

**Political and Economic Considerations Related
to the Formation of Population Policy in
Mainland China 1949-1970
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1. INTRODUCTION

Purpose of this Study

The population problem has been world-wide and urgent in recent years. Almost every government has its own policy toward solving it. However, one fourth of the world's total population is Chinese, and Communist China alone has 97 per cent of the world's Chinese population. Therefore, a study of mainland China's population policy is needed today.

In this study I will focus upon Red China's decision-making process. I would like to divide the time between 1949 and 1970 into 4 periods: (1) 1949-1953 a period of strong rejection of birth control; (2) 1953-1957 a period of birth control debate and policy formation; (3) 1958-1961 a period of sudden halt in birth control; (4) 1962-1970, resumption of birth control.

How the data was Collected

In order to study mainland China, students must first overcome the lack of information. This problem occurs due to the fact that the Communist Chinese regime does not allow any concrete information to leak out of mainland China.

For this study the data was collected from four sources: (1) related Western studies, (2) pamphlets, newspapers and magazines from mainland China, (3) related studies from the Republic of China and Hong Kong, (4) related studies on demographic, social and economic theory.

How the data was analyzed

Since a great portion of data from newspapers or magazines is not related to demographic studies, it was necessary to screen the available data for the purpose. Otherwise, these sources were not worthy of consideration in the demographic sense.

To establish a population policy based on a political and economic situation, it is also necessary to base it on some theory or principle.

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In a communist country any policy depends upon the dogma of Marxian ideology. The Marxist view of population is one of the basic conflicts between Capitalism and Communism. The economic factor also is a very important one. But we should know that in any totalitarian country, the political ideology is the guide for any action. Any policy must stem from its basic ideology. One more thing we must keep in mind is that the Mao regime in mainland China strongly opposes so-called "revisionism" which has been carried out by Soviet Union since Krushchev's time. The Cultural Revolution, which started in 1966, was a movement to attack "revisionism" as well as to change traditional Chinese thought and power struggle.

The major function of the Cultural Revolution was to keep the Marxist and Maoist ideologies in China. One side-effect was that the government closed the College of Arts and the Law school and only opened the College of Natural Science and Technology. The Quotations of Chairman Mao is the only textbook in the so-called "Social University". These facts are presented here to remind readers about the nature of Marxism in Communist China. This is an important postulate for analysis of its population policy.

2. POPULATION GROWTH IN CHINA

Historical Review

In China we find the oldest "census" taking method in the Chou Dynasty (1122 B.C. -255 B.C.) The purposes of the census were: (1) for military use, (2) for manpower management, (3) for tax collections (Ku, 1965 : 3). Every dynasty had its own population record. These records are judged by modern demographers as having some shortcomings, but they still have some value in the sense that they can provide a general picture of the times in which they were written.

In this paper, I would like to present the fact that at the end of every dynasty there was a population problem which eventually led to the overthrow of the government.

Population Growth

In the last two hundred years, Western and Chinese demographers have made more than forty-seven estimates of the Chinese population (Lung 1955 : 167). The difference between the lowest and highest was more than 100 million people. Different demographers used different data or methods in making their own estimates (Chin, 1953 : 8-9). The number of population figures for 1936 (470 million) and 1941 (460 million) were most commonly used (Chin, 1953 : 8).

In October 1949, the Maoist regime "took over" Mainland China. During its earlier occupation the population never exceeded 500 million. Any statistical figures were based upon the record of the Republican Chinese government.

On April 23, 1950, the Liberation Daily (Shanghai) (Quoted from Chin, 1953:9 & 40) announced that the total population figure was 486,571,237. In the Spring of 1953, Communist China prepared for a "general election". It announced the Act of Whole Nation Census on April 3. At the same time it set June 30 as a standard census taking date. The census was finished by the end of March, 1954. On November 1, 1954, the regime announced the total population as 601,938,035 (Kwan, 1961 : 152-153). Not including the population in Taiwan and other nations, Mainland China's population was 582,603,417 (Hung, 1967 : 3).. In 1957 the population figure was 646,530,000 (Hung, 1967 : 3), in 1967 it increased to 707,370,000 (1968 Fei-Chin Year Report, 1969).

The first census of June 30, 1953 was the basic source of information concerning the post-war population of Mainland China. This census has been criticized by scholars both inside and outside Communist China. It was not obtained by house-to-house canvassing; instead, heads of households were required to report to registration stations set up for this purpose (Liu, 1968 : 90).

