

POPULATION CONTROL

Findings

- To address demographic concerns and spur population growth, the Chinese Communist Party and government relaxed the family planning policy in 2016 to allow all married couples to have two children. The “universal two-child policy,” however, remained a birth limit policy, and the Commission continued to observe reports of official coercion committed against women and their families during this reporting year. Chinese authorities threatened or imposed punishments on families for illegal pregnancies and births, using methods including heavy fines, job termination, and abortion.
- Chinese authorities implemented the “universal two-child policy” for a fourth consecutive year in 2019, and the latest government statistics showed that the policy’s effect was limited. The National Bureau of Statistics of China data showed that the total number of births in 2018—reportedly the lowest since 1961—dropped by 2 million in comparison to the 2017 figure. This decline is much larger than what some population experts had predicted. In 2018, China’s fertility rate remained around 1.6 births per woman, below the replacement rate of 2.1 births per woman necessary to maintain a stable population. The birth rate was 10.94 per 1,000 persons, reportedly the lowest since 1949 when the People’s Republic of China was founded. The working-age population continued its seventh consecutive decline by 4.7 million, while the elderly population increased by 8.59 million. China’s overall sex ratio in 2018 was 104.64 males to 100 females, and there were approximately 31.64 million more males than females in China.
- This reporting year, central government authorities rejected calls to end birth restrictions, despite population experts and National People’s Congress delegates voicing demographic, economic, and human rights concerns over China’s population control policies. Experts urged the Chinese government to implement policies, including financial incentives and other forms of assistance, to encourage couples to have children. If not adequately addressed, China’s decades-long birth limit policies and resultant demographic challenges could weaken China’s economy and political stability.
- The Chinese government’s restrictive family planning policies have exacerbated China’s sex ratio imbalance, which reportedly has fueled the demand for foreign women and resulted in human trafficking for forced marriage and commercial sexual exploitation.
- Four decades of China’s population control policies combined with a traditional preference for sons may have encouraged a black market for illegal adoptions. This past year, the Commission observed a new trend in which pregnant foreign women sold their newborn children in China for illegal adoption.
- One former mass internment camp detainee in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) alleged that authorities sterilized her without her knowledge while she was in detention. Two former detainees reported that camp authorities

Population Control

forced female detainees to take unknown medications and injected them with unknown substances, after which the women ceased menstruating.

Recommendations

Members of the U.S. Congress and Administration officials are encouraged to:

- Highlight the looming demographic challenges currently facing China in bilateral meetings with Chinese government officials—including a rapidly aging population, shrinking workforce, and sex ratio imbalance; and emphasize that these demographic trends could harm China's economy if not addressed in a timely manner by ending as soon as possible all birth restrictions imposed on families.
- Use authorities provided in the Foreign Relations Authorization Act of 2000 (Public Law No. 106–113) and the Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act (Public Law No. 114–328) to deny entry into the United States and impose sanctions against Chinese officials who have been directly involved in the formulation, implementation, or enforcement of China's coercive family planning policies, including those who have forced men and women to undergo sterilizations and abortions.
- Call on China's central and local governments to vigorously enforce provisions of Chinese law that provide for punishment of officials and other individuals who engage in these abuses.
- Publicly link, with supporting evidence, the sex ratio imbalance exacerbated by China's population control policies with regional humanitarian and security concerns—human trafficking, crime, increased internal and external migration, and other possible serious social, economic, and political problems—and discuss and address these issues in bilateral and multilateral dialogues.
- Call on officials in the XUAR to address allegations of the forced sterilization of mass internment camp detainees; and call on officials to respond to accounts that authorities subjected female camp detainees to the forced injection of unknown substances and forced ingestion of unknown medication that disrupted their menstrual cycles.

POPULATION CONTROL

International Standards and China's Coercive Population Policies

During the Commission's 2019 reporting year, Chinese authorities continued to implement coercive population control policies that violate international standards. Starting in 2016, the Chinese Communist Party and government relaxed birth restrictions and implemented the "universal two-child policy."¹ The "universal two-child policy," however, continued to impose birth limits as the PRC Population and Family Planning Law and provincial-level regulations restrict married couples to having two children.² Exceptions allowing for additional children exist for couples who meet certain criteria, which vary by province, including some exceptions for ethnic minorities,³ remarried couples, and couples who have children with disabilities.⁴ Despite population experts and National People's Congress delegates voicing their concerns over China's population policy on demographic and human rights grounds, central government authorities rejected calls to end birth limits during this reporting year.⁵ Local-level officials reportedly continued to enforce compliance with family planning policies using methods including heavy fines,⁶ job termination,⁷ and coerced abortion.⁸

