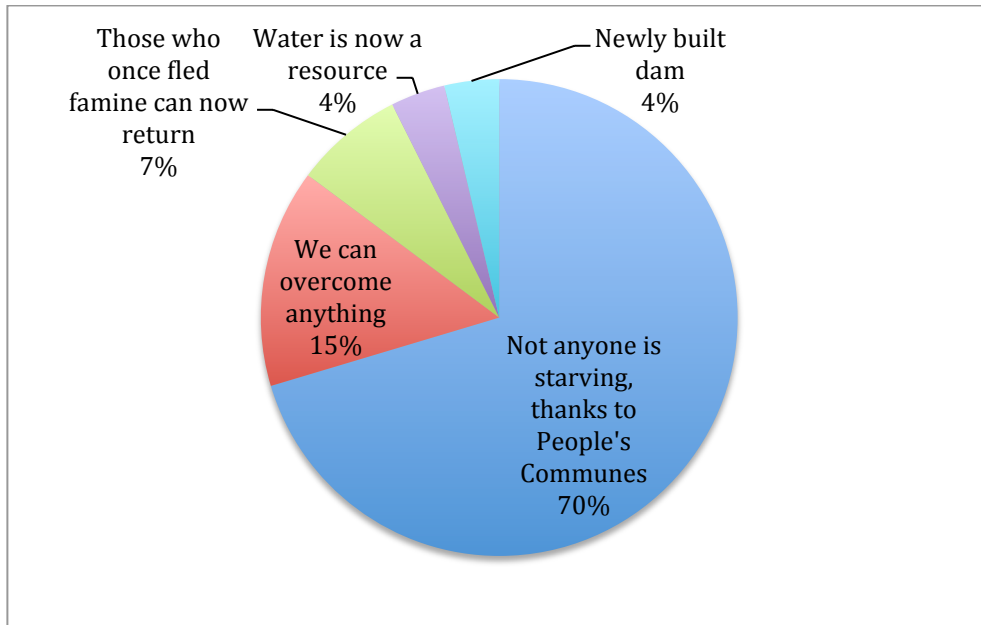


Figure 4: The present, happy situation

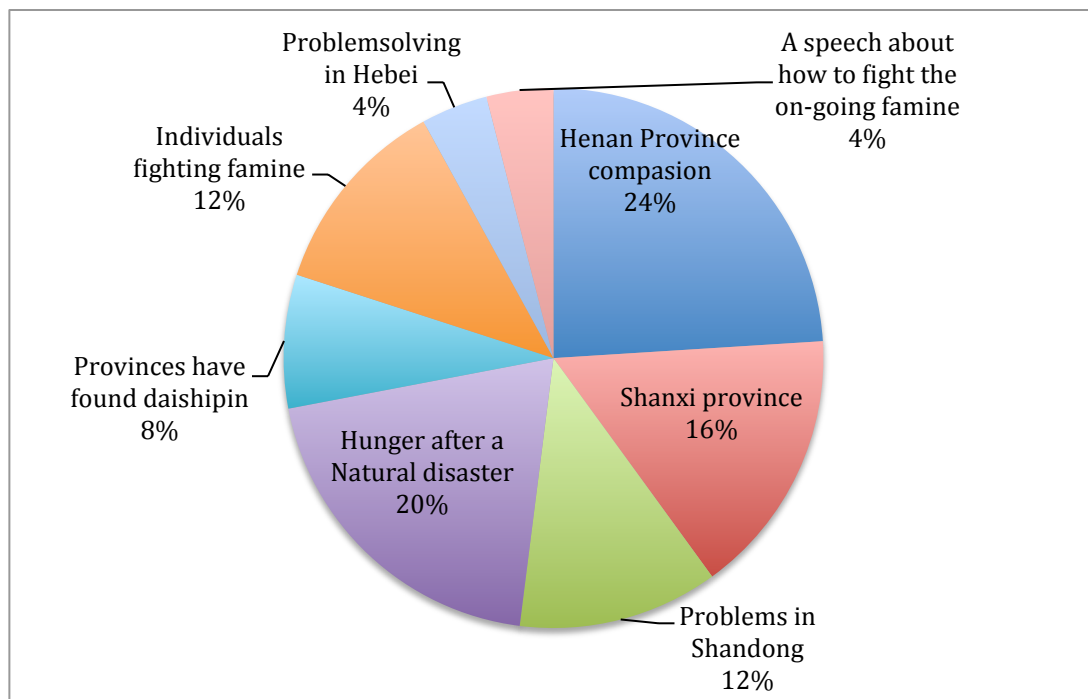


Figure 5: Problems and problem-solving

6 Discussion

The first thing that can be logically elicited from the result is that the vast majority of all the hits containing famine related words and expressions are about either famine happening in foreign countries or famines that occurred in China in the past. In fact, 75%, or 356 out of 479 hits, were about either of these two topics.

Figure 2 shows the hits about foreign famines divided by country or region. The majority of the hits are focused on Cuba, South Korea or North Korea. One possible, and fairly logical, reason for focusing on South Korea and North Korea could be the fact that they are so geographically close to China. Cuba, on the other hand, is literary on the other side of the world. The reason for publishing this many articles concerning the hunger situation in this country could instead be because Cuba and China share the same communist ideology. The newspaper would have wanted to inform Chinese readers of the dire situation in a kindred country, and maybe urge them to care for and help them. There are also several articles concerning famine in Africa and people starving in general from all over the world, and these articles might also ask the Chinese population to show a spirit of internationalist compassion for those who are less fortunate. The USA on the other hand, was the centre of imperialism and thus represented the enemy. The reason for publishing this many articles connected to famine and hunger in the US could be to show the Chinese population everything that the enemy did wrong. The Soviet Union, even if it was a socialist state, was not given as much attention as Cuba. The reason for this could be that China and the Soviet Union were not on the best of terms in 1960 (Fairbank & Goldman, 2006). A possible result of this could then be that articles concerning the famine or hunger situation in the Soviet Union were not likely published, but undoubtedly the nation would be mentioned in other contexts. All of this is merely speculation, the reasons for what to publish about which country might not always be this thoroughly thought through beforehand as discussed here.

Worth mentioning once more is the fact that the hits concerning famine in foreign countries have not been read. When searching for the words and expressions and a foreign country is mentioned in the title and the sentence wherein the famine related

