The Population Policy of the People’s Republic of China-
Two translations from Human Rights Forum
and a discussion of their global context

An Honors Thesis (HONRS 499)

by

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Purpose of Thesis

The translations from Chinese articles published in the *Human Rights Forum* discuss issues of direct relevance to the policies of population control in the People’s Republic of China. It is important to view the information available in Chinese, as it is the way information is conveyed to those directly involved either by citizenry or ancestry. The first article discusses the need for states to develop the quality of life of women in order to achieve lasting population stabilization, and the second discusses the abuses of (mainly handicapped and female) children who are in state care. Along with my translations is included an in-depth examination of the need for population policy in a global context as well as exploring further the merit of developing women’s rights and explaining reasons for the neglect in China’s orphanages. It is very important to contextualize population policy in developing countries, China in particular, which is the most populated country in the world.
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Shannon A. Michel
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纸包不住“儿童摧残”之火

□张伟国

最近以来，虽然中共发表了又一份人权白皮书，但魏京生再次被列黑名单，上海儿童福利院虐待人权的情形，还是成了国际舆论质疑批评的焦点。对于后者，中共除了依照惯例信誓旦旦的予以否认外，还召有此举的举行记者招待会或邀请海外记者去“参观现场”。

然而，这种掩饰再巧妙，也无法改变中共政权颠覆人权、草菅人命的真实。且不说国际舆论的监督批评，就是生活在中国大陆有良知的人士，对于象上海儿童福利院那样虐待人权的现状，也都义不容辞地挺身而出。笔者早在一九九二年就亲眼见到过上海人大代表马明伟、高君宇、徐新远等人，对此事“明察暗访”的报告，以及他们关于处理儿童福利院虐待残疾儿童的非正常死亡人数逐年递增问题的“紧急建议”或有关提案。

此外，一九九一年十二月由“上海市总工会办公室”编发的《工会简报（增刊第三期）》，标题就是“残疾儿童屡遭虐待，死亡人数逐年上升——上海儿童福利院问题待解决”，披露了“据该局职工多次上访、举报/以及律师的调查发现”：上海儿童福利院“擅无人道，残疾儿童备受虐待”、“管理混乱，儿童死亡人数逐年上升（八五年死亡四十九人，占收容人数的百分之四十九点五；八九年死亡一百四十一人，占百分之六），以及‘弄虚做假、骗取领导和社会信任”等严重问题的事实。上海儿童福利院的一位职工就曾说过，“我们的儿童福利院已成为儿童摧残院了。”

但是，当上海的新闻工作者对这些严重问题进行调查时，受到上海官方的严密封锁和压制，即使印成铅字，也照样因无法通过审查，无法见报，而且当时上海市委主要负责人之一，即现任中共副总理吴邦国，也对上海新闻系统下达命令：不准见报，不准扩散。然而，纸是包不住火的，上述事实终于在一九九二年被总部设在纽约的中国人权获知，并同时向联合国妇女儿童保护委员会、中华人民共和国全国人民代表大会、中华人民共和国民政部和宋庆龄基金会，寄去了反映上海儿童福利院情况的报告。

报告指出：“在中国大陆，工会是共产党领导的群众组织。这样的组织在这样的残忍和死亡面前，也无法沉默。上海是中国发达的文化经济中心之一，发生在这里的事，使人们不敢揣想中国的其他地方。”

由于亚洲观察和英国电视台连续不断的努力，揭露的上海儿童福利院残害儿童的黑幕，虽然已经迟了好几年，终于引起国际社会的极大震动。北京当局经不起推敲的反击也成为世界舆论批评的焦点，中共除了以惯常的官僚语言言辞上否定事实、抨击揭露者蓄意反华，并煞有介事地邀请外国记者参观外，还采取了近年来不多见的——“株连”家属或有关当事人——文革结束后遭到中共自相批判的非常手段。

先是这个案件主要揭露者张淑云医生的胞弟，在上海宝山县工作的国家干部张建，被上海国家安全局逮捕，不久又传来新的消息，徐新远和石圣仁也遭到上海警方的逮捕。前者为前上海市人大代表，曾经为上海儿童福利院受害者儿子事件向上海提出提案：后者为律师，曾向上海市劳动局反映上海儿童福利院真相。

这里附带介绍一称“石大律师”的石圣仁，是上海市总工会法律顾问办公室副主任，年近花甲，曾经被打成右派，但是政治上的磨难并没有消灭他的良知，以及声气张正义、正直热情的本色。据知情者介绍，在中国大陆开放改革以后，他又投身到法制建设的行列中，除了调查纠纷等法律业务外，他还积极培训基层的法律人才——建立工会法律的救助网络系统。由于他在八十年代后期，办理上海公交公司某电车售票员与乘客的诉讼案件，保护了工会工人的利益，化解了一场即将发生的罢工危机，又由于他在办案时实事求是，办案质量备受称誉，有不少当事人指名要他来作辩护律师。

由于国际人权组织的关注和国际舆论的呼吁，中共再也无法掩盖其对张建的逮捕，虽然给张建罗织了“莫须有”的罪名，但还是不得不恢复了他有限度的（下转48页）
（上接49页）自由；然而至今却还没有听到徐新远、石圣仁等人获得自由的消息。事情发展到这种程度，“牵涉在案”势必还大有人在，由于不为外界所知，他们受到的迫害也有可能更加严重。

人们不禁要问，对这样一个案件，如果事实真象中共所标榜的那样善待儿童，何必大动肝火口诛笔伐，竭尽封杀、镇压之能事呢？而九二年中国人权发出内容相同的通知时，北京为何就默认了呢？这与目前的超常反应形成鲜明的对照。到底是今是昨非，还是昨是今非？目前这种“此地无银三百两”的超常反应，除了因为遭到国际社会谴责，有损“国家”颜面外，是否还会有别的不可告人的原因？此事如果发生在中国的其他省市，是否也会同样处置？……在中国没有真正开放给人权组织和红十字会实地监督之前，中共的任何宣讲绝不可能获得起码的信用；在分析中共激烈反应的背景因素时，倒是有一点不应该忽略的：上海，乃目前在中南海权倾一时的上海帮的发祥地，上海儿童福利院的残害儿童事件被揭露，无疑于他们的“后院失火”，尤其从揭露案件发生的时间来看，正是江泽民、朱镕基、吴邦国在上海担任地方主要领导人的时候，如果他们的政治对手要追究这个事件的责任，上海帮即使不会立即崩溃，受到严峻挑战和重创则是大有可能的。

其实，瞒得过一时或有些地方（如中国大陆）民众，却瞒不过一世和不受专制极权制约的国际新闻媒体；既然花这些精力，何不正真做一些改善人权的实事呢？设想一下，如果中南海的领导人，勇敢的承认事实，并严肃处理具体的负责人；或者至少在作了充分严密的调查之后，再对国际舆论的批评作出中肯的回应，效果可能比现在的拼命抵赖要好得多。北京当局现有的反应，除了证明自己无可救药的僵化——抗拒整个世界的民主人权潮流，自外于人类文明；在中国经济开放发展的同时，意识形态的宣传却正在向独裁的毛泽东时代倒退。●
Life in the Shanghai Children's Welfare Institute

□ Zhang Weiguo

Recently, although the Chinese government published a white paper on human rights, Wei Jingsheng's sentence was just increased, and the human rights conditions at the Shanghai Children's Welfare Institute have been trampled underfoot. The latter became the focus of fierce international criticism.

In response to this, the Chinese government, besides their usual custom of firm denial of claims, also hosted a press conference, inviting international reporters to "make an on-the-spot visit."

However, this is just another maneuver to gloss over the matter- the Chinese government in fact shows contempt for human rights and treats human life like dirt. Not to mention that they don't want criticism to feed international public opinion, and the lives of public figures in China who have knowledge are being oppressed in the same way as the human rights in the Shanghai Children's Welfare Institute. Nonetheless, some have not tolerated this dismissal and have stepped forward bravely. As early as 1992, the writer who personally witnessed important Shanghai delegates Ma Mimi, Gao Junzhu, Xu Xinyuan and others who "conducted a thorough investigation" and published an "emergency proposal" to deal with the ill treatment and high death rates of handicapped children increasing year after year in the Shanghai Children's Welfare Institute, seemed to have dropped the proposal.

In addition, in a December 1991 report published by the Shanghai Worker's Union office in the third supplement of the Trade Union Bulletin, titled "Repeated abuse of handicapped children and annually increasing death rate—Shanghai Children's Welfare Institute's problems of resolution," exposed the following: "According to the Worker's Union's inquiry into complaints as well as lawyers' investigation" have found that the Shanghai Children's Welfare Institute has been "inhuman and brutal, and handicapped children have suffered ill treatment," "management is chaotic, and the death toll of children has risen progressively year after year (in 1985, 141 died- 60%)," as well as "practiced fraud, gained confidence under false pretenses," and other serious facts. A member of the Shanghai Children's Welfare Institute said,
“Our children’s welfare institute has turned into a death camp.”