Coercive controls imposed on women and their families, as well as additional abuses engendered by China's population and family planning system, violate standards set forth in the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and the 1994 Programme of Action of the Cairo International Conference on Population and Development.⁹ China was a state participant in the negotiation and adoption of both documents.¹⁰ Acts of official coercion committed in the implementation of population control policies also contravene provisions of the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment,¹¹ which China has ratified.¹²

Coercive Implementation and Punishment for Noncompliance

During the Commission's 2019 reporting year, the Commission continued to observe reports of coercive enforcement of family planning policies. The PRC Population and Family Planning Law contains provisions that prohibit officials from infringing upon the "legitimate rights and interests" of citizens while implementing family planning policies.¹³ Some provincial-level population planning regulations, however, continued to explicitly instruct officials to carry out abortions—often referred to as "remedial measures" (*bujiu cuoshi*)—for unsanctioned pregnancies.¹⁴ Some local government authorities emphasized in official reports the need to prevent and control illegal pregnancies and births, and instructed family planning officials to carry out the invasive "three inspections" (intra-uterine device (IUD), pregnancy, and health inspections) and "four procedures" (IUD insertion, first trimester abortion, mid- to late-term abortion, and sterilization).¹⁵ For example, a government report from Dalu township, Qionghai city, Hainan province, stated that local authorities carried out in total 264 "four procedures" operations in 2018.¹⁶ The same report also touted that local authorities had a success rate of 83 percent in detecting pregnancies with-

Population Control

in the first six months of the gestation period and reached 100.5 percent of their family planning work targets.¹⁷

Chinese authorities also continued to use various methods of punishment to enforce citizens' compliance with family planning policies. In accordance with national-level legal provisions,¹⁸ local provisions and governments have directed officials to punish non-compliance through heavy fines, termed "social compensation fees" (*shehui fuyang fei*), which are often much greater than the average annual income in localities across China.¹⁹ In addition to fines, officials imposed or threatened other punishments for family planning violations that included job termination²⁰ and abortion.²¹ The PRC Population and Family Planning Law prohibits, and provides punishments for, infringement by officials on citizens' personal, property, and other rights while implementing family planning policies.²²

CASES OF COERCION

In March 2019, authorities in Yuncheng district, Yunfu municipality, Guangdong province, reportedly dismissed a female public school teacher, surnamed Xie, from her job for giving birth to a third child in violation of China's two-child policy.²³ Earlier in December 2018, authorities also dismissed Xie's husband from his job, reportedly leaving the family in a dire financial situation.²⁴ Xie became pregnant in June 2018, and local authorities from various government agencies pressured her—a total of 14 times—to terminate her pregnancy or face losing her job.²⁵ Xie refused and gave birth to her third child in January 2019.²⁶ She argued that authorities' administrative actions were illegal and violated several provincial and national laws and regulations.²⁷ As of June 2019, the Commission had not observed any update on the case.

According to Chinese and international reports, shortly before the lunar new year in January 2019, local authorities in Chengwu county, Heze municipality, Shandong province, froze the financial accounts and work pay of a couple surnamed Wang, because they had failed to pay "social compensation fees" in the amount of 64,626 yuan (approximately US\$9,500).²⁸ The couple, however, had approximately 23,000 yuan (approximately US\$3,300) in their accounts, with the remaining balance still due.²⁹ Authorities had fined the couple for the January 2017 birth of their third child, which violated national law and local family planning regulations.³⁰ The Wangs were reportedly in a dire financial situation as a result of the account freeze.³¹

Report of Forced Sterilization in Mass Internment Camps in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR)

Mihrigul Tursun. According to international media, authorities in the XUAR forcibly sterilized ethnic Uyghur Mihrigul Tursun without her knowledge while she was detained in a mass internment camp in the XUAR. Authorities detained Tursun three times in mass internment camps and other facilities, for a total of 10 months.³² Tursun said authorities at a mass internment camp where she was held forced her and other detainees to swallow unknown pills and drink “some kind of white liquid,” and injected them with unknown substances.³³ According to Tursun, the white liquid halted menstruation in some detainees and caused severe bleeding in others.³⁴ Following her release from custody³⁵ and arrival in the United States, doctors confirmed that she had been sterilized.³⁶ Gulbahar Jelilova, an ethnic Uyghur woman detained in a mass internment camp in the XUAR, also said that doctors repeatedly injected female detainees with an unknown substance that stopped their menstruation.³⁷