expression is found, then that article is immediately discarded, since this thesis is only focusing on what was written about the current situation in China. As an example, I do not know what all the articles in the results that mention Cuba truly is about. I do not know if the articles and hits are about famine occurring in Cuba at the moment, famines occurring in the past, or the complete banishment of famine from Cuban society. If the latter is the truth, then all the speculations above are clearly unjustified. Therefore, it is merely speculations and further studies is necessary in order to discuss this phenomenon further.

Figure 3, as seen above, is about historical famines in China. There is no denying that famine, hunger and starvation have all played a major part in the history of China, but in a great deal of these hits these events are limited to the past. The majority of the hits concerning famine, hunger and starvation within the country are not considered to be of any relevance to the present or the future, merely the past. A big part of the hits focusing on previous events are specifically about the period *before liberation*. This period, as mentioned before, tends to be the years right before the CCP pried China away from the vile clutches of Kuomintang. This is interesting because it shows that there is a clear focus on comparing the horrible past, personified by the period *before liberation*, with the far less troublesome present.

Some of the hits, as can be seen in Figure 4, are about the present, and very happy, situation in China. In all of these hits however, problems related to famine, hunger and starvation are mentioned, but only as things that are not truly a part of the present society. The amazing People's Communes, the work of the CCP and Mao Zedong himself have all helped ensure that famine, hunger, starvation or any other similar problems are extinct.

In contrast, there are equally many hits wherein famine, hunger and starvation are indeed used to describe the actual current situation in China, as can be seen in Figure 5. There are problems in the Shanxi province as well as in Shandong. Even Henan province has been put in this category because even if all the articles about it claim that this drought and following disaster is nothing compared to previous ones, they still confirm that the people are experiencing some trouble.