Nevertheless, when Shanghai news reporters reported the records of these serious problems, Shanghai officials imposed tight restrictions to suppress the article even though it was already printed, and as before were not allowed to re-open the investigation, unable to appear in newspapers, and at that time the then Shanghai leader, Wu Bangguo, the current Vice Premier to the Chinese Communist Party, issued orders to the Shanghai news department: it was not allowed to appear in newspapers, not allowed to spread. However, you cannot wrap fire in paper, and the aforementioned facts finally in 1992 became known by the general headquarters of HRIC. At the same time, the UN Committee for the Protection of Women and Children and the Chinese People’s Party held a mass meeting, and the Chinese People’s Party and the National Political Department and Song Qingling celebrated the foundation’s length of service, reflecting on the conditions of the Shanghai Children’s Institute in a newspaper. The newspaper reported “China’s labor union is organized under the Communist Party. This way the blatant cruelty and death, also the silence, are organized by them. Shanghai is one of China’s most developed centers of culture and economics, and the occurrence of these matters causes no limit to the imagination of what is happening in other places.”

As a result of Asia Watch and a British television station’s continual unremitting efforts, exposure of the cover up of the cruel mistreatment of children at the Shanghai Children’s Welfare Institute, although already late by several years, finally caused extreme shock in the UN. Beijing authorities would not engage in talks but focussed its rebuttal on a strike back at a criticism of the world’s criticisms, the Chinese government, besides the use of bureaucratic language to deny the facts, attacked those who exposed them, saying they were enemies of the PRC, plus the Chinese government made a great fuss by inviting foreign reporters to visit. Moreover, they adopted some unusual means which were very rarely used in recent years—accusing family members or implicating those who were involved. This means of handling the situation was criticized by the Chinese Communist Party themselves after the Cultural Revolution.

At first, Zhang Jian, the brother of Dr. Zhang Shuyun, who was the main person that exposed this major legal case, was arrested by
Shanghai National Security Bureau. He used to be a cadre in Baoshan county.

Soon after that, Xu Xinyuan and Shi Shengren were also arrested by Shanghai police. Xu was the former representative of the Shanghai People's Delegation. He turned in the case of the Shanghai Children Welfare Institute to the Shanghai People's delegation. Shi was a lawyer who reported the truth of the persecution of the orphans to the Shanghai party committee.

This briefly mentioned person, being a "famous lawyer," Shi Shengren, and is the legal advisor to the Shanghai Workers' Union who sixty years ago was accused of being a "rightist". Yet no amount of hardship could turn off his conscience, as well as justice and true qualities of integrity. According to witness testimony, after the opening of reform in China, he again threw himself into the building of an adequate legal system, and in addition to his professional work, investigated the issue, and has been a positive example of grass-roots support—constructing Trade Union law as a network to help those in danger.

In virtue of his work in the late 1980's, representing a conductor on the labor union staff in a dispute against the Public Transportation Company, his intervention protected the labor interest and avoided the crisis of a strike; again in virtue of his request to handle cases with quality preparation has affected his fame, and has many litigants asking for him to be their defense lawyer.

Because of the UN's scrutiny and the appeal of international public opinion, the Chinese government cannot cover up this arrest, although they have framed him and trumped up charges against him, he has been given limited liberties; however, so far there is no word as to whether Shi Shengren has been freed. Thus the circumstances have developed to the degree of "dragging in records" of people who may be involved, because of their being frowned upon by the external world, they are subject to serious persecution.

People can't help asking questions, for this law case, if in fact is a true model children's institute as advertised by the Chinese government, is there any need to get so worked up by condemning them in both speech and writing, and covering the facts through suppression of those who are good at what they do?

From a 1992 issue released by HRIC whose content gave an identical report at that time, Beijing gave a silent admission of guilt.
The acquiescence at that moment was a sharp contrast to their usual reaction. In the end, is today yesterday's wrongdoing, or is yesterday today's wrongdoing? At the moment, this “give yourself away by protesting too much” is an excessive reaction, because on account of the international censure suffered, decreasing “national” prestige, can the reason still be the disapproval of accusers? Is this matter occurring in similar places and being denied in other cities in China?

China has not been open to human rights organizations and the Red Cross on-the-spot supervision and inspection. The Chinese government has exhausted whatever promises they have made and can’t achieve minimum trust; at analysis of the history of the Chinese government’s fierce reactions over time, the failure shouldn’t be overlooked: Shanghai is at present the momentary cradle of China’s prosperity in the central southern coastal region, the exposure of the incidence of the cruel killing of children at the Shanghai Children’s Welfare Institute is undoubtedly their “fire in the backyard.” Especially at the time the law case taking place was exposed there when Jiang Zemin, Zhu Rongji, and Wu Bangguo came, if their political opponents, chief regional officers in Shanghai, wanted to investigate this matter of responsibility, even though they can’t immediately break it up, they could throw down the gauntlet and make rules to help the casualties.

Actually, having to hide the truth from the masses for a while probably in some places (for instance, in China) is possible, however hiding the truth nowadays and restricting breaking international news and not accepting basic rights is despotic. Why not make a genuine attempt to make a few human rights improvements? Imagine for a moment, if the leaders of China’s southern coast courageously attempt to give diplomatic recognition, and seriously hold specific logical people responsible, perhaps at least fully and closely investigate afterwards, again to deal with international public opinion and criticism and make a sound judgement, the result could replace risking one’s life with being on good terms with many.

The government in Beijing must first have a reaction, identify and get rid of their own incorrigible hard-liners—those who defy the whole democratic world’s human rights’ trends, their own civilization, the opening of the Chinese economy and simultaneous development, and
realize the shape of and retreat from the era of dictatorship of the East which will make them fall behind.
妇女被剥夺的权利

降低人口出生率及解决其他长远问题已到刻不容缓的地步。正如康多尔塞指出的，解决的方法无非是两方面：
（1）发展减少浪费、减少污染的新技术和行为方式；
（2）形成逐渐降低人口增长的社会与经济环境。

降低出生率方面，康多尔塞认为不仅要发展经济，加强经济安全保障还要注重教育，特别是妇女教育。受良好教育的人会对生活价值有更高级的认识，尤其是排除第三世界妇女因过多生育所承担的繁重的负担。这种负担在某种意义上即是高生育率背后的恶果。

因此，降低出生率一定要重视妇女的监控程度福利与她们自主权之的密切关系。贫困国家的许多妇女为频繁生育所累，无权自主从事其他活动，且面临医疗危险较高死亡率。由此可见，通过扩大她们求学和从事政治活动的机会，提高妇女地位，以及加强她们的自主能力，是降低出生率的根本解决方法。

一旦人们受了基本教育，懂得计划生育，不再轻易接受生育的辛劳，并获得经济安全保障，他们也就不难像康多尔塞说的那样，以理性，自愿的方法作出决定，人口增长率也就自然得以降低。同时，她们也不再担忧因婴儿及儿童高死亡率使自己无法得以颐养天年。随着妇女教育的提高，死亡率的降低，经济手段及安全的保障，以及生活方式的公开讨论，许多国家的出生率都已经有所下降。

发展与强制

随着社会与经济的发展，相当一段时间后，出生率毫无疑问会降低。世界人口增长率已从本世纪七十年代的2.2%下降至八十年代与九二年代间的1.7%。假定大难临头，人们有理由争取更为严厉的人口控制手段。但不幸的是，这一悲观预言毫无依据。目前的当务之急是通过扩大教育、医疗保健以及发展社会与经济，提高人民的觉悟，为自己的计划生育作出自主的决定。

这样一样，谁将提供扩大教育的费用呢？教育、医疗保健和别的诸多提高生活质量的手段均属劳动密集型，这

一些服务由于劳动力廉价在贫困国家也相对便宜。贫困国家缺乏资金，他们提供这些服务的开销相对地较低。正因为如此，许多贫困国家缺乏无偿太多时间即有有力广泛地普及教育，并加强医疗保健。尤其在里山卡、哥斯达黎加、印度尼西亚和泰国即为例证。而且这些提高生活素质的社会服务正是降低人口出生率的重要手段。

另一些主张强制手段的人则认为鼓励中国于一九七九年改革以来广泛推行的“独生子女政策”。许多评论指出一九一九八二年中国人口出生率已降到千分之三十九，而同期内印度为千分之五十一。其他贫困国家的平均为千分之三十一。中国目前总生育率（以每位妇女所生孩子数计算）为２．０，印度为３．６，其他低收入国家则为４．９。难道中国真的找到了一条“解决”人口问题的新途径。