The Universal Two-Child Policy

To address demographic challenges facing China, the Party and government implemented the “universal two-child policy” in 2016 to boost population growth,³⁸ but government statistics showed that the policy’s effect was limited. In 2016, the former National Health and Family Planning Commission had predicted that the universal two-child policy would result in population growth,³⁹ with an estimated total of 17.5 to 21 million children born per year during the 13th Five-Year Plan period (2016–2020).⁴⁰ According to a January 2019 National Bureau of Statistics of China (NBS) report, however, the number of total births in 2018 was 15.23 million—reportedly the lowest since 1961⁴¹—showing a decline of 2 million births in comparison to the 2017 figure of 17.23 million.⁴² This decline is much larger than the range of 300,000 to 800,000 annual drop that some population experts predicted.⁴³ Yi Fuxian, a prominent U.S.-based demographic expert, disagreed with the official NBS report and suggested that the total births in 2018 may have been as low as 10.3 million.⁴⁴

Some experts argued that the universal two-child policy did have a short-term effect of encouraging births and stabilizing the birth rate.⁴⁵ This effect was evidenced by the one-time increase of 1.31 million births in 2016, and in the first few years of the “universal two-child policy,” over 50 percent of new births reportedly were second children.⁴⁶ Experts noted, however, that these phenomena were likely caused by a temporary “pile-up effect,” as many women nearing the end of their childbearing age rushed to give birth to a second child after the two-child policy became effective in 2016.⁴⁷ As this “pile-up effect” is unsustainable, experts predicted that beginning in 2018, the annual newborn population would rapidly decline further.⁴⁸ Some experts attributed the decline in births to the shrinking number of women of childbearing age⁴⁹ and the reluctance on the part of many married couples to have children owing to concerns such as the high cost of rearing a child,⁵⁰ the lack of

Population Control

adequate child care and education options,⁵¹ and the potential disruption to career development.⁵²

As the “universal two-child policy” failed to boost population growth for a second consecutive year, population experts and National People’s Congress (NPC) delegates, citing demographic and economic challenges, as well as human rights concerns, called on the Chinese government to end all birth restrictions imposed on Chinese families. Experts noted that China’s decades-long birth limit policies and resultant demographic challenges, which include a rapidly aging population and a shrinking workforce, could weaken China’s economy and political stability.⁵³ Falling fertility in the past two years shows that the existing universal two-child policy may not adequately mitigate China’s demographic challenges, causing experts and NPC delegates to call on Chinese authorities to abolish all birth restrictions.⁵⁴ Experts also warned that even if all birth restrictions are removed, it may not stop the trend of a falling birth rate and population decline, especially if it is not supplemented by policies that encourage births.⁵⁵ Experts urged the Chinese government to provide financial incentives, such as tax breaks, subsidies, and other forms of assistance to encourage couples to have more children.⁵⁶

In addition to demographic concerns, some experts also emphasized that Chinese government authorities should respect and protect citizens’ human rights and not intrude on their private reproductive lives.⁵⁷ In an August 2018 China Daily interview, Zhang Juwei, Director of the Institute of Population and Labor Economics at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, said that it is “inappropriate” to control population size for the sake of “boosting economic and social development . . . because reproductive rights are the fundamental rights of families.”⁵⁸

This past year, central government authorities rejected calls to end all birth restrictions imposed on Chinese families. In a written statement posted in January 2019, the National Health Commission (NHC) rejected an NPC recommendation of abolishing the birth limit policy, stating that “it is not appropriate to immediately and completely remove the ‘family planning [policy],’” as it is still a law and policy mandated in China’s Constitution.⁵⁹ In a separate response to the NPC, the NHC reiterated that Chinese family planning authorities will continue to impose “social compensation fees” on couples who violate the two-child policy.⁶⁰