As mentioned earlier in the results, one of the hits from the results for *zaihuang* is especially noteworthy. It is the one with the speech about the best methods to fight famine, in which the true worth and utility of the People's Communes is discussed. This article stands out because in previous hits, wherein the People's Communes were mentioned, the positive comments and praise were unanimous. Contrary to popular belief, if one were to base the statistics on the result found when conducting the research for this thesis, the People's Communes were actually not extremely successful. The canteen system that had defined so many of the early communes, was actually closed down already in 1961 (Wemheuer, 2010).

One smaller part of the results is the poems and pieces of fiction, which are 5%, or 26 hits, of the total. Within this category, poems are the most frequent. As mentioned in the chapter about historical background, poetry was encouraged and poets emerged and thrived during this period (Spence 1999). It is interesting to see that here there is an actual correlation between the information found in the sources used for the historical background and the results that can be elicited from the newspaper.

Another part of the results is the hits that are written in the form as various instructions to the readers. Half of these were recommendations about how to take care of livestock while the rest was divided between instructions for harvesting and how to increase production during years with bad weather or natural disasters. One article was even a promoting the importance of good hygiene and how the simple act of washing your hands could help prevent illness from spreading. Furthermore, this is similar to the correlation found between poems and other sources mentioned in the previous paragraph, since the public distribution of recommendations indeed was something that occurred (Bengtsson, 2017).

One of the most interesting parts of the results is the one wherein foreign sources have expressed their opinions of the Chinese society and the current situation in China. From this it is possible to draw the tentative conclusion that there was an on-going debate internationally about the current state of China, since these several hits are reporting about various kinds of statements from all over the world. There is a great variety to these hits and everything from Cuban newspapers and the dean in England who praises the success of the Chinese socialism, to visitors who tells the happy tales

about their positive experience in China is accounted for. The main question that needs to be asked however, is to which degree these pieces of news and stories were accurate and true? To which extent was the material censored before reaching the Chinese reader? Did the foreign sources actually say all these amazing things about the current situation in China, without any negatively inclined comments, or was some of it pure propaganda and merely twisted versions of the truth? After studying these articles for the purpose of this thesis, it seems to be highly unlikely that every single comment from all of these various sources would truly have been this profoundly positive in reality.

The final category, the one referred to as the *other* category is simply consisting of a mix of the remaining hits that were not logically placed in any other category. Slogans, metaphors, the story about the mountain climber, the article about the challenges of the medicine students and the praise for the art exhibition are all examples of hits that have been placed in this article.

Furthermore, according to these results, it seems like certain words and expressions are used for special purposes or at least have a tendency to focus more on a specific kinds of hits. For example are *jihuang*, *jijin*, *ji'e* and *jimin* mainly focused on famines occurring in foreign countries, while the majority of the hits with *jihan*, *esi* and *taohuang* instead have a more historical approach. Moreover, *daishipin* and *zaihuang* are occurring more frequently in articles about the current situation in China, while *esi* and *epiao* are the only ones wherein the situation in Henan is discussed. This pattern is not discussed further in this thesis, but since it was an interesting side-note it is worth mentioning.

7 Conclusion

First of all, in order to investigate whether my hypothesis has been proven or not, I formulated the following research questions, which I tried to find the answers to:

1. To what extent is it written in the newspaper *People's Daily* in 1960 about the on-going famine?
2. If there are articles containing the words searched for, do they concern the on-going famine in China? If not, what are they about?

The answers to these questions are, to put it in a very brief manner, both yes and no. The newspaper *People's Daily* did actually write that there were some famine related matters going on in China at the time, as is evident from the results, with the word *zaihuang* as a clear example. On the other hand, as mentioned in the discussion, the majority of the hits containing famine-related words and expressions are either about famines and starvation abroad or famines that occurred in the past. In short, what was written in the *People's Daily* in 1960 suggested that famine, starvation and serious hunger problems mainly happen outside of China, or in the past.