中国的人口政策

中国的“方法”存在着其问题。首先，它剥夺了人们选择的自由，其本身也是社会价值观的损失。全球妇女团体已经意识到自己的生育自由的重要性，并为争取这一权利作了有效的努力。

亚洲国家的当权者也以文化传统不同于西方，及东方人易于接受极权统治为借口，为自己的行为辩护。如果说东方的专制统治可以作为借口，那么西班牙的宗教裁判和纳粹的集中营也可以用同样的借口作开脱。另外，中国政府还强调“儒家传统”强制性，但实际上注重强制性并非东方的专利，而且也很难说“儒家传统”对现代亚洲人有什么特别的意义。

欲知强制性制度是否为社会所自愿接受，一定要通过让公民自由民主地表达他们意愿的方式。中国无法这样作。印度七十年代“非常时期”，甘地政府提出的强制性计划生育措施遭到选民大反对。印度的计划生育专家指出强制性节育自觉计划生育方案的实施带来障碍，因为人们已对整个计划深怀疑虑。

其次，除了了解人们是否愿意接受这一措施外，还要考虑到结果。迄今为止，强制性计划生育对社会造成的是不堪设想的后果。例如“独生子女政策”会造成人们忽视
第二胎的照顾，从而使婴儿死亡率上升。而且在一个重男轻女的国度——如中国等许多亚洲国家及北非国家——独生子女政策往往容易导致人们偏顾女婴生命，这一现象在中国很普遍。另外，有关报道还指出溺杀女婴也屡见不鲜。从道义上说，这是不能容忍的，而且长远看来，也会对一国政治造成不利影响。

第三，强制性手段到底已使人口出生率降低了多少？事实上，中国的许多长期的社会、经济发展项目也对降低出生率起了重要作用。诸如加强文化、普及卫生保健、扩大妇女就业机会及迅速发展经济。这些因素本身已使出生率在一定程度上降低。所以很难判断强制性手段使出生率“格外降低”的幅度。

例如，将中国和其他人均寿命、妇女受教育程度和妇女就业方面相当或超过中国的国家作一比较，可以看出有多少国家的人口出生率高于中国。据1994年《世界发展报告》，只有三个这样的国家：牙买加、泰国和瑞典。如此看来，在中国的教育及妇女就业手段早已使人口出生率有所降低的前提下，很难看出强制性手段达到的真正效果。其实，中国计划生育在在某些地区几乎很少采用强制措施，而在另一些地区，尤其是较落后地区，政府往往要采取严厉的手段实施强制性计划生育政策，这也带来了严重的婴儿死亡率及歧视女婴现象。无形中人们将出生率的降低过多地归功于政府的强制性手段，却大大忽略了其发展和合作式手段实际上已起的作用。

中国与印度

中国与印度是世界上人口最多的国家，将人口发展进行比较有助于把问题弄清楚。如果单从全国平均生育率来看，中国所取得的成就显然要比印度大的多。但是这一对比也很难证明中国的强制性措施所起的作用。因为，如从妇女受教育程度、人均寿命、妇女就业等方面来说，中国的生育率可以再低的多。而印度则大不同，其各省在教育、卫生及经济、社会发展方面极不平衡，印度大多数省在教育上远远落后于中国（西藏除外），其他生育率的因素也一样，但印度南部的Kerala的基本教育、医疗保健及其他方面倒与中国相当。其人口高达二千九百万（超过世界上许多包括加拿大在内的国家），但其出生率（千分之十八）实际上低于中国（千分之十九），其一九九一年生育率为三．二，中国一九九二年则为二．三，而Kerala并

非以强制性措施来控制其人口出生率的。

Kerala的成功可归因于其在社会各方面的发展。其妇女受教育程度为百分之八十八，高于中国的百分之六十八；其乡村受教育程度高于中国任何一个省。中国男性的平均寿命分别为六十七和七十一岁，而Kerala于一九九一年的数据则为七十一和七十四岁。妇女们一直活跃于Kerala的政治和经济活动中，大多数人从事熟练工与半熟练工，相当一部分人参加过教育运动。Kerala长期以来针对妇女权利展开公开讨论，并宣传晚婚养育。

Kerala这一改革过程显示出人们的自愿合作，不同于中国那种导致婴儿死亡的强制性措施。在Kerala婴儿死亡率和千分之六十五点五（男婴为千分之七十七，女婴为千分之六十六），而中国则为千分之三十一（男婴为千分之二十八，女婴为千分之三十三）。Kerala不存在性别歧视，婴儿死亡率与欧美情况相似，而中国则明显是女婴死亡率高。那些赞成中国计划生育的人士应该注意这些事实。

一些人之所以倾向于通过“强制性高压手段”降低人口出生率，往往是由他们误以为合作、自愿的方法产生效果比较缓慢。事实上，Kerala的出生率从五十年代的千分之四十一下降到一九九一年的千分之十八，所需的时间也并不长。Kerala并非独一无二，另外如斯里兰卡、南韩和泰国都是通过发展教育而取得可喜成绩的例子。

中国的数据则显示出生育率降低的速度缓慢，虽然已经实施独生子女政策和家庭计划。由此可见，尽管中国政府为计划生育工作所作的努力不小，但要以中国的实践为“强制性手段”辩护仍未足为凭。

计划生育

即使是那些并不积极倡导使用法律和经济强制手段的人时常也会建议采用变通的强制手段，例如将计划生育提到首要位置，即使这意味着会削弱教育、保健以及其他发展措施。这一看法得到越来越多的支持。甚至还有人经常声称，不用提高教育和卫生保健，单靠计划生育就可以大幅度降低人口出生率。

孟加拉国的经验极为人引用，作为计划生育的典范。实际上孟加拉国的妇女文盲率很高，只有近２２％的人识字，妇女人均寿命不超过五十五岁，通过提高咨询等计划生育服务，妇女生育有实质性下降。但如果仔细审查一下证据，也许会出现新的问题。

Human Rights in China
当然首先要肯定孟加拉国于一九七五年至一九九零年所取得的成绩，它使生育率从7.0降低到4.5，这也显示贫穷国家的人能接受计划生育。然而，不凭借妇女教育和其他发展途径，计划生育本身就能使人口生育率降低到令人满意的程度吗？孟加拉国的生育虽已降至4.5，但仍相当高，印度平均生育率也只有3.6，要真正稳定人口数量，生育率须降至2.0。要做到这一点，妇女教育及其他社会发展措施仍是不可或缺的。

印度各邦的生育率也值得相互比较，Kerala和Tamil Nadu在降低生育率方面都已取得很大成功，而北部许多邦的教育水准，尤其是妇女教育和大众的保健非常落后，生育率就很高（虽然事实上有计划生育，如绝育等措施），可见教育的重要。

但是，世界面临的人口危机往往促使许多国际观察家都建议，发展中国家首先采用计划生育手段，而非那些需要假以时日的教育和卫生保健等措施。政策制定者和国际会议也时常用这样的提议。这样做，不仅会影响人民的幸福，限制他们的自由；如果旨在稳定人口那简直是自我毁灭。

人们信赖“计划生育第一”的口号，部分原因是由于他们还不清楚怎样才能降低生育率，另外他们还错误地以为包括教育和医疗保健在内的社会发展措施耗费巨大。事实上，正如前文所述，这些社会发展活动属“高度劳动密集型”，因此即使在非常贫穷的国家开销也不大，Kerala即为一例，虽较贫穷，在发展教育和降低死亡率和出生率方面都相当出色。

当今世界人口问题的严重性不仅在于“人口的自然增长和食品供应”之间的比例失调，也即某些预言家所言，人类将要入不敷出。我们有理由担心人口增长将给环境保护带来长期的负面影响，而且，高出生率也会降低人类的生活质量，尤其是妇女的生活水准。随着提高教育机会（特别是妇女教育机会）降低死亡率（尤其是儿童死亡率），提高社会安全感（特别是老年人的经济保障）以及妇女就业和政治参与的增加，在上述这些因素的交互作用下，人口出生率的大幅度降低，自然是水到渠成。

上述这些情况现在正在世界某些地方实现，导致了世界人口总增长的减缓。解决人口问题的最佳途径就是在世界各地大力推广这些方法，与之相比，基于错误的灾难性预言的人类所谓“应急措施”实质上导致了无效的对策，同时它阻碍了理性而稳定的计划实施。强制性的计划生育政策一方面以巨大的社会牺牲为代价，另一方面仍不能有效地降低人口出生率；而那些严肃的合作措施却能成功地达到降低人口增长的目的。