Demographic and Humanitarian Consequences of Population Control Policies

Four decades of population control policies have exacerbated China’s demographic challenges, which include a rapidly aging population, shrinking workforce, and sex ratio imbalance. Affected in recent decades by government restrictions on the number of births per couple, China’s total fertility rate has dropped from approximately 3 births per woman in the late 1970s⁶¹ to an estimated 1.6 births per woman in 2018, below the replacement rate of 2.1 births per woman necessary to maintain a stable population.⁶² Some reports suggested that the fertility rate in 2018 may have been as low as 1.02 births per woman.⁶³ In addition, the National Bureau of Statistics of China (NBS) reported that China’s birth rate in

Population Control

2018 was 10.94 per 1,000 persons in the population, reportedly the lowest since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949.⁶⁴

China's low fertility rate and birth rate have contributed to a rapidly aging population and a shrinking workforce. According to the NBS, from 2017 to 2018, China's working-age population (persons between the ages of 16 and 59) declined by 4.7 million to 897.29 million, continuing a downward trend for a seventh consecutive year.⁶⁵ During the same period, the elderly population (persons aged 60 or older) increased by 8.59 million in 2018 to 249.49 million, or 17.9 percent of the total population.⁶⁶ According to the State Council National Population Development Plan (2016–2030), China's working-age population is expected to decline rapidly from 2021 to 2030, while the elderly population will increase markedly during the same period and is predicted to reach a quarter of the population by 2030.⁶⁷ By 2050, the elderly population is expected to account for approximately one-third of China's total population,⁶⁸ while the working-age population is expected to decrease by 200 million.⁶⁹ These demographic trends reportedly may burden China's healthcare, social services, and pension systems,⁷⁰ and could bring adverse effects to China's economy.⁷¹

The Chinese government's restrictive family planning policies have also exacerbated China's sex ratio imbalance, which reportedly fueled the demand for foreign women and contributed to human trafficking. Although Chinese authorities continued to implement a ban on "non-medically necessary sex determination and sex-selective abortion,"⁷² some people reportedly continued the practice in keeping with a traditional cultural preference for sons.⁷³ According to a January 2019 NBS report, China's overall sex ratio in 2018 was 104.64 males to 100 females, and there were approximately 31.64 million more males than females in China (713.51 million males to 681.87 million females).⁷⁴ The NBS reported that the sex ratio at birth (SRB) in 2015 was 113.51 males to 100 females,⁷⁵ but it did not provide statistics on the SRB since 2016 when the universal two-child policy was implemented.⁷⁶ Demographic experts have long expressed concerns that the sex ratio imbalance in China could lead to an increase in crime,⁷⁷ trafficking of women,⁷⁸ and social instability.⁷⁹ This past year, international media reports continued to suggest a link between China's sex ratio imbalance and the trafficking of foreign women—from countries including Burma (Myanmar), Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Pakistan, and Vietnam—into China for forced marriage or commercial sexual exploitation.⁸⁰ [For more information on cross-border trafficking, see Section II—Human Trafficking.]

Decades of birth limits under China's population control policies combined with a traditional preference for sons may also have encouraged a black market for illegal adoptions.⁸¹ This reporting year, the Commission observed a new trend in which foreign women sold their newborn children in China for illegal adoption.⁸² According to Vietnamese news media reports, Vietnamese authorities detained and investigated individuals suspected of moving pregnant women across the border into China to sell newborn children.⁸³ In the Vietnamese province of Nghe An alone, there were at least 27 pregnant women who had traveled to China to sell their

Population Control

newborns in 2018.⁸⁴ [For inconsistencies in the definition of “human trafficking” between Chinese law and international standards, see Section II—Human Trafficking.]

Notes to Section II—Population Control

¹National Health and Family Planning Commission, “2016 nian 12 yue 12 ri Guojia Weisheng Jishengwei lixing xinwen fabuhui wenzi shilu” [National Health and Family Planning Commission regular press conference text record], December 12, 2016; *Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Renkou Yu Jihua Shengyu Fa* [PRC Population and Family Planning Law], passed December 29, 2001, amended December 27, 2015, effective January 1, 2016, art. 18.

²*Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Renkou Yu Jihua Shengyu Fa* [PRC Population and Family Planning Law], passed December 29, 2001, amended December 27, 2015, effective January 1, 2016, art. 18. Article 18 of the Population and Family Planning Law provides that “the state advocates two children per married couple.” For provincial population regulations that require couples be married to have children and limit them to bearing two children, see, e.g., Fujian Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, *Fujian Sheng Renkou Yu Jihua Shengyu Tiaoli* [Fujian Province Population and Family Planning Regulations], issued April 29, 1988, amended November 24, 2017, arts. 8, 12; Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region People’s Congress Standing Committee, *Guangxi Zhuangzu Zizhiqu Renkou He Jihua Shengyu Tiaoli* [Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region Population and Family Planning Regulations], issued March 23, 2012, effective June 1, 2012, amended January 15, 2016, art. 13.