There are some articles that mention that there are contemporary problems in the provinces in China, and even a small number of articles mention that there have been some natural disasters which have led to hunger and shortages of food issues in certain areas. The percentage is however fairly small in comparison to the rest of the result. Merely 5% of the hits are mentioning famine in a contemporary setting within the Chinese border. On the other hand, 5 % is definitely more than none at all. Furthermore, several hits, albeit they have the positive approach of people helping each other and fighting disasters and disasters nowadays are nothing like the ones in the past, all together confirm indirectly that there is indeed some problems with shortages of food present.

The newspaper simply concealed the truth, for various reasons. One reason could be the culture of not wanting to lose face, a phenomenon discussed earlier in the part with the results. The Party might not have wanted to admit to be contributing to a famine of this magnitude while it was occurring, without having a scapegoat in mind.

If they did admit it, it would also mean that they would have to admit how much they had wronged the people by driving them to starvation. There are two speeches, or statements, made by Mao Zedong that are worth mentioning in this context: In a speech in 1959 Mao actually admitted that he was not perfect and said that everyone makes mistakes, even Confucius, Lenin and Marx made them, so why was it not natural that he also could make them? (Spence, 1999). On another occasion in 1962 Mao actually took formal responsibility in the name of the central government for the Great Leap Forward and the consequences that occurred afterwards (Wemheuer, 2010). It is worth pointing out that the blame, however, managed somehow to mainly land on thousands of local cadres who were then charged and punished (Wemheuer, 2010).

As a final conclusion, I want to specify that the newspaper *People's Daily* does to some extent mention hints about problems with shortages of food, but the number of hits doing so is fairly small. The ones that do mention it are vague in the specification of why and how this could occur, and the magnitude and spread of the famine is most definitely not clearly specified. After reading the articles, the general feeling is that there are some small troubles of shortages of food occurring, but since it is all caused by natural disasters and the numbers of victims is manageable and confined to the countryside, it is nothing to worry about: there is always a little famine going on.

7.1 Further Research

One of the more obvious choices for possible further research is that more than a single year could be investigated. Even if there are valid reasons for only focusing on 1960 in this thesis, it would definitely be valuable to study what was written in the *People's Daily* during 1959, 1961 or even 1962 in order to get a broader perspective and be able to make key claims even more confidently. Maybe more famine related articles were published in 1961?

Secondly, the list of words and expressions could be made longer. While the focus in this thesis has been to find out if and how the newspaper *People's Daily* wrote using

words and expressions connected to famine, it could be interesting to investigate what the newspaper actually wrote about instead. As mentioned before, there are for example words connected to natural disasters, such as: 自然灾害 *ziran zaihai* or 天灾 *tianzai*, both meaning natural disaster; 旱灾 *hanzai* meaning drought; 洪灾 *hongzai* meaning flood; or 受灾 *shouzai* meaning to be hit by a natural disaster. In the part about limitations it is explained that this thesis is investigating whether or not the newspaper wrote specifically about famine and starvation: therefore hits containing the words meaning *natural disasters*, but in which these are not appearing in combination with the selected words directly linked to famine, hunger or starvation, are not discussed in this thesis. Also mentioned before, it could be interesting to investigate words such as 歉收 *qianshou* which means *crop failure* or 食物中毒 *shiwuzhongdu* which means *food poisoning*. All of these words would provide angles to explore further in the future, and I am personally convinced it would help to give a much broader and clearer picture of what the *People's Daily* – and by extension the Communist Party media – actually wrote about during these years of distress.

In order to deepen our understanding of the spread of news in China at the time, one could for further research focus more in depth on which parts of the news that were published for the public and which parts that were strictly published for the closed elite within CCP. Moreover, an investigation about what smaller newspapers wrote about the happenings and events across the country could also be interesting. Did all of them follow the directives from the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee and often simply copied the news published in *People's Daily*? Or did some of them write more openly about the famine, and maybe even discussing the underlying causes? Both of these angles, however, are slightly more difficult to investigate, since neither the closed audience material nor local newspapers from the 1960's are easily available to foreign scholars due both to secrecy and the lack of digitalised material or lack of funding for purchasing these.