（上接47页）给参与动乱的知识分子一个宽大的机会，在文革后尚能自己的表现了。听说你在监狱里愿意服劳而不认罪，还是很对的。今天我首先要问一个问题，现在你对自己所犯的反革命罪行，到底是怎么回事的？

另一个较年轻的女干部在旁边作记录，她暗示我，只要我承认一句“我有罪”就可以出狱了。我当时站了起来，一言不发地走回监房。后来长沙中院法院以“顽固不化，态度恶劣”为由，决定对于我不予假释。

中共司法部门为了使犯人更好地投入劳动改造，在监狱里实行了一种“减刑分”制度，即干部每月按照犯人的劳动、学习表现奖励一定数目的减刑分。减刑分积累到一定数字，犯人就可以提前出狱。所以犯人对减刑分是每分必争。我在长监服刑时，教书、劳动都很努力，我教出的学生，有几十个参加全国统一的“高等教育自学考试”获得合格证书。我还协助办“劳改小报”。所以每月得到的减刑分不少。积累起来，我可以减一年四个月的刑了。但由于我拒绝认罪，狱方迟迟不敢向法院给我报减刑。拖到我只剩下十个月刑期的时候，我向来长沙中院的省劳动局宋局长反映情况，他说：“那么多杀人放火的刑事犯的劳改减刑分都能兑现，我这个政治犯辛苦挣来的减刑分却无效，为什么一定要强迫无罪的人认罪？” 据说这个局长比较开明，所以我才得到提前释放，但按我的减刑分计算，我早就应该出狱了。□
Population—Delusion and Reality

Amartya Sen

The Deprivation of Women’s Rights

Reducing the birth rate and resolving other long-range problems demand immediate attention. The solution as Kang-duo Er-sai pointed out is simply two-fold:

1. Develop waste reduction, reduction of pollution of new technology, and lifestyle behavior;
2. Gradually lower the population by improving societal conditions and the economic environment.

In terms of reducing the birth rate, many believe that it is not merely important to develop the economy, but to strengthen the economy and also to stress education, especially education of women.

Those with more education will have a better understanding of the value of life, especially because many third world women are put in a position to bear the most dull and strenuous burdens. This burden in a way is the direct result of the high birth rate. Therefore, reducing the birth rate necessarily will take seriously the supervision of women’s welfare and have a bearing on the separate choices they make for themselves.

Many women in poor countries have no say in the accumulation of births, have no freedom from other activities, even are confronted with dangerous medical treatment and high mortality rates. From this it is clear, demanding adoption and expansion of their responsibility in the exercise of political opportunities, improving women's status, as well as strengthening their own capabilities, are fundamental to reducing the birth rate.

Once people receive basic education, understand family planning, not just easily accepting the pain of birth as a precursor to obtaining economic security, it is not difficult for them to be as Kang-duo Er-sai said, on the basis of gender, as voluntary methods give rise to choice, the rate of increase will also naturally reduce. In the meantime, they no longer worry about infant mortality, and enables them to comfortable retirement. Along with the improvement of women’s education, lowering of the death rate, economic protections as well as
public discussion of lifestyle, many nations’ birth rates are already to some extent declining.

**Development and Coercion**

Along with the development of the economics of society, correspondingly birth rates no doubt will decrease. World population rate of increase in the 1970’s of 2.2% dropped through the 1980’s and in 1992 was at 1.7%. It is supposed that faced with imminent disaster, people have justified severe population control measures to achieve change. Nevertheless, it is not good fortune, as this pessimistic prediction has no foundation.

The top priority at the present time is to adopt and extend education, and medical care as well as develop society, not economy, and improve people’s consciousness through educational programs to raise awareness of their own decisions. In this way, who will offer to support the cost of expanding education? Education, medical care and many other programs improve the quality of life, and all this belongs to the labor-intensive model. In virtue of the overwork of those in impoverished nations, these services are relatively cheap. Poor nations short of funds supply these [services] because expenses are relatively low.

First, in this way, many poor countries lack extensive measures of the effects of universal education combined with strong health care. Sri Lanka, Costa Rica, Indonesia, and Thailand are examples. Not only are these advancing the quality of life in society, but are measures that significantly decrease population.

Some others advocate coercive methods, taking delight in talking about the widespread carrying out of reforms in China since 1979 and the “one child policy.” Many point out that the Chinese birth rate from 1992 was 19 per thousand, and within the corresponding period, India was estimated at 29 per thousand. Other poor nations average about 31 per thousand. China at the moment has a total birth rate (counting every woman with a child) of 2.0, India at about 3.6, with other lower income nations at about 4.9. Is it not China’s real goal to reach a “resolution” of the population problem using new methods?

**China’s Population Policy**

China’s “method” has some serious problems. First, it deprives people of personal choice, and undoubtedly damages the society’s value of body integrity. Women’s organizations are conscious of their important role in child-bearing responsibilities, and have been fighting hard to make this right valid.
Asian nations' rights supporters follow culture and traditions not like those of the West, and use the excuse that Asians tend to accept totalitarianism as an argument in their defense. If Eastern cultural traditions can use this as an excuse, then Western religious judgment could use the same excuse for absolving the Nazi concentration camps. Moreover, Chinese Government still emphasizes “Confucian tradition”, that people are used to the use of imposed force to carry out measures, but this is not just the specialty of only Asians; it is very unclear what “Confucian tradition” means to modern Asians.

Whether the society accepts these coercive methods voluntarily or not, certainly citizens must be allowed to express what they think. China is incapable of this kind of relationship. India’s “unusual times” in the 1970’s raised the issue of coercive family planning measures and met with great voter opposition. India’s family planning experts put forth a program that would pair forced birth control with the carrying out of consciousness-raising, but the implementation was impeded because people thereafter harbored deep suspicion for the entire program.

Secondly, whether or not people accept external measures, it must be considered an imposition. So far, forced birth control has caused consequences which are too ghastly to contemplate. For example, the “one child policy” has caused people to neglect second births, thus causing the infant mortality rate to go up. Also, there a male child is more important than a female—according to China’s ranking compared to many other Asian countries—the one child policy frequently leads to people devaluing the life of the girl baby, a phenomenon widespread in China. In addition, it has a bearing on teaching and produces a common occurrence of drowning female babies. Through morality and just persuasion, this is impossible to condone, and in the long term, it appears, has a harmful effect on national politics.

Thirdly, in the end how much do forced birth control methods decrease the birth rate? The fact is, of China’s many long term plans, developing economy also has helped decrease the birth rate. Strengthening culture, widespread health care, expanding women’s employment opportunities, and rapid economic development—these factors in themselves cause the birth rate to lower to some degree. Therefore it is very difficult to define the extent of the effect force
methods exert to “extremely lower” the birth rate. For example, take China’s and others’ equality of life expectancy, women’s life education level and women’s employment opportunities which exceed China’s national average, then one can see how much the effect has been on the birth rate in China. According to the 1994 “World Development Report,” only three such countries were listed: Jamaica, Thailand, and Sweden. Based on this, it seems China’s education and women’s employment measures over time have acted to some extent to lower the birth rate, so it is very difficult to determine the genuine results of forced measures.

As a matter of fact, in some regions of China, very few use coercion to manage family planning, but in some districts, especially comparatively less developed areas, governments frequently adopt stern measures to implement coercive methods of family planning, which also bring about serious infant mortality rates, and especially the phenomenon of female infanticide. Imperceptibly people handle the decreased birth rate and attribute success to the government’s force measures, but their development and individual cooperation are greatly neglected.

**China and India**

China and India are the world’s most populated countries, and comparing the development of the two countries can help one to understand the problem better. By simply looking at the average birth rate, China’s achievements have been bigger than India’s. But it is still difficult to measure from this comparison the effect of China’s coercive measures.

Because, looking at aspects of women’s education level, equality of life expectancy, and women’s employment opportunities, China’s birth rate must go down a lot. But India’s regulations are not the same, in that each is aware with respect to education, healthy economy, and development of society that most provinces in India are behind those of China in terms of education (except Tibet), others with comparable birth rates, so Kerala, in India’s southern region, was examined in terms of basic education, medical care and other aspects poor in relation to China. Their population reached 29,000,000 surpassing the populations of many countries in the world, yet their birth rate (18 births per 1000) in reality was lower than China’s (19 per 1000), in 1991 having a birth rate of 1.8%, China in 1992 was 2.0%, and in
Kerala there were no coercive measures enacted to control the birth rate of their population.