3. POPULATION THEORY IN CHINA

Confucian Ethic

The Confucian ethic is not oriented to population theory. These classical Chinese ideas, however, are the major stream of the totality of Chinese culture. The Confucian school's attitude toward family size greatly favored a large family. To leave no offspring at the time of one's death was considered one of the three greatest unfilial acts. This concept dominated Chinese behavior for a long time. One Chinese proverb: "Grain is stored against famine just as sons are brought up against old age" is one which can be used to understand the Chinese mind. The Confucian idea is an important ideological factor contributing to a high birth rate (Chandrasekhar, 1967a : 6).

Sons were needed to care for the elderly, since there was no equivalent of the American-type of social security system. Another reason for stressing the raising of sons was to continue the family name and provide worship for departed ancestors, who in turn served as "latent guides" for the family.

Hung's Idea

Hung Liang-chi (1744-1809) is known to Chinese Scholars as a poet, philosopher, historian, and patriot. Recently, he has also been considered a "Chinese Malthus". In 1793, he published his book entitled "Yi-yen". This one volume book contained 20 essays. Two of them, titled "Chih-ping" (peaceful reign) and "Sheng-chi" (livelihood), are relevant (Chen, 1964:17-18). Although Hung had none of Malthus' qualities in manipulating statistics, his formulation of the principle of geometric increase outstripping food production, his idea about the survival of the fittest and his reliance on natural checks, are in agreement with Malthusism (Silberman, 1960: 257 - 265).

Wang's Interpretation

Wang Ya-nan is an economic professor at Amoy University. In 1956 he

published The Marxist Population Theory and China's Population Problem. Chapter two was called "China's population problem and the means of its solution." In this book Wang did not present his own theory. It was only an interpretation of the Marxist population theory. The major function of Wang's book is that at that time it provided a foundation for the Chinese Communist Party. He said, "Whether from the standpoint of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonist ideological struggle, or from the standpoint of eliminating the bourgeois ideology in order to affirm our confidence in construction and practice, we must study China's population problem in accordance with the Marxist population theory and criticize and attack Malthusianism and neo-Malthusianism."

Ma's Report

On July 3, 1957, Ma Yin-ch'u, an economist and President of Peking University delivered a written statement before the fourth session of the First National People's Congress of China on "A New Theory of Population." In actuality, it is not a theory but a report of the population problem in China. Major concerns were:

- (1) China will find it extremely difficult to achieve lasting prosperity unless her population growth is severely curtailed.
- (2) The annual rate of growth is claimed to be 2 per cent, but is probably much higher than 2 per cent.
- (3) Due to better health service, maternal mortality and the death rate among old people are decreasing. Following the change in the social system, most of the monks and nuns have returned to the laity and are married. In the future very few people will become monks and nuns.
- (4) The capital accumulation is not proceeding rapidly enough in China. Since population is huge and net annual additions are large, capital accumulation is small. Though production has increased, national consumption has also increased. The way to increase capital formation is not to reduce consumption but to reduce the number of people.
- (5) However, since our population is too large, it bogs down the speed of

industrialization and prevents us from taking big strides forward.

- (6) Among the increase of 13 million this year, only one million can find jobs in industries, while the other twelve million will have to work in the countryside.
- (7) What we can do is dependent on our own strength and our own accumulation (capital formation). But the ratio between our own accumulation and consumption is 21 per cent to 79 per cent. Can we reduce our consumption (a little) and also increase our accumulation (a little)? Judging by the actual considerations in our country, this is rather dangerous....
- (8) Our national income is rather small and divided into two parts: accumulation and consumption. If accumulation increases, consumption invariably decreases and so it will become unavoidable for the people's livelihood to not be sufficiently taken care of...
- (9) One of the reasons for the Polish and Hungarian incidence is that the government paid attention only to industrialization and not to the needs of the people, changing the people's zeal for industrialization into disappointment in life, and thus causing trouble.
- (10) We now settle the increase of some twelve million surplus people in rural areas; we have no other alternatives, yet side effects are unavoidable. Nowadays, peasants always want to keep a little more of the grain they produce in order to catch up gradually with the standard of urban inhabitants in respect to livelihood requirements. They want to have more edible oil, and thus the supply of edible oil is more urgent than that of grain. They want to wear more new clothes, and thus cloth is in shortage and cloth tickets can fetch only half of their denoted quantity..If such a situation should last long, how dangerous would the outcome be.
- (11) For this reason, if we do not try to solve the population problem at an early date, sooner or later the peasants will change all the favors and kindness they have received into a feeling of despair and discontent though the results may not be the same as that which happened in Poland and Hungary. It will inevitably cause a lot of problems for the government. Hence, I advocate the elevation of peasants' labor

productivity, accumulating capital on the one hand, while controlling population on the other (Ma ,1957 ; Chandrasekher, 1960 : 11-40 & 28-30).