Another interesting angle would be to compare the news about the famine published in *People's Daily* to other contemporary sources from across the globe. What did the British write about the famine in China? Was it discussed in Japanese newspapers? Was the Swedish population even aware of the famine occurring at the time? Even if

all of these questions are very interesting, it is a slightly too overwhelming task to answer them all in this thesis. However, it is definitely an idea for further research.

8 References

- Bachman, David (1991). *Bureaucracy, Economy, and Leadership in China – The Institutional Origins of The Great Leap Forward*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bengtsson, Evelina (2017). “Folkets inflytande – Informationsinsamling i Kina 1949-1974”. (“*The people’s influence – information gathering in China 1949-1974*”). *Orientaliska Studier*, nr 149, p. 28-47. [Swedish]
- Cao, Shuji 曹树基 (2005). *大饥荒 1959-1961 年的中国人口 Dajihuang 1959-1961 nian de Zhongguo renkou*. Hongkong: Shidai guoji chuban you xian gongsi. [Chinese]
- Carpenter, Edward (1991). *Archbishop Fisher: His Life and Times*. Canterbury Press
- “censorship”, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2017. 30/08/2017
- Chan, Alfred L. (2001). *Mao’s Crusade, Politics and Policy Implementation in China’s Great Leap Forward*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Coble, Parks M. (2015). *China’s War Reporters – the Legacy of Resistance against Japan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Deigård, Anders (2015). *Sweden through China's Migration Lenses: A Content Analysis of the People’s Daily’s News Reports on Sweden in Migration Contexts*. Bachelor Thesis, Uppsala University
- Dikötter, Frank (2010). *Mao’s Great Famine*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Domenach, Jean-Luc (1995). *The Origins of the Great Leap Forward, the Case of one Chinese Province*. Boulder: Westview.
- Fairbank, John K. and Goldman, Merle (2006). *China a New History* (2nd enlarged ed.). Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- "famine", *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2017. 31/07/2017.
- Gao, Chunming and Xu, Bin (2013). “The Application of Semantic Field Theory to English Vocabulary Learning”. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, vol 3. No 11, p.2030-2035.
- Gooch, Elizabeth (2017). “Estimating the Long-term Impact of the Great Chinese Famine (1959-61) on Modern China”. *World Development*, vol 89, p. 140-151.
- Gráda, Ó Cormac (1989). *The Great Irish Famine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ho, David Yau-fai (1976). "On the concept of face" *American Journal of Sociology*, vol 81, no. 4, p. 876-884.

"How High is Everest? Climbers Seek Answer" (1987/05/18). *The New York Times*. 2017/08/10. <http://www.nytimes.com/1987/05/18/us/how-high-is-everest-climbers-seek-answer.html>

Houser, Daniel, Sands, Barbara and Xiao, Erte (2009). "Three parts natural, seven parts man-made: Bayesian analysis of China's Great Leap Forward demographic disaster". *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 69, p.148–159.

Karlsson, Klas-Göran and Schoenhals, Michael (2008). "Crimes against Humanity under Communist Regimes: Research review". Stockholm: The Living History Forum.

Meng, Xin, Qian, Nancy and Yared, Pierre (2015). "The Institutional Causes of China's Greatest Famine, 1959-1961". *Review of Economic Studies* 82, p. 1568-1611.

Mokyr, Joel & Grada, O Cormac (2002). "What do people die of during famines: the Great Irish Famine in comparative perspective" *European Review of Economic History* 6, p. 339-363.

Nordquist, Richard (2017). "Semantic Field". 26/05/2017.
<https://www.thoughtco.com/semantic-field-1692079>

"oedema", *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2009. 31/07/2017.

Oxford Chinese Dictionary. (2010). New York: Oxford University Press.

Pollard, David E. (2000). *The Chinese Essay*. London: C. Hurst & Company.