Kerala’s success may be attributed to their development organization. Their women’s education level is 86%, higher than China’s 68%; their rural areas receive education levels higher than any of China’s examined. China’s life span difference between men and women is 67 and 71 years, but according to figures in Kerala from 1991, their ratio is 71 and 74 years. Women are clearly centrally active in Kerala’s political and economic activity, many of the people engage in skilled trades and in half of the skilled trades, a considerable amount participate in furthering education. Kerala for a long time has openly discussed the development of women’s rights, equally encouraging marriage at a mature age and late births. Kerala reformed laws to demonstrate people’s voluntary cooperation, unlike China, whose force measures result in high infant mortality rates. In Kerala the infant mortality rate is 16.5 per 1000 (males 17 per 1000; females 16.5 per thousand), but China’s rate is 31 per 1000 (males 28 per 1000; females 33 per 1000).

Kerala does not have sex discrimination, and infant mortality rates resemble European and American conditions, but China has an obvious standard of high female infant mortality. Those public figures who approve of China’s family planning should take notice of these facts. Those people who have a tendency to adopt “forced pressure methods” to lower the population’s birth rate, frequently as a result of their mistaken perception of cooperation, and voluntary means bring slower results. Based on facts, Kerala’s birth rate in the 1950’s was 44 per 1000 and lowered to 18 per 1000 by 1991, so the time required was not long.

Kerala is not the only one of two, also on the same schedule are Sri Lanka, South Korea, and Thailand, who are all trying to develop education with encouraging success. According to figures, China has demonstrated the slowest lowering of the birth rate, although already implementing one child policies and family planning. Thus it can be seen, despite the Chinese government’s planned birth work and many difficulties, the coercive practices of China through “forced family planning” still are not as effective.

**Family Planning**

Even those who would not propose using legal and economic force propose the use of different types of force, for instance promoting birth control as the nation’s “first
priority”, even though this intention can weaken education and healthcare as well as other development measures. This view gains more and more support. So much so that people still frequently claim, it is useless to depend on improved education and wellness, but depend singly on family planning to greatly lower the birth rate.

Bangladesh’s experience is frequently cited, looked on as the family planning model. In practice Bangladeshi women’s illiteracy rate is very high, only 22% can read, general female life span exceeds 55 years, and by means of improved birth control counseling services, births have fallen substantially. Nevertheless, if the evidence is carefully examined for a moment, new problems seem to emerge. Naturally at first the successes of Bangladesh from 1975 to 1990 can be regarded as positive, the birth rate fell from 7.0 to 4.5, but this only shows people in poor countries can accept family planning. However, by not depending on women’s education and other development measures, can family planning in itself cause the birth rate to lower to a satisfactory level? Bangladesh’s birth rate, although lowered to 4.5, is still comparatively high, India’s average birth rate is 3.6, and for real stabilization of population, birth rate must fall to 2.0. In order to achieve this, women’s education and other development measures must not be neglected. India’s birth rate in every province make a worthwhile comparison. Kerala and Tamil Nadu both have achieved great success in lowering birth rates, the northern provinces which lag behind the country’s average education level, particularly women’s education and public medical care, have birth rates which are high. (although in fact they have used forced birth control measures, such as sterilization and other methods). It is thus clear that education is important.

Still, the world faces a population crisis and many developing nations are often urged to adopt family planning programs, but still are not required to adopt education and wellness measures. Policy makers and international conferences also frequently make these proposals. If all acted like this, not only could people’s well-being be affected, but also their liberty would be affected; if the main purpose is to stabilize population, they are digging their own graves. People have faith in the slogan “family planning first,” part of the reason being that they still do not clearly understand how ability lowers the birth rate, in addition they still have the mistaken idea that education and health
care are the heart of tremendous development expenditures.

Based on what has already been mentioned, these developing societies center upon the "labor intensive model" therefore even though always poor, combined expenses are not great. Kerala for example, though comparatively poor, has developed education and lowered the mortality rate and birth rate both quite remarkably.

At present, the world's critical population problem is by no means because of the imbalance in proportion of "population's natural increase and the limited food supply" disaster predicted by some. We do have reason to worry that population will have a negative effect on the environment in the long run and that high birth rates also can lower mankind's quality of life, especially women's standard of living. Along with improving educational opportunities (especially women's educational opportunities) lowering the death rate (especially infant mortality rates), increasing the chances for security (especially economic safeguards for the elderly), as well as increasing women's occupational and political participation, the above mentioned are all factors which have mutual effects on the latter, and the birth rate will greatly reduce, naturally when conditions are right, success will follow.

The above mentioned conditions at present are in the process of being fulfilled in certain places, leading to a decrease in the rate of increase of the world's overall population. The optimum way to resolve the population problem is through world-wide efforts to disseminate these methods, as an alternative to the critics who predict disasters for mankind and prescribe "emergency measures" in essence leading to failure of counter measures, meanwhile also impeding reasonable and stable family planning implementation. Forced birth control policies in one respect comes at a tremendous sacrifice and cost to society, yet can't effectively lower the earth's birth rate; still those serious cooperation measures however can successfully achieve a lower rate of increase in the population.
The preceding translated articles address two issues: first the state's systematic neglect of orphans and the burden put on women by the one-child policy in China. The former, I argue, is a symptom of the one-child policy, and the latter I expand on for the purpose of understanding population control in a global context, China in particular.

Discourse on population in recent decades has generally focused on terms such as "overpopulation" or "population explosion." Flashed in front of the eyes of the world are pictures of crowded streets teeming with diseased, malnourished, and poverty-stricken children. To the average citizen in "developed" countries, the assumption generally is that these afflictions affect people in "third world" countries because of overpopulation. So to people who haven't heard the stories behind these scourges, the easy solution is for governments to limit population. More dangerously, this is the view taken by many policy-makers in developing countries who believe that limiting population will eliminate the most important stumbling block to rapid development.

In the case of China, classified as a developing country and still "third world" in many areas, the problem is seen as more acute than anywhere else in the world (with the exception of India) as China supports about 1/5 of the world's population-1.2 billion people and is growing. The automatic world response to China's strict family planning policy is one of mute acceptance, because population is the so-called "cause" of China's problems.

But before analysis of the effectiveness of China's present fertility policy can be made, the following questions must be explored: What exactly is the world population problem? What are the global effects of a rapidly growing population? The importance of these issues lies in the integration of the global community- the interrelationships and growing interdependence of nations. So in looking at China's fertility policies, global context is key to understanding why China has taken these courses of action.
It is extremely important to first discuss the reasoning behind fertility regulation, because of the distortion that has occurred through media, and the prevailing force of theories such as those of Malthus and Condorcet\(^1\), who have shaped our perceptions of population growth. The modern interpretation of these theories in combination with the idea of sustainable development have made it imperative to look closer at solutions to focus on the reconstruction of society, and not just a temporary limitation of fertility.

Population policies which are coercively administered leave much room for abuse. Not just abuse of power on the part of the state, but abuse of those who become "unwanted" by society by familial and custodial relations. In a nation where only one child per couple is allowed, the pressure for that one child to be healthy both mentally and physically is greatly magnified, leaving those who are handicapped falling through the cracks through female infanticide, abandonment, and neglect to the point of death.

Fertility by its very nature is first and foremost a personal and familial situation. It's not something that can be handled by issuing a law and expecting surface enforcement to end the problem in any long term sense. The importance of restructuring the workings of the family, and redefining the worth of the person is paramount, especially in the context of China's female population. Only through "developing" China's women can there be a lasting change in fertility trends.

**THE GLOBAL POPULATION PROBLEM**

World population as of 1995 is quoted to be about 5.6 billion people, with an annual increase of 1.6%, which translates into about 90 million additional people yearly\(^2\). Of this amount, approximately 77% of the total live in developing countries and 23%, or about 1.2 billion people live in developed ones\(^3\). So to put China's status into perspective,

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\(^1\) These two theorists will be discussed later in the paper.
\(^2\) Cohen, Joel E. *How Many People Can the Earth Support?* pp. 13
\(^3\) UNFPA, pp. 9
on a landmass nearly equivalent to one developed country, the U.S., and with only 7% of the world's total arable land⁴, its population is about the same size as that of all the developed countries in the world put together! Because of this, China (among others whose population seems to be stretching the limits of national terrain) is said to be "over-populated." So what does that mean?

Competing schools of thought

Modern population discourse focuses mainly on deduction based on two competing schools of thought: Malthusian Theory concerning food production versus population growth, and Condorcet's Theory of population growth and flexibility through human technical and social ingenuity. The need to discuss these hypotheses is important in order to contextualize our own preconceptions about population—both the foundations and their modern manifestations.

Malthusian Theory

Malthusian theory pervades modern discourse on the global population problem, and needs to be analyzed because so many people take it as a proven fact. The theory basically states that as population grows geometrically and agriculture grows arithmetically, without preventative checks, eventually population would outgrow food supply. This would lead to war, starvation, pestilence and death, reducing the population to numbers more sustainable by the environment⁵. This assumes a natural and measurable equilibrium between two finite variables.