4. POPULATION POINT VIEW OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST REGIME ABOUT POPULATION

Anyone who wants to examine the population policy of Communist China should know that the central theme in Communist population policy stems from Marx's polemic against Malthus. Also one should distinguish between ideological, administrative, or strategic considerations in dealing with Communist policy in any field (Lorimer , 1958 : 214).

Marx's Population Theory

The fierce and systematic critique against the Malthusian theory comes from Marxism. Unfortunately, it is only attacked for its basic views rather than as a law of a socialist society or in connection with a real demographic phenomenon. (Overbeek, 1970 : 123 ; Lorimer, 1958 : 215).

The key concept of Marx's theory of population is relative surplus population. Before we examine Marx's theory, we should have some background about Malthus. As Frank Lorimer pointed out, Malthus enunciated his "Principle of Population" as a polemic against utopian socialism, with an explicit reference to "the speculation of Mr. Goodwin, M. Condorcet, and other writers" in the title of his first essay in 1798. In contrast to the utopian ideal of unlimited human progress through the reform of social institutions, Malthus suggested a universal biological principle as the fundamental course of human misery. He minimized the importance of the relationship between institutions to population trends or economic conditions. His only hope for human progress lay in individualistic competition and prudential mortality (Lorimer, 1958 : 214). The major argument of "Principles of Population" is against "the perfectability of the mass of mankind" (Malthus, 1798 : 17).

The central ideology of Malthusianism is that the power of population is

indefinitely greater than the means to produce subsistence for man. Malthus following this proposition pointed out that population when unchecked, increases in a geometrical ratio and subsistence increases only in an arithmetic ratio (Malthus, 1798 : 13 & 18).

Now let's come back to Marx's relative surplus population (relative overpopulation) theory. Marx criticized Malthus' neglect of political and economic institutions. He agreed that poverty and unemployment, at least in the European society of that period, were an expression of the tendency called "overpopulation" leading to an excess of workers relative to opportunities for employment. Following this argument, relative surplus population is an inherent characteristic of a capitalistic economy. Besides producing relative surplus population, an inevitable result of capitalism, it is also an essential condition of the continued expansion of capitalist economy. Marx says:

"..if a surplus labouring population is a necessary product of accumulation or of the development of wealth on a capitalist basis, this surplus population becomes, conversely, the lever of capitalist mode of production. It forms a disposable industrial reserve army, that belong to capital quite as absolutely as if the latter had bred it at its own cost..." (Meek, 1954:88)

"This reserve army, which embraces an immense multitude during the crisis and a large number during the period which may be regarded as the average between the highest prosperity and the crisis, is the surplus population" of England, which keeps body and soul together by begging, stealing, streetsweeping, collecting manure pushing handcarts, driving donkeys, peddling, or performing occasional small jobs." (Meek, 1954 : 78).

As pointed out by Marx, this surplus population and latent labor resulted from industrial capitalism. However, Marx noted that "overpopulation" according to his definition could not exist in primitive societies or in a Communist State (Lorimer, 1958 : 215). The reason is that:

"But in fact, it is capitalistic accumulation itself that constantly produces, and produces in the direct ratio of its own energy and extent a relatively redundant population of laborers, i.e. a population of greater extent than suffices for the average needs of the self-expansion of capital and therefore a surplus population." (Meek, 1954 : 86)

All Marxist population theories attack the political and economic institutions. Actually, his so-called "Theory of Population" has no relation at all to demographic phenomena. It is simply a proposition in economic theory. Furthermore, that theory was based on a particular period and situation.

The Chinese Communist Party's Population Theory

Generally speaking, the Party has no theory of its own due to the fact that all theory is copied from Marxism. To study this problem we have to examine two types of data: newspapers and magazine articles and some "controlled" scholars' studies. As pointed out by Chandrasekhar, all newspapers (including all publications and voices) are officially controlled (Chandrasekhar, 1960a : 28). This is why these two sources of data are available for this particular purpose. The second point we should remember is that Mao is the head of the Chinese Communist Party. Within this sense, Mao's ideas are important if we are to understand the party's viewpoint.