人民日报社简介, *Renmin ribaoshe jianjie* (Brief introduction to the People's Daily). (n.d.). n/a. 2017/05/20. [Chinese]
<http://www.people.com.cn/GB/50142/104580/index.html>

Rongquan, Karen Wu (2001). "Public discourse as the mirror of ideological change: a keyword study of editorials in People's Daily". *Proceedings of the Corpus Linguistics 2001 conference*: Lancaster University UK

Rubinstein, Murray A. (2015). *Taiwan: A New History* (expanded ed.). New York: Routledge.

Schoenhals, Michael (1985). "Elite Information in China". *Problems of Communism*, Sept-Oct, p. 65-71

Schoenhals, Michael (1987). *Saltationist Socialism Mao Zedong and the Great Leap Forward 1958*. Stockholm: Föreningen för Orientaliska Studier.

Sen, Amartya (1981). *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Spence, Jonathan D. (1999). *The Search for Modern China* (2nd ed.). New York: W. Norton & Company.

Tsai, Wen-Hsuan & Kao, Peng-Hsiang (2013). "Secret Codes of Political Propaganda: The Unknown System of Writing Teams". *The China Quarterly*, No. 214, p. 394-410.

Vanhaute, Eric (2011). "From famine to food crisis: what history can teach us about local and global subsistence crises". *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 38:1, p. 47-65.

"Wang Fuzhou, one of first Chinese to scale Mt. Qomolangma, dies at 80" (2015/07/21). *Shanghai Daily*. 2017/08/10.
http://www.shanghaidaily.com/article/article_xinhua.aspx?id=293598

Wemheuer, Felix (2010). "Dealing with Responsibility for the Great Leap Famine in the People's Republic of China". *The China Quarterly*, No. 201, p. 176-194

Wu, Guoguang (1994). "Command Communication: The Politics of Editorial Formulation in the People's Daily". *The China Quarterly*, No. 137, p. 194-211.

Yang, Jisheng 杨继绳 (2009). 墓碑 – 中国六十年代大饥荒纪实 *Mubei – Zhongguo liushi niandai dajihuang jishi*. (Tombstone – The Great Chinese Famine) 香港 Hongkong: Cosmos Books LTD. [Chinese]

8.1 Articles from the *People's Daily*:

<http://rmrb.egreenapple.com.resources.asiaportal.info/index2.html>

Bai Yuan 白原 (1960.10.15). 金水泉边的陈立文 *Jin shui quan bian de chen liwen*

Bao, Erhan 包尔汉 (1960.02.14). 崇高而神圣的任务 *Chonggao er shensheng de renwu*

Bing, Diyuan 邴第元 (1960.03.10). 远和近 *Yuan he jin*.

Cai, Jinming 蔡金明 (1960.06.10). 决心赶上太阳村 *Juexin ganshang taiyangcun*.

Cheng, Li 承里 (1960.06.17). 文化的主人 *Wenhua de zhuren*.

Cui, Ruo Gu 崔若谷 (1960.07.21). 应举成了不夜乡 *Yingju chengle bu yexiang*.

从湖南看全国 程潜副委员长在人大二次会议上的发言 *Cong Hunan kan quan guo chengqian fuweiyuan zhang zai ren da er ci huiyi shang de fayan* (1960.04.10).

从蜀山看红日东升 陈荫南代表就合肥市蜀山公社的发展谈人民公社的优越性 *Cong shushan kan hongri dongsheng chen yinnan daibiao jiuhe feishi shushan gongshe de fazhan tan renmin gongshe de youyuxing*. (1960.04.16).

大炮轰不垮、台风刮不散的三岛战地人民公社 洪顺利代表的发言 *Dapao hong bu kua, taifeng gua bu san de san dao zhan direnmin gongshe hong shun li daibiao de fayan*. (1960.04.14).

“法属”索马里兰前总理哈比在北京记者招待会上坚定宣布 索马里兰人民决心争取独立 帝国主义的阴谋不能破坏索马里兰人民和中国人民的友谊 “*Fashu*” *suomalilan qian zongli habi zai Beijing jizhezhaodaihui shang jianding xuanbu suomalilan renmin juexin zhengqu duli diguozhuyi de yinmou bu neng pohuai suomalilan renmin he zhongguo renmin de youyi* (1960.05.11).