The force of this theory has survived and is currently reinforced by the media, which presents famine, affliction and civil conflict as symptoms of the plague of overpopulation⁶, even though the civilizations Malthus studied and predicted these

⁶ Cohen, pp. 429
outcomes for never met with the apocalyptic consequences predicted by him⁷. This is something which should be taken into account.

Condorcet's Theory

The opposing hypothesis, devised by several theorists of the 1700's, and led by the French philosopher Marquis de Condorcet, basically argues that "necessity is the mother of invention," that is, that the population versus food production model leaves out a crucial element, that of scientific innovation⁸. In Condorcet's view, every person added to the earth is not just another mouth to feed, but an additional pair of hands to work, making room for him/herself within the biosphere⁹. Therefore, there is not some finite limit that population should not cross, but rather it is made elastic through human ingenuity.

Today's Interpretation¹⁰

The modern interpretation of Malthus's theories has established a school of thought mostly represented by what are referred to as Malthusian environmentalists. Their hypothesis is that the "absorptive capacity of the biosphere" is being ruined and will be irreparably damaged with cataclysmic results if population continues to increase past this new generation, and that local and regional environmental degradation, "of which population increase is the prime engine of change," will lead to Malthus's foretold collective misery, an increase in migrants and refugees, or large scale migration causing civil strife and political instability¹¹.

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⁷ Kelley, Allen C. pp. 1697
⁸ Cohen, pp. 37
⁹ Cohen, pp. 434
¹⁰ The following information is given in order to illuminate what modern debate on all levels includes. Environmental issues will not be analyzed here.
¹¹ Rothschild, Emma. "Echoes of the Malthusian Debate at the Population Summit" pp. 353
This contrasts with the belief of modern economists from the Condorcet school who hold that rapid population growth creates discomfort in the short run, but is reacted to by governments with shifts in spending towards education and health which raise the standard of living for the population just enough to slow population growth\(^\text{12}\). This works in cooperation with the idea of diminishing returns, that is that limited land supply eventually reduces labor force productivity (with respect to agriculture in the case of third world countries) which is responded to with an alteration of technology, expanding the quality and even the quantity of land\(^\text{13}\).

THE CASE OF CHINA

Both of these schools have compelling arguments, and to discard one in favor of the other would be unwise. A practical example of the folly of this occurred in 1974 at the World Population Conference in Bucharest\(^\text{14}\). One of the leading voices who advocated a more integrated approach in dealing with population control came from China.

China's historical fertility policies

China's population policies had been undergoing drastic ideological changes since the creation of the People's Republic of China. In 1953 China had its first national census showing population at about 602,000,000\(^\text{15}\). During the 1950's, Mao Zedong advocated women to be "glorious mothers having more babies,"\(^\text{16}\) despite the voices of leaders within the party such as Ma Yinchu, who advocated birth control policies at the time\(^\text{17}\).

\[^{12}\text{Kelley, pp. 1699}\]
\[^{13}\text{Kelley, pp. 1710}\]
\[^{14}\text{"Chinese Statements on Population at Bucharest, 1974, and Mexico City, 1984" pp. 454}\]
\[^{15}\text{Ma Jisen. "1.2 billion-retrospect and prospect of population in China" pp. 261}\]
\[^{16}\text{HRIC. "Caught between tradition and the state" pp. 34}\]
\[^{17}\text{Ma Jisen. pp. 262}\]
This was not to say that birth control advocates had never had Mao’s support, but rather that other considerations overshadowed any policy-making on behalf of fertility changes.

The biggest consideration had to do with the Cold War. After the 1957 Moscow meeting of the Communist and Workers’ Parties, which celebrated the triumph of Sputnik, and the spread of communism into more than ten countries, the idea of catching up with the West in industrial output was the most prominent goal, and the idea of a possible war between East and West was common. So taking this into account, China fell back on its most reliable resource—its people.

After the meeting, Mao’s stance on birth control changed from support to chastisement. This happened partly because of a bumper crop in 1958 and later false reports of incredibly high output which led Mao to espouse the advantages of having more people. In criticizing Tao Lujia, the Shanxi Provisional CCP secretary who protested that there was not enough land for so many people and that there were food shortages, Mao said, “It’s hard to ask the rural people to practice birth control, as we are still short of people now.”

The need for change

However, from 1959 to 1962, as a product of the Great Leap Forward, more than 40 million people died as a direct result of widespread grain shortages. In the years immediately following this, in 1963, an unprecedented population growth rate of 4.33 percent occurred in China. As a result of the realization of the stresses this was putting on the economic development of the country, birth planning came back into the realm of acceptable discourse in China.

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18 Ma Jisen. pp. 263
19 Ma Jisen. pp. 263
20 As a response to the massive loss of life and improved economic conditions due to emergency measures to regulate the economy, the birth rate increased rapidly, with a simultaneous decrease in the mortality rate. The highest measured population growth rate up until then was 2.6%.
21 Ma Jisen. pp. 265
The first attempt at family planning was a policy that gave a lot of individual discretion to families. Promoting later marriages and birth spacing along with Zhou Enlai's model of "one is not wanting, two are good, three are excessive" had and still has merit, but at the time it was unable to slow population momentum enough to avoid surpassing the government decreed population ceiling of 1.2 billion people by the end of the century. Although there was a definite decrease in population growth markedly starting from 1972, it was deemed promising, but not sufficient enough. As a result in 1979, for the purpose of achieving this numerical goal, the "one child policy" was born.

GLOBAL EFFECTS- CHINA AFFECTED

Butting Heads

The 1974 World Population Conference in Bucharest challenged traditional ideas of population effects and the need to control population numbers. China's own experiences and evolution of their fertility policies (as previously described) fueled their leadership at this conference.

Huang Shu Tse, Minister of Health and head delegate speaking on behalf of China, attacked the ideological stand of the two superpowers (U.S. and U.S.S.R) saying that they were using population to divert attention from their own culpability for the poverty of China. He argued the Western claim that "over-population is the reason the have-not countries are poor" is an exhausted recitation of the superpowers who use that

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22 Tien, H. Yuan. *China's Strategic Demographic Initiative*. pp. 258
23 The Cultural Revolution, among other things, seriously disrupted family planning work.
24 Tien, H. Yuan. *China's Strategic Demographic Initiative*. pp. 258

The "one child policy" allows one child per couple.
27 It should be noted that the one-child policy had not been implemented at this time.
excuse in order to escape blame for the repercussions of their aggression and plundering of resources in Asia, Africa, and South America. He went on to assert that the superpowers were exploiting the issue to further entrench their own hegemonism by providing aid with a contingent political agenda. Further, China's population policy was constructed under the premise that it "... is in the interest of the thorough emancipation of women and the proper bringing up of future generations as well as of national construction and prosperity."

This adversarial commentary helped to bring to light the stance of the third world on the issue of population, and maintained that collective responsibility towards the population dilemma should not be an excuse for imperialistic intervention on the premise of population alarmism. China helped to bring about a crucial change in the relations between developed and developing countries concerning population issues, proclaiming population as an issue best assessed on the basis of individual country need and national sovereignty.

**POPULATION AS A DEVELOPMENT ISSUE**

Because of this shift, the international community, and especially China, has adopted strategies based on a "development model", which reflects a more pragmatic international consensus that seems to favor Condorcet's theory—although some concessions are made to the Malthusian school. This model suggests that economic growth per capita would be more rapid in an environment with slower population growth. The concession to Malthus, in the China case anyway, has to do with that aforementioned crucial turn in policy when so many died due to grain shortages. The

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32 Kelley, pp. 1716
33 see the case of China. Ma Jisen. pp. 265
assumption is that with a stable amount of mouths to feed, resources can be managed better in order to care for that need. This clears up resources so that they can be allocated towards setting up social structures to ensure access to long-term development schemes.

Subsequent population conferences are now titled "International Conference on Population and Development," reflecting that discourse relating to population policy is now inextricably linked with development. This is best illustrated by a statement issued by the World Bank, which declared that it is "an international development agency, and for it (the World Bank) to be indifferent to the inescapable consequences of rampant population growth in the poorer nations would amount to its being indifferent to the larger goal of development itself."\(^{34}\)

One reason the development argument for population management is foremost within international community is because of the belief that “development is the best contraceptive\(^ {35}\).” But there is much more to development than population control. Development has to do with the social and economic progression of a civilization\(^ {36}\).