³See, e.g., Fujian Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, *Fujian Sheng Renkou Yu Jihua Shengyu Tiaoli* [Fujian Province Population and Family Planning Regulations], issued April 29, 1988, amended November 24, 2017, art. 9(4)–(5); Heilongjiang Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, *Heilongjiang Sheng Renkou Yu Jihua Shengyu Tiaoli* [Heilongjiang Province Population and Family Planning Regulations], issued October 18, 2002, effective January 1, 2003, amended April 21, 2016, art. 13.

⁴For provincial population planning provisions that allow these exceptions for having an additional child, see, e.g., Fujian Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, *Fujian Sheng Renkou Yu Jihua Shengyu Tiaoli* [Fujian Province Population and Family Planning Regulations], issued April 29, 1988, amended November 24, 2017, art. 9(1)–(3); Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region People’s Congress Standing Committee, *Guangxi Zhuangzu Zizhiqu Renkou He Jihua Shengyu Tiaoli* [Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region Population and Family Planning Regulations], issued March 23, 2012, effective June 1, 2012, amended January 15, 2016, art. 14(1)–(5); Jiangxi Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, *Jiangxi Sheng Renkou Yu Jihua Shengyu Tiaoli* [Jiangxi Province Population and Family Planning Regulations], issued June 16, 1990, amended January 20, 2016, art. 9(2)–(3).

⁵National Health Commission, “Dui Shisan Jie Renda Yici Huiyi di 1949 hao jianyi de dafu” [Reply to 13th NPC First Session’s suggestion no. 1949], January 8, 2019; “Zhongguo shengyu lu quanqiu dao shu quanmian kaifang reng yaoyao wuqi (xia)” [China’s fertility rate lowest in the world, is the end of family planning policy still distant? (part 2)], *Radio Free Asia*, January 25, 2019; Christopher Bodeen, “China’s Leaders Want More Babies, but Local Officials Resist,” *Associated Press*, February 19, 2019.

⁶See, e.g., Michelle Wong, “China’s Two-Child Policy Under Fire as Parents’ Bank Account Frozen for Having Third Child,” *South China Morning Post*, February 14, 2019; Luo Fa, “Zhongguo yan’ge shixing er tai zhengce Shandong fufu sheng san tai zao fa” [China strictly implements two-child policy, Shandong couple punished for giving birth to a third child], *Deutsche Welle*, February 18, 2019.

⁷See, e.g., Dashan, “Guangdong: nu jiaoshi san tai, fuqi shuangshuang kaichu, 3 ge haizi 4 ge laoren, juejing” [Guangdong: female teacher had three children, husband and wife both fired, 3 children and 4 elderly family members in dire situation], *China 50 Plus*, April 3, 2019. See also Xie Zhengling, “Huai di san hai bei citui” [Fired for bearing a third child], *Worker Online, Southern Daily*, January 10, 2019.

⁸See, e.g., Dashan, “Guangdong: nu jiaoshi san tai, fuqi shuangshuang kaichu, 3 ge haizi 4 ge laoren, juejing” [Guangdong: female teacher had three children, husband and wife both fired, 3 children and 4 elderly family members in dire situation], *China 50 Plus*, April 3, 2019. See also Xie Zhengling, “Huai di san hai bei citui” [Fired for bearing a third child], *Worker Online, Southern Daily*, January 10, 2019.