The First Plenum of China's People Political conference was held on September 21, 1949. In the opening speech before the Conference, Mao mentioned that

"The nation-wide economic construction enterprises which show the conditions extremely favorable to us namely 475 million population, and 9,597 million square kilometer of territory. There are many difficulties before us, but we are firmly convinced: all of these difficulties will be overcome by the heroic struggle of the people of our nation." (People's Daily, September 22, 1949).

Mao declared that China's big population is a favorable condition for socialist economic construction. This ideology is that the productivity of the land can be infinitely increased by the application of capital labor and technology (Meek, 1954 : 58).

In 1949, the American State Department had issued United States Relation With China : With Special Reference to the Period, 1944-1949, Commonly known as White Paper, attributing the Communist takeover of the China Mainland, among other things, to China's overpopulation and the problems attendant upon it.

On September 17, 1949, before the conference, Mao published an unsigned article entitled "Sixth Critique of the White Paper", in the People's

Daily. Mao's response was:

Do revolutions arise from overpopulation? There have been many revolutions, ancient and modern, in China and abroad; and they were all due to overpopulation? Were China's many revolutions in the past few thousand years also due to overpopulation? Ancheson's knowledge of history is nil.

According to Ancheson, China has no way out at all. A population of 475 million constitutes an "unbearable pressure" and revolution or no revolution, the case is hopeless...

It is a very good thing that China has a large population. Even if China's population multiplies many times she is capable of finding a solution: the solution is production. The absurd argument of Western bourgeois economists, like Malthus, that increase in population can not keep pace with increase in production was not only thoroughly refuted in theory by Marxists long ago, but has also been completely exploded by the realities in the Soviet Union and the liberated areas of China after their revolution plus production can solve the problem of feeding the population. We are refuters of Ancheson's counter-revolution theory. (Mao, 1949. People's Daily)

From these words, we get a general picture of Mao's demographic ideology. It gives us an evidence that he obviously ignores fundamental demographic phenomena in China. When Mao visited the Soviet Union in 1950, Stalin advised him that China had too large a population. While a large population has its advantage to socialist construction, Stalin said, it will devour socialism if not handled appropriately. (Chou, 1963 : 19). But Mao did not pay attention to Stalin's warning. The reason is that Mao anxiously wanted to develop Marxism in China, and also wanted to be a "hero" in the history of Communism.

5. GENERAL REVIEW OF MAINLAND CHINA'S ECONOMY

In the past two decades a great many studies of Communist China's economy have been made by Western scholars and governments. Unfortunately most of these studies are based on personal estimation or conjecture. The reason for this is the lack of available data. Even when they have data from mainland China the data is not available for a complete study.

As Liu Ta-chung pointed out, basic Communist Chinese data is inadequate and inaccurate (Liu, 1968 : 87). In this study for understanding the formation of Communist China's population policy, I would like to review some Communist Chinese newspapers, magazines, and some Chinese scholar's studies as my major sources of information.

In this particular study, it is necessary to have a certain amount of understanding about the economy of Communist China. Here I will pay special attention to economic development, economic structure, capital formation, and an analysis of the relationship between the economy and economic policy. I will divide the whole period 1949-1961 into three periods.

1949-1952

Communist China developed its economy by completely following the Russian model. For example, sometimes Communist China devoted great efforts to adopting the Soviet industrial process and spirit in terms of competition.

The first step in this period was the rehabilitation of the machinery of industrial and agricultural production and the restoration of the transportation network. In this period the Communist regime hoped to create a favorable image in order to convince the non-Communist population of the success of Communism. The regime wanted to convince people that it offered peace, order and stability, together with economic progress (Wu, 1960 : 43).

The most radical institutional change during this period was in the agricultural sector. Any change in the rural area was under the banner of land reform. In land reform, the regime need not pay anything to landlords. What the regime did was to give legitimate power to the greater part of the Chinese peasants to overthrow the landlord. According to Mao's ideology which stems from Marx's ideology, the landlord is a capitalist and the peasant is tenant labor. This was a process of land redistribution aimed at giving the Communist Party control over the peasants who constituted the greatest part of the Chinese population.