**What is Sustainable Development?**

Sustainable development presumes two things. First, that basic needs for the population include education, employment, and social security in addition to survival necessities such as food and shelter. Second, that growth relies on transforming industry, employment, and consumption so that general productive capacity is made more proficient\(^ {37}\). Population policies are integral in the achievement of sustainable development, and sustainable development strategies will help to curb ballooning population growth.

\(^{34}\) Johnson, pp. 102

\(^{35}\) Stated by the head of the Indian delegation at the 1974 Bucharest Conference.

\(^{36}\) Ashford, Lori S. *New Perspectives on Population: Lessons from Cairo*. pp. 7

\(^{37}\) Qu Geping and Li Jinchang. pp. 190
How do sustainable development and population affect each other? The relationship is complex. To start with, there is a direct relationship between poverty and rapid population growth. This is not a causal relationship, that is, population does not cause poverty, but it does exacerbate it.

Also, rapid population can be seen as a symptom of poverty. Studies done in different countries have found that annual population growth rates above 2% inhibit individual economic advancement. Economic uncertainty encourages the propagation of more children (on the principle of every person having two hands to work with, aside from a mouth to feed). But in order to contribute to the economy, basic health services and education must be provided, as well as infrastructure and investments that create jobs.

The question of sustainable development in China

"China is a developing country with a large population, but a fairly poor economic foundation and relatively inadequate natural resources." This was a statement made in March 1994 by China's Representative to the United Nations Population Commission. He went on to point out certain elements concerning the uniqueness of China's population dilemma, including the impossibility of "population diversion overseas," one of the factors that acted as a crucial safety valve for Europe during its own population surge at the beginning of its industrialization. Because of this, the population stress has to be alleviated from inside China.

Rapid population growth and its correlation to poverty is extremely significant to China. Poverty is frequently accompanied by illiteracy, poor health, and low status of women. Rapid population growth worsens these trends, and makes solutions harder to implement, as government concentration is forced to work on catching up to the

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38 Ashford, Lori S. pp. 31
39 Peng Yu. pp. 489
even as of 1995, basic health services were unavailable to approximately 118.4 million Chinese. Such basic skills as literacy are still greatly lacking in China. The 1995 Human Development Index lists 173.6 million illiterate adults in China. 122.4 million of that amount are women.

**DEVELOPING WOMEN**

In order for reproductive initiatives to be effective, they must be accompanied by comprehensive measures toward raising the quality of human life. A study done to track the effectiveness of government enforcement on long term fertility practices found that “evidence suggests that only shocks to preferences (rather than government power) have induced long fertility cycles in China.” Moreover, it supported data from previous studies which reveal that social dynamics play a decisive role in fertility decisions.

The most compelling consideration coming from this statement deals with what type of social dynamics support more responsible fertility choices, that is, that a social dynamic favoring female empowerment is crucial to slowing population growth. In a joint statement at the “Science Summit” on world population in 1993 concerning population and development, it was agreed that:

> “Reducing fertility rates cannot be achieved merely by providing more contraceptives... Even when family planning and other reproductive health services are widely available, the social and economic status of women affects individual decisions to use them. The ability of women to make decisions about family size is greatly affected by

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40 Ashford, Lori S. pp. 31
42 Measured fertility rates while controlling for household preferences, including alterations in taste as well as in education, health care and the changing role of women, and production technology, especially changes in agricultural output or income.
43 Correlated to the studies done by Easterlin [1968] and Lee and Loschky [1987].
44 Scotese, Carol A. and Ping Wang. pp. 569
Supporting equality- Chinese government acts

China has not disputed this. In fact, the Chinese government has taken an active stance in working towards raising the status of women since the establishment of the People’s Republic of China nearly 40 years ago. A strong example of this dealt with the institution of marriage.

In most societies and for thousands of years in China, marriage determined the boundaries of a woman’s life. The Marriage Law of the People’s Republic of China adopted in 1950 was an unmistakable proponent of equality between the sexes\textsuperscript{46}. Article One states the stance of the new government quite plainly. It abolishes the old nuptial system based upon the “supremacy of man over woman,” putting forth measures to ensure that “the New-Democratic marriage system, which is based on the free choice of partners, on monogamy, on equal rights for both sexes, and on the protection of the lawful interests of women... is put into effect\textsuperscript{47}. It instituted equality in land ownership and child custody, among other rights. The Marriage Law of 1980 was presumably written in the same spirit, but goes further in that it incorporates family planning into the system as a joint responsibility\textsuperscript{48}.

**THE ‘ONE CHILD’ POLICY**

Empowering women is important in limiting population growth, but whether or not China’s birth control policies have had a sufficient societal impact to affect long-term fertility changes, has yet to be seen. Under the direction of birth control policies

\textsuperscript{45} "Science Summit" on World Population: A joint Statement by 58 of the World's Scientific Academies. pp. 236
\textsuperscript{46} The following Marriage Laws are mentioned only as an illustration of the P.R.C.’s willingness to implement measures towards achieving women’s equality, and will not be described in depth.
\textsuperscript{47} The Marriage Law of the People’s Republic of China, Article 1, para. 2. 1950
mentioned before, and especially under the ‘One Child’ policy, population growth in China has continued to progressively fall.

This has happened not only because of grassroots awareness about the population problem increased through propaganda and the government’s intensive efforts to encourage family planning, but also because of benefits the policy has brought to women’s overall health. Between the years of 1972 and 1984, growth continued to decline from 30 per thousand to 10.81 per thousand.

Opening Small Holes

In 1984, Document #7 was drafted by the Central Committee towards the creation of policies on the basis of "fairness and reasonableness, mass support and ease of management by cadres." This launched an experimental and district-preferential second child policy resulting from one-child implementation problems on the grass-roots level and referred to the loosening of restrictions as "opening small holes". It allowed a second child after adequate spacing of at least 4 years. In 1985 at the 4th National Conference, Liang Zhongtang put forth that "5% of couples truly and voluntarily want (only) one child...therefore the ban on second births has placed our policy in opposition to no more than 90% of the masses."

Big Holes

The timing of this policy was premature, and the effects of it mixed with the political and economic liberalization on the local level to affect an upsurge in the growth rate. First of all, the economic reforms disbanded the socialist collectives, which eroded cadre power. This undermined the system of incentives and penalties for fertility policy.

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49 ‘One Child’ policy refers to one child per couple.
51 Qu Geping and Li Jinchang. pp. 29
52 Tien, H. Yuan. pp. 134
53 Tien, H. Yuan. pp. 136
enforcement by taking the discretion out of the hands of cadres. Secondly, the political reforms on the local level making cadres directly elected leaders increased the social pressure on local leaders to be more lenient, for purposes of re-election. Thirdly, the accounting shift from the collective to the household depleted village coffers, diminishing funds for non-profit tasks such as birth control. All of this led to an increase in the fertility rate from 1985-1987 to as high as 16.16 per thousand.

Plugging the Holes

The loosening of controls was abandoned in light of these results, and changes were made from the top down. Cadres regained influence because of higher-level pressure and national reforms. Party-led birth planning associations were created for the purpose in aiding in gynecological exams, financially assisting policy-following households, and conducting educational propaganda for the purposes of promoting health, reproductive, economic, and population education. Other reforms strengthened responsibility systems by making cadres more accountable by raising and lowering salaries in accord with their success or failure in bringing about birth goals in their villages.

This led to village initiatives such as annual mandatory gynecological exams. These were designed for IUD insertion, detection of unsanctioned pregnancies, and routinized sterilizations. Aside from fulfilling fertility policy initiatives, practices like these have helped to improve the health of women by guaranteeing them access to quality health care annually. In Shaanxi province, women who have gone in for routine exams

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55 Qu Geping and Li Jinchang. pp. 29
56 Greenhalgh, Susan, Zhu Chuzhu, and Li Nan. pp. 368
57 Greenhalgh, Susan, Zhu Chuzhu, and Li Nan. pp. 384
have been able to detect diseases such as uterine cancer early, leading to early treatment that may have saved lives\textsuperscript{58}.

\textit{A Frightening Form of Primogeniture}

But this of course is not the only result of mandatory health care. Perhaps the most heinous outcome to be realized has been the occurrence of late-term abortions. Chinese authorities respond to reports of forced abortion by quoting that law says that "coercion is not permitted." Nevertheless, according to testimonies from former family planning officials as well as forced abortion victims, women have been coerced directly through economic pressure at the village and family level, detained, or forcibly taken hostage to have the procedure done\textsuperscript{59}.

The problem persists because of an imbalance between incentives and disincentives. Penalties for excess births can be levied against local officials and mother's work units in the form of fines, withholding of social services, demotion, and even loss of employment. Unpaid fines can lead to confiscation or destruction of property, including in some reports, destruction of homes\textsuperscript{60}. On the other hand, the incentives of achieving set fertility goals, as mentioned before, are quite attractive. Local leaders reverting to using coerced abortion only face disciplining and retraining. Officials admit that more severe punishments for cadres are few and far between.