⁹Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women on September 15, 1995, and endorsed by UN General Assembly resolution 50/203 on December 22, 1995, Annex I, paras. 9, 17. The Beijing Declaration states that governments which participated in the Fourth World Conference on Women reaffirmed their commitment to “[e]nsure the full implementation of the human rights of women and of the girl child as an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of all human rights and fundamental freedoms” (Annex I, para. 9) and “[t]he explicit recognition and reaffirmation of the right of all women to control all aspects of their health, in particular their own fertility, is basic to their empowerment” (Annex I, para. 17). Programme of Action adopted by the Cairo International Conference on Population and Development on September 13, 1994, paras. 7.2, 8.25. Paragraph 7.2 states, “Reproductive health therefore implies that people . . . have the capability to reproduce and the freedom to decide if, when and how often to do so. Implicit in this last condition are the right of men and women to be informed and to have access to safe, effective, affordable and acceptable methods of family planning of their choice . . .” Paragraph 8.25 states, “In no case should abortion be promoted as a method of family planning.” For coercive controls imposed on Chinese women and their families, see, e.g., Sha Heshang de Weibo (@Shaheshangdeweibo01), “Guangdong Yufun shi nuzi sheng san tai, fuqi shuangshuang bei kaichu” [A woman in Yunfu municipality, Guangdong, gave birth to three children, husband and wife both dismissed from jobs], Weibo post, March 26, 2019; Michelle Wong, “China’s Two-Child Policy Under Fire as Parents’ Bank Account Frozen for Having Third Child,” *South China Morning Post*, February 14, 2019.

¹⁰United Nations, Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women, A/CONF.177/20/Rev.1, September 15, 1995, chap. II, para. 3; chap. VI, para. 12. China was one of the participating

Population Control

States at the Fourth World Conference on Women, which adopted the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. United Nations Population Information Network, Report of the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), A/CONF.171/13, October 18, 1994, 271. China was one of the participating States at the ICPD, which reached a general agreement on the Programme of Action.

¹¹Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 39/46 of December 10, 1984, entry into force June 26, 1987, art. 1; UN Committee against Torture, Concluding Observations on the Fifth Periodic Report of China, adopted by the Committee at its 1391st and 1392nd Meetings (2–3 December 2015), CAT/C/CHN/CO/5, February 3, 2016, para. 51. In 2016, the UN Committee against Torture noted its concern regarding “reports of coerced sterilization and forced abortions, and . . . the lack of information on the number of investigations into such allegations . . . [and] the lack of information regarding redress provided to victims of past violations.” For acts of coercion committed in the implementation of population planning policies, see, e.g., Dashan, “Guangdong: nu jiaoshi san tai, fuqi shuangshuang kaichu, 3 ge haizi 4 ge laoren, juejing” [Guangdong: female teacher had three children, husband and wife both fired, 3 children and 4 elderly family members in dire situation], *China 50 Plus*, April 3, 2019. See also Xie Zhengling, “Huai di san hai bei citui” [Fired for bearing a third child], *Worker Online, Southern Daily*, January 10, 2019; Luo Fa, “Zhongguo yan ge shixing er tai zhengce Shandong fufu sheng san tai zao fa” [China strictly implements two-child policy, Shandong couple punished for giving birth to a third child], *Deutsche Welle*, February 18, 2019.

¹²United Nations Treaty Collection, Chapter IV, Human Rights, Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, accessed May 14, 2019. China signed the Convention on December 12, 1986, and ratified it on October 4, 1988.

¹³*Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Renkou Yu Jihua Shengyu Fa* [PRC Population and Family Planning Law], passed December 29, 2001, amended December 27, 2015, effective January 1, 2016, arts. 4, 39.

¹⁴He Yafu, “Cha dian bei duotai de Deng Chao he Zhao Ruirui” [Deng Chao and Zhao Ruirui who were almost aborted], *CNPOP*, February 9, 2014. For examples of provincial-level population planning regulations instructing officials to carry out abortions, see Jiangxi Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, *Jiangxi Sheng Renkou Yu Jihua Shengyu Tiaoli* [Jiangxi Province Population and Family Planning Regulations], issued June 16, 1990, amended and effective May 31, 2018, art. 15; Hubei Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, *Hubei Sheng Renkou Yu Jihua Shengyu Tiaoli* [Hubei Province Population and Family Planning Regulations], issued December 1, 2002, amended and effective January 13, 2016, art. 12.