In the non-agricultural sectors, the principle target of nationalization was the banking system. This change was a very important means to

implement socialism,

In other words, any efforts in the first period were institutional changes rather than economic development. What the regime wanted to do was: (1) make a radical institutional change toward Marxism; (2) create a good image in order to control the peasants; (3) eliminate the so-called "rightists" who constituted a relatively small part of the population.

1953-1957

In 1953 the Communist regime launched the first Five-Year Plan. In this period of Soviet-type planning, industrialization and socialization were expanded. The urban bourgeoisie had already been under attack for one year. Moreover, the Korean armisties left the regime free from all fears of external intervention, and it could concentrate its efforts on economic development.

The Five-Year Plan was successful in terms of a high-rate of investment (approximately 20 per cent of the gross national product) and a 7 per cent average annual rate of increase in the gross national product (Wu, 1960 : 44). This was due to assistance from the Soviet bloc, a lower standard of living, and full use of available resources. As Wu indicated, the level of per capita consumption and the absolute level of per capita income was still low during the period (Wu, 1960 : 44-45).

Although the First Five-Year Plan had the purpose of industrialization and production of goods, and although there was some progress, the regime neglected to raise the output of consumer goods and agricultural production. A high rate of population growth has an urgent need for consumer-goods. A big gap remained between consumer-goods industries and capital-goods industries.

We can find in Ma Yin-ch'u's thesis entitled a "New Theory of Population", some points related to the economy.

1. The population growth rate was approximately 2 per cent per year.
2. The capital accumulation was not fast enough to compare with the annual growth of population.

3. In order to achieve a high speed of industrialization, it is necessary to build more small and medium-sized industries, because small and medium-size industries take in many workers and thereby decrease unemployment.
4. The ratio between accumulation and consumption is 21 per cent to 79 per cent. Can consumption be reduced and capital accumulation increased at the same time?
4. Peasants always want to keep more of the grain they produce, more edible oil, more cloth.

After we review these five points we know the real economic situation in Mainland China. The Communist regime, when formulating the development plans, gave priority to industry instead of agriculture in order to produce capital goods instead of consumer goods. The reason for this is that they followed the Russian model, and the agricultural problem in rural areas was solved by redistributing the land. But they forgot that this free land obtained from the landlord could not support a big population.

1958-1961

Ignorance about a subsistence economy in the first and second periods confronted the Communists with economic problems in 1958. By the end of 1957, the regime's planners had gradually become disillusioned with the Soviet model. They returned to the rural areas. In early 1957, the regime's planners gradually formed a new model, called the "Great Leap Forward". On May 11, 1957, the first signs of this movement appeared. The article appeared in the People's Daily written by a senior Communist named Po I-po. He pointed out that neglecting to pay attention to the existence of a large and rapid population growth had directly affected the volume of labor employment (People's Daily, May 11, 1957).

The idea of the Great Leap Forward program was to employ a large portion of the rural labor force with small national investment to increase capital construction. This labor-intensive approach was applied to small and medium size industry, farming, irrigation, forestation, flood control,

and iron smelting (People's Daily, August 10, 1957). Another reason for implementing the Great Leap Forward was consideration of defence (Wu, 1967).

The Great Leap Forward movement began in 1957 and was reinforced in 1959 and 1968. In order to promote the movement and to intensely use this huge manpower, the Communists started another program called the people's Commune. The commune was a special social organization with multiple purposes such as recruitment of military and labor forces, radical change of traditional social values, and significance. It is an effective instrument in terms of exploitation of labor.

The Great Leap Forward was a complete failure due to the strong resistance against the Commune organization. Another reason for its defeat was that local Communist Officers exaggerated production increases. Both the exaggerated record of production and the real problems that later emerged affected the communist Party's population policy a great deal.

6. THE POPULATION POLICY IN COMMUNIST CHINA: 1949-1970

Any policy is devoted to solving a problem or in planning for the future. The information of a policy is usually based upon subject, object situations, and upon some ideology. Some policies stem from a desire for harmony, and some from a desire to achieve a fixed purpose. Population policy is only one kind of guidance for state administration. Generally, it includes the principles of population redistribution, family and social security, fertility control, marriage and divorce laws, economic aspects of population, etc. (Eldridge, 1954 : v). Here, the study of Communist China's policy will focus upon its fertility or birth control.

In summation I will use some concrete criteria to illustrate the problem of overpopulation in Mainland China.