In a White Paper published by the Chinese government in August 1995, China asserted that "shortcomings of one kind or another are unavoidable in family planning work" and that they were "against promoting induced abortion as a means of family planning." But in that same paper, nothing is specifically put in place to combat the

\textsuperscript{58} Greenhalgh, Susan, Zhu Chuzhu, and Li Nan. pp. 385
\textsuperscript{60} "U.S. State Department Human Rights Country Report 1996: China." pp.11
practice of using quotas, which helps to perpetuate forced abortion\textsuperscript{61}, or laws that expressly forbid the birth of a third child which leave no other avenue for enforcement\textsuperscript{62}.

The imposition of quotas such as those upon family planning providers is also condemned by the international community\textsuperscript{63}. Indeed, quotas work against the very principles behind developing women. They promote short term de facto success without emphasizing changing practices for long term achievement. For example, quotas can be realized through coercion or threat of financial ruin, but fertility-determining dynamics such as social services may not be altered. If the quotas are lifted, no behavioral change in fertility practice is accomplished.

One issue that is instrumental to the realization of such behavioral change is the popularization of health care, which is still lacking in many respects. The biggest divide is between the quality of health care available in urban versus rural areas. In a survey involving 300 of China's poorest counties, it was found that only one third of women received antenatal or post-partum care, and only 36% of deliveries met basic standards of hygiene\textsuperscript{64}.

\textit{A Life Not Worth Having}

Other demons that have been uncovered are the occurrence of pre-natal sex selection, and abandonment or systematic neglect of female children\textsuperscript{65}. As there is only one chance to have a child, there is a preference (prevalent in disproportionately in rural areas) entrenched in Chinese culture that it is better that the one child be a son rather than a daughter. Official statistics reveal that 97.5% of abortions in China have been on female fetuses\textsuperscript{66}. Also, the numbers of 'missing' girl children is disproportionately high,

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\textsuperscript{61} "Women In China: Detained, Victimized, but Mobilized." pp.27
\textsuperscript{62} HRIC. pp. 36
\textsuperscript{63} Ashford, Lori S. pp. 20
\textsuperscript{64} Pearson, Veronica. pp. 536
\textsuperscript{65} Pearson, Veronica. pp. 533-534
\textsuperscript{66} Pun, Pamela. "Fifty million mainland bachelors by 2000." \textit{Hong Kong Standard}
\end{flushright}
as is the mortality rate for girls under the age of five. In 1994, the mortality rate ratios between girls and boys was 7.58 to 6.37, respectively, in urban areas, and 8.38 to 6.88 at the county level\textsuperscript{67}. These have resulted in a male to female ratio of approximately 114 to 100, and in some areas, it is as high as 117 to 100. The general norm is 106 to 100\textsuperscript{68}.

The recent uncovering of fatal neglect in Chinese orphanages is another symptom of problems with primary dependency on family planning. Chinese orphanages become filled with girls and handicapped children essentially because of the societal pressure to have a healthy, male child who can take care of his parents in their old age, not one who will leave by marriage or who will have to be taken care of indefinitely. Girls and the afflicted especially, are singled out for starvation, unsafe medical treatment, or confinement\textsuperscript{69}.

This could be attributed to individual custodial neglect on the part of the orphanages, but the fact that government officials buried the information and punished those who brought it to light brings the matter under even greater suspicion. It seems that it is a problem not of neglect, but a repercussion of policy. The Chinese government denies a relation between this phenomenon and the one-child policy, but continues to under-report the amount of children admitted to adoption agencies. The government claims that there are approximately 100,000 orphans, but according to the UN, in 1993 more than 50,000 children were abandoned in Jiangxi Province alone\textsuperscript{70}.

\textit{Maternal and Infant Health Care- Solution or Obstacle?}

The contents of the Chinese Law on Maternal and Infant Health Care pose another problem. Formerly named the Draft Law on Eugenics and Health Protection, it embodies

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\textsuperscript{67} Pearson, Veronica. pp. 534
\textsuperscript{69} Forney, Matt, and Bruce Gilley. "Guises and Dolls" Far Eastern Economic Review.
Instead of promulgating laws to slow population growth for the purpose of national and human development, it attempts to bring public health into line with international norms by regulating marriage between "genetically acceptable" couples and by advocating abortion to prevent births of inferior quality.  

This reasoning impedes the development of women in two ways. First, it provides a legally accepted excuse for abortion that can be misused to perpetuate the cover-up of pre-natal sex selection. Secondly, the law states that if it is found that the fetus carries some sort of genetic abnormality, or a congenital disease, the medical examiner is required to advise the mother to abort it. This denies women access to unbiased medical information upon which to make informed decisions about her pregnancy, and therefore her body. Under the surface, this is no different from coerced abortion. Without the power over her own body, the status of women becomes adversarial- a potential threat to society that needs to be controlled.

Another policy, this on the local level, lies in the acceptance of the birth of a girl as evidence of "real hardship". This excuse is used in some villages to apply for permission to have a second child. Preference for males leads to the devaluation of girls, in that their contributions to society and the family are seen as less worthy than that of boys. This kind of policy only serves to cement the inequality of the sexes, and will not only undermine family planning goals, but will also work against overall development goals.

**Responsibility**

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71 I will not get too deeply into the subject of eugenics, even though I find the practice unethical and repugnant. I will only discuss way the law affects the development of women and the survival of the girl child and handicapped children.


73 The Chinese Law on Maternal and Infant Health Care. Chapter III, Article 18

74 Tien, H. Yuan. pp. 267
Possibly the most divisive argument springing from family planning is the issue of reproductive rights. China pays much lip service to the idea that their policies work within the realm of "state guidance with voluntary participation." The important thing to keep in mind about reproductive rights is the other word that inevitably follows it in nearly every international discourse— responsibility. Responsibility arises from education, economic support, and adequate health care, and therefore decisions and behavior can not be determined responsibly if those making the decisions are not educated as to the effects their choices yield, have no support, or are limited by lack of self-empowering health care.

*Whose Responsibility?*

Birth control in the form of contraceptive devices is the most effective way to reduce population increase. In China, the two most prevalent methods of contraception are IUD's(41%) and sterilization(49%), with a growing emphasis on sterilization. Both of these methods are highly effective, long-term and independent of intercourse. Methods that require more individual initiative, such as the Pill, condoms, the rhythm method, and early withdrawal are almost negligible.

An interesting thing to note is that the impact of these methods, and therefore the brunt of the responsibility falls mainly on women. Not only are women the main target of abuse for unsanctioned pregnancies as mentioned before, (*see A Frightening Form of Primogeniture*) but the burden of reproductive responsibility is overwhelmingly biased in that it is placed almost solely in women. Out of the total birth control methods that are

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75 "Women In China: Detained, Victimized, but Mobilized." pp.27
77 Weinberger, Mary Beth. "Recent Trends in Contraceptive Use." pp.59
79 Weinberger, Mary Beth. "Recent Trends in Contraceptive Use." pp.60
used, 38% of women are sterilized as opposed to only 11% of men. IUD's are inherently female centered as they are implanted in the uterus.

If this one-sided responsibility system persists, it will continue to perpetuate the subjugation of women. The 1994 International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo called for men to take an active part in all aspects of family life, including caring for their own as well as their partner's reproductive and sexual health.\textsuperscript{80} This is key to the equality of men and women, as probably the most basic connection between the sexes lies in sexual and procreational relationships. The act is mutual, therefore in order to forward equality, the responsibilities must be mutual.

\textbf{CONCLUSION}

The problems that plague China's population policy are indicative of the internationally recognized population-development paradigm. The fear that population growth stagnates development balances with the impossibility of reforming population independent of development, especially the development of women. The conditions of both must be improved simultaneously if there is to be any progress.

The population growth rate during the beginning of the 1970's--2.3% has dropped drastically. As of 1994, the growth rate was down to 1.4%. Alongside this decrease has been enormous economic growth.\textsuperscript{81} These two efforts, towards fertility regulation and economic development, share a coactive relationship, depending on each other for improvement. As they continue to assist each other, human development will benefit, and the need for population control will decrease. But in order for development to affect a long-term change in attitudes, development must empower the population on a gendered basis. Coercive measures should be abandoned and resources put behind

\textsuperscript{80} Ashford, Lori S. pp. 21
\textsuperscript{81} Qu Geping and Li Jinchang. pp. 3
instructing men and women on how to responsibly control their own fertility, give them faith in a supportive economy and health care system-- to bring more autonomy for their children.

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