Fu, Lian Zhang 傅连璋 (1960.06.12). 以卫生为光荣，以不卫生为耻辱 *Yi weisheng wei guangrong, yi bu weisheng wei chiru*.

Gan Zhi Ang 甘志昂 (1960.08.20). 甘肃永昌县新粮地村小学教师高立孔紧紧依靠党和群众 埋头苦干勤俭办学培养农业建设人才 *Gansu yongchang xian xinliang de cun xiaoxue jiaoshi gaoli kong jinjin yikao dang he qunzhong maitou kugan qinjian banxue peiyang nongye jianshe rencai*.

高速度、高质量培养社会主义建设人材 郭影秋代表谈南京大学如何进行教育革命 *Gao sudu, gao zhiliang peiyang shehuizhuyi jianshe rencai guoyingqiu daibiao tan Nanjing daxue ruhe jinxing jiaoyu geming*. (1960.04.07).

汉语拼音方案是文化革命的有效武器 胡愈之代表谈晋南农村文化生活新气象 *Hanyu pinyin fangan shi wenhuageming de youxiao wuqi huyuzhi daibiao tan jinnan nongcun wenhua shenghuo xin qixiang*. (1960.04.10).

就中国在联合国的代表权问题 诺沃提尼在联大全体会议上发言 *Jiu Zhongguo zai lianheguo de daibiao quan wenti, Nuowotini zai lian daquan tihui yi shang fayan* (1960.10.09).

抗洪抢险身先社员 依靠群众克服困难 张启福领导生产救灾有成绩 安丘县凉台公社尚家庄生产大队由减产六成降为二成 *Kanghong qiangxian shenxian sheyuan, yikao qunzhong kefu kunnan, zhang qi fu lingdao shengchan jiuzai youcheng ji anqiu xian liangtai gongshe shang jia zhuang shengchan dadui youjianchan liu chengjiang wei er cheng* (1960.11.29).

Li, Lin & Fang Zhonggu 李琳 & 方中谷 (1960.02.17). 革命花朵 越开越红 *Geming huaduo yue kai yue hong*.

Liu, Ye 刘野 (1960.12.20). 秦岭雄鹰 *Qin ling xiong ying*.

缅甸贸易代表团团长向缅甸报界发表谈话 中缅两国经济合作前途光明 *Miandian maoyi daibiao tuantuan zhang xiang miandian baojie fabiao tanhua zhong mian liang guo jingji hezuo qiantu guangming* (1960.11.10).

Shu, Tong 舒同 (1960.02.06). 掌握不断革命的理论武器促使农业生产不断跃进 *Zhang wo buduan geming de lilun wuqi cu shi nongye shengchan buduan yuejin*.

Sun, Min 孙民 (1960.04.03). 地下河网 *Di xia he wang*.

突尼斯妇女联盟主席说 中国人民公社是种好制度 *Tunisi funu lianmeng zhuxi shuo Zhongguo renmin gongshe shi zhonghao zhidu* (1960.11.11).

我国社会主义建设在突飞猛进中 张慕尧委员的发言 *Wo guo shehuizhuyi jianshe zai tufeimeng jinzhong zhangmuyao weiyuan de fayin*. (1960.04.14).

西藏春播的一天 *Xizang chunbo de yi tian* (1960.04.02). 新华社西藏分社记者 西藏日报记者集体采写 *Xinhuashe xizang fenshe jizhe, xizang ribao jizhe jiti caixie*.

Yang, Ling 杨岭 (1960.09.19). 农业生产万古长青 *Nongye shengchanwan gu changqing*.

英国坎特伯雷教长致圣诞贺词 赞扬社会主义国家爱好和平造福人类 *Yingguo kantebolei jiaozhang zhi shengdan heci zanyang shehuizhuyi guojia ai hao heping zaofu renlei* (1960.12.26).

在技术革命和文化革命的激流中——第二届全国人民代表大会第二次会议旁听记, *Zai jishugeming he wenhuageming de jiliu zhong – di er jie quan guo renmin daibiao dahui di er ci huiyi pangting ji*. (1960.04.06).