(1). Arable Land:

The basic problem in China is that there is not enough arable land to provide food for China's population. On June 30, 1951, Liberation Daily (Shanghai) pointed out that in some provinces with high population density each peasant's arable land did not exceed two mou (6.6

mou equal to one acre). (June 30, 1951. Liberation Daily, Quoted from Chin, 1953 : 4). On March 16, 1957 Shanghai Wen Hui Pao stated that during the First Five-Year Plan (1953-1957) only 70 million mou of new arable land was developed during the same period population increased by over 12 million per year (Wen-Hui-Pao, Shanghai, March 16, 1957).

(2). Employment:

Vice Premier Li Fu-chun said in 1957 that at that time the population increase was 13 million, but each could only provide job opportunities for an additional one million (Hsin Hwa Bi-Weekly, peiping. No. 15, 1957 : 36).

(3). Capital Formation:

Ma Yin-ch'u has already pointed out in his "A New Theory of population" that the accumulation of capital was very low. Chung Hui-lan, President of the People's Central Hospital, gave another example: in 1957 the number of new born babies will be 23 million (according to 3.7 per cent fertility rate) and if every baby expended 100 Yuan per year then the total expenditure would be 230 million Yuan. This was four times the amount of 1957's construction Bond (Wen Hui Pao, Shanghai, March 16, 1957).

(4). Living Standard:

The labor's income for the whole state in 1956 and 1957 were 51 and 53 Yuan respectively but during the Great Leap Forward income only increased one Yuan more. (The Great Ten Years, People's Press. Peiping 959 : 191).

In Shanghai, in six and seven years new born babies exceeded all labor in one of the national cotton processing factories (People's Daily, October 9, 1957). The survey showed that there were 609 pregnant workers in the 19 national cotton processing factories. Of this 609, the survey also showed that 17 per cent of the women had only one baby each year and 22 per cent had two babies within a three year period (People's Daily, March 8, 1957).

In Communist China's Capital among the local population of peking,

one survey was carried out by a Health Station (on some streets). Of a total sample of 3,213 families, 20% of the families had more than four children, but their average income per month was only 80 Yuan (Ta Kung Daily, March 8, 1957).

These examples were taken from the industrial labor sector of the population and not from the peasant sector. In Mainland China the living standard of labour in industry is better than that of labour in agriculture.

(5). Population Increase:

Chung Hui-lan also quoted an old Chinese proverb, "One generation is two, ten generations are one thousand," to illustrate the population growth speed (People's Daily, March 17, 1957). Ma Yin-ch'u after his surveys in Chekiang Province, said that the range of population increase rate in that province was 3% to 5%. He pointed out that the first census was not reliable (Ma, 1957 : 34).

(6). Economy:

Wu Ching-chao a prominent Chinese economist, pointed out in 1957 that the rapid increase in population would only bring more consumption and not more accumulation. The limited capital for re-production can only provide for one million job opportunities (Wu, 1957).

The population policy of Communist China from 1949 to the present can be divided, according to events of the birth control campaign, into four periods:

1949-1952: A Period of Strong Rejection of Birth Control

In this period the Chinese Communist regime had just captured the whole of Mainland China. What they wanted to do was to develop Marxism in China, change the whole social-economic structure, and create a good image. They tried to accomplish these ends by redistributing land to peasants.

During this period the major activities of the Communist Party were fully developing Marxism and trying to show the merits of it. Even if the regime had recognized the existence of an overpopulation problem, they

would not have limited the birth rate.

On April 25, 1952 People's Daily condemned birth control as being simply "a means of killing the Chinese without shedding blood". (Chandrasekhar, 1967a : 8-9).

1953-1957 A Period of Birth Control Debate and Policy Formation

A sample survey was conducted between 1952 and 1953, covering 29 cities, 5 counties, and 3 village representing 37 different areas of Mainland China. The survey gave the birth rate as 3.8%, death rate as 1.1%, and a natural increase of 2.7% per annum. These results were first reported in March 1954 (Ta Kung Daily, Tientsin, March 11, 1954).

We can assume that these results had reached the highest level of the Communist Party before August 1953. Based on this assumption, we know why in August 1953, the Executive Council had instructed the Central Ministry of Health to help the people implement birth limitations, and had agreed to the revised Regulations on Contraception and Induced Abortion submitted by the Central Ministry of Health (Chen, 1966 : 63; Hung, 1967 : 69). This was a first sign of the regime softening its attitude toward birth control.