¹⁵See, e.g., “Chen Zhongyi zai Xide xian ducha tuo pin gong jian shi qiangdiao: jia kuai anquan zhufang jianshe zhua hao tuchu wenti zhenggai qianfang baiji quebao wancheng niandu jian pin renwu” [Chen Zhongyi inspects [work] on poverty alleviation in Xide county and emphasizes: accelerate construction of safe housing, focus on rectification of problems, use all means necessary to ensure completion of annual poverty alleviation tasks], *Liangshan Daily*, reprinted in Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture Poverty and Immigration Bureau, November 16, 2018; Ju’nan County People’s Government, “Laopo Zhen Jisheng Ban gongzuo zhize” [Laopo Township Family Planning Office job responsibilities], November 27, 2018; Dalu Township People’s Government, “Dalu zhen 2018 niandu zhengfu gongzuo baogao” [Dalu township 2018 government work report], reprinted in Qionghai Municipal People’s Government, January 23, 2019. See also Ma Jian, Women’s Rights in China, “Nongcun jihua shengyu zhong de ‘san cha’ qingkuang diaocha” [Investigation into the “three inspections” of rural family planning], reprinted in *Boxun*, April 15, 2009; Yu Han, “Jihua shengyu qiangzhi jiezha renliu hai ku le Zhongguo ren” [Chinese people suffer from family planning [policy’s] forced sterilizations and abortions], *Tencent*, June 15, 2012.

¹⁶Dalu Township People’s Government, “Dalu zhen 2018 niandu zhengfu gongzuo baogao” [Dalu township 2018 government work report], reprinted in Qionghai Municipal People’s Government, January 23, 2019.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸State Council, *Shehui Fuyang Fei Zhengshou Guanli Banfa* [Measures for Administration of Collection of Social Compensation Fees], issued August 2, 2002, effective September 1, 2002, arts. 3, 7; *Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Renkou Yu Jihua Shengyu Fa* [PRC Population and Family Planning Law], passed December 29, 2001, amended December 27, 2015, effective January 1, 2016, arts. 18, 41.

¹⁹For a list of provincial-level provisions that mandate collection of “social compensation fees,” see “2018 nian shehui fuyang fei zhengshou biao zhun yu zui xin guiding” [2018 social compensation fee collection standards and newest provisions], *Shebao Chaxun Wang*, January 15, 2018. For an example of a local government that collected or demanded collection of “social compensation fees” during this reporting year, see, e.g., Luo Fa, “Zhongguo yan ge shixing er tai zhengce Shandong fufu sheng san tai zao fa” [China strictly implements two-child policy, Shandong couple punished for giving birth to a third child], *Deutsche Welle*, February 18, 2019. “Social compensation fees” are also known as “social maintenance fees.”

²⁰See, e.g., Dashan, “Guangdong: nu jiaoshi san tai, fuqi shuangshuang kaichu, 3 ge haizi 4 ge laoren, juejing” [Guangdong: female teacher had three children, husband and wife both fired, 3 children and 4 elderly family members in dire situation], *China 50 Plus*, April 3, 2019. See also Xie Zhengling, “Huai di san hai bei citui” [Fired for bearing a third child], *Worker Online, Southern Daily*, January 10, 2019.

²¹See, e.g., Dashan, “Guangdong: nu jiaoshi san tai, fuqi shuangshuang kaichu, 3 ge haizi 4 ge laoren, juejing” [Guangdong: female teacher had three children, husband and wife both fired, 3 children and 4 elderly family members in dire situation], *China 50 Plus*, April 3, 2019. See also Xie Zhengling, “Huai di san hai bei citui” [Fired for bearing a third child], *Worker Online, Southern Daily*, January 10, 2019.

Population Control

²²*Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Renkou Yu Jihua Shengyu Fa* [PRC Population and Family Planning Law], passed December 29, 2001, amended December 27, 2015, effective January 1, 2016, arts. 4, 39(1)–(2). Article 4 of the PRC Population and Family Planning Law states that officials “shall perform their family planning work duties strictly in accordance with the law, and enforce the law in a civil manner, and they may not infringe upon the legitimate rights and interests of citizens.” Article 39 states that an official is subject to criminal or administrative punishment if he “infringe[s] on a citizen’s personal rights, property rights, or other legitimate rights and interests” or “abuse[s] his power, neglect[s] his duty, or engage[s] in malpractice for personal gain” in the implementation of family planning policies.

²³Dashan, “Guangdong: nu jiaoshi san tai, fuqi shuangshuang kaichu, 3 ge haizi 4 ge laoren, juejing” [Guangdong: female teacher had three children, husband and wife both fired, 3 children and 4 elderly family members in dire situation], *China 50 Plus*, April 3, 2019. See also Xie Zhengling, “Huai di san hai bei citui” [Fired for bearing a third child], *Worker Online, Southern Daily*, January 10, 2019.

²⁴Dashan, “Guangdong: nu jiaoshi san tai, fuqi shuangshuang kaichu, 3 ge haizi 4 ge laoren, juejing” [Guangdong: female teacher had three children, husband and