The Communist regime realized a large population existed in Mainland China due to the sample survey (1952-53) and the Preliminary figures--600 million -- announced by Vice-premier Teng Hsiao-p'ing in June 1954 (Kuang 1961 : 153). The Communist authorities were really shocked by the first census. Since then the official attitude on the desirability of a large population was gradually reduced from late 1954. In September 1954, in the first session of the National People's Congress (N.P.C.), there began a debate on the population problem and birth control. The major reason for this dispute was the shortage of food in 1954 (Chandrasekhar, 1967a:8).

The first voice to advocate birth control in terms of the protection of the health of Chinese mothers and children was raised by Deputy Shao Li-tsu in the first session on September 18th (People's Daily, September 19, 1954). According to Shao this tendency had no relation to Malthusian doctrines. However, in this period some Communists still preferred a large population, such as Jo Sui (statistician) and Pai Chien-hua (statistician)

,who published their opinion on August 7 and November 1, 1954 (Aird, 1962:417; Lai, 1965 : 26).

On December 27, 1954, about 57 days after the regime's release of the first census result, Liu Shao-chi convened a conference to discuss the problems relating to birth control. Following the conference, a committee was appointed to study and submit recommendations on ways and means of extending the work of birth control (People's Daily, March 5, 1957). The head of the committee was Lin Feng (China News Analysis, 172 : 1, 1957). This action at this moment revealed how serious and earnest the regime was on the question.

In March 1955, In Ts'ai Ch'ang Party Congress Report, the Party's Central Committee published "Instruction on Birth Control". However, the instructions were not released to the public until 1956. In September 1956, Chou En-lai at the Eighth Party Congress spoke of "appropriate control of birth". (People's Daily, September 26, 1956.)

An open birth control debate in their newspapers and magazines occurs right after Mao Tse-tung gave permission for discussion of birth occurred at the Highest Executive Conference in February 1957. Before this time the discussion was only within the Party and limited groups (Hung,1967:68).

On July 3, 1957 Ma Yin-ch'u delivered his thesis before the National People's Congress on "A New Theory of Population." The Major concept of his thesis was that consumption expenditure is enormous and much national income cannot be saved for capital formation. It is clear that he preferred to use some demographic solution (birth control) to solve the economic problem. His thesis is a very important one in the study of Chinese Mainland's economy. But he was not willing to adopt abortion.

Many Western-trained scholars presented their ideas during late 1956 and 1957, because in 1956 Mao Tse-tung announced that a socialist society could afford to tolerate an exchange of divergent views on major issues and called for open debate and criticism of the government with the slogan: "Let a hundred flowers bloom and let a hundred schools of thought contend!" But by mid-summer 1957, the situation seemed to have gotten out of hand. There were too many noxious weeds among the flowers, it was said, and a "rectification" movement, consisting of accusations, self-examinations, and

public confessions, was started to eradicate them. At last only one flower bloomed and one school of thought still contended. Almost all Western-trained scholars were attacked by the Communist Party. These scholars only served as convenient scapegoats. (Aird, 1962 : 42-46)

1958-1961: A Period of a Sudden Halt in Birth Control

The birth control campaign reached its maximum intensity between December 1957 and March 1958. By the Summer of 1958, the Communist Party's approach to the campaign had completely changed. No official reasons were given for this sudden termination of birth control (Lal, 1965 : 27). According to Hung Yu-chuan, the Communist Party's decision-making was affected by untruthful agricultural production records (Hung, 1967:71). My opinions are: (1) In May of 1957 one Brazilian professor of Geography Castro (Former Head of F.A.O. of United Nations) showed his strong rejection of birth control in Peking. He stated that the adoption of birth control was a kind of surrender to Malthusism (Wen Hui Pao, Shanghai, May 17, 1957). I think that this concept allowed the Chinese Communist Party to give up the birth control campaign. (2) During the Hundred Flowers period (1957-58) Mao wanted to reduce political pressures. Moreover, it can relieve some feelings of frustration toward Communism felt by a great number of scholars. The movement can determine who had "rightist" thoughts. All hundred flower and birth control campaigns were designed to prepare for the typical Marxist ideas of the People's Commune which was introduced in 1958.

During the fifth session of the National People's Congress, on May 5, 1958, Liu Shao-ch' submitted a report for the Central Committee mentioning the Great Leap Forward and also raising the so-called "General Line" of socialist construction (People's Daily, May 27, 1958). Following the period of the "weeding noxious weeds" the birth control campaign and Western-trained scholars were 'weeded'."

1962: Present Resumption of Birth Control

During the three-year Great Leap Forward, mainland China became a net importer of food. The so-called Great Leap Forward became a "Great Slide Backward" in the national economy. Birth control was given back to the

public in late 1962. Two major party newspapers, People's Daily and Ta Kung Pao, published two articles in November and December 1962. (Tien 1963). The first sign of the resumption of the birth control program was the importation of contraceptives in January 1962. (Ta Kung Pao, Hong Kong, January 21, 1962). In April 1962 Chinese Women (a popular magazine) began to talk about birth control (Hung 1962:75).

7. CONCLUSION

To study the decision-making model of Communist China, it is necessary to open one's eyes and mind. One can never get a clear picture of it by only focusing on the policy itself. Many Western scholars wrote articles and theses about Mainland China's population policy, but the studies concentrated on the policy itself. Any policy formation in Communist China is always subordinated to Mao's political ideology and served only a means to achieve the final dreamed-goal of world revolution.

In doing research for this paper, I have collected approximately one-hundred articles, newspapers, theses, and books written by both Chinese and Western scholars. There are two questions for which I have never found answer in these references. They are: "Did Mao really not know an overpopulation problem existed in China in the last two decades?" and "What kind of solutions had Mao already implemented?" Unfortunately many scholars only gave a superficial analysis of Mainland China and Mao's ideas and ambitions.

My new working hypothesis is:

In 1949 Mao knew that overpopulation was a serious problem existing in China since the nineteenth Century. Mao did not use the so-called demographic solutions (birth control, etc.) but instead employed sex-separation, labour-intensive, anti-rightist, etc. as a positive check to solve the existence of the overpopulation problem in China. For example:

(A) Land Reform:

One Chinese scholar in Hong Kong estimated about 40-50 million landlords, rightists, and anti-revolutionaries were killed in the Land Reform Movement in 1949-52 (Chin, 1953:73).

(B) Korean War:

More than one million soldiers in Mao's military strategy of "Sea of people" against the Western "Sea of Fire" lost their lives.

(C) Cultural Revolution:

Millions of the potentially high fertility population --- youth were used by Mao. He obtained these benefits: (a) redistribution of the population, (b) delayed marriage or sex-separation, (c) fighting between Red Guards and the so-called anti-revolutionists which reduced the population to some degree.

This study is not completely finished. It still needs more intensive and extensive study for further analysis. Advanced research is my next step.

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由政治經濟探討中國大陸人口政策的形成 與運用方式策略之研究

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中文摘要

一般研究大陸匪區人口政策的著作，僅注意政策本身的討論，或者僅描述推行節育的方法；而對於自西元1949年到1962年影響其人口政策形成的重大事件與毛匪之陰狠則欠缺描述與分析。

中共一切主要理論與作法，均源自馬克斯的論點，同時中共黨內任何決策均受信奉馬克斯思想的毛匪所主宰。馬克斯認為只有在資本主義社會，才有剩餘人口的問題，這是由於資本主義的政治及經濟制度之不良所造成的；而他認為在社會主義的國家是沒有人口過剩的問題，這便是他所謂的人口理論。西元1949年毛匪確認人多是從事建設的大好條件；既使再多上幾倍也有方法來解決；到了1950年代後期，當人們在談節育時又說了一些人只看到一個人有一張嘴，可是却忘了人還有兩隻手，由此可見毛匪不認為人口過多是問題。

毛匪以為在政治及經濟制度上，澈底依據馬克斯的論點施行於中國大陸，便可解決一切問題。因此在1949-1957年開始推行清算，鬥爭，土改，一切商業農業收歸國有，並採取蘇聯的模式發展工業，使得農業減產與一般人民消費品之匱乏，而造成民怨以及共黨內部對毛匪之不滿。1956年末到1957年夏季，毛匪藉「百花齊放，百家爭鳴」表示願意接受批評來緩和壓力，許多知識份子紛紛表示以節育（人口學的方法）來解決經濟的問題。但最後漸失控制，毛匪遂下令停止，而開始整肅異己，許多受西方訓練的學者都難逃厄運。由於這次整肅使得着手推行的節育運動，突然在1958年夏季停止。接着在1958-1961年大力推行「大躍進」運動，以吸收大量過剩的人口從事苦力式的勞動。由於「大躍進」之失敗，致使中國大陸在1961-1962成為大量糧食輸入地區；因此在1962年不得不恢復節育政策，這是當初一些挨整肅的知識份子所建議的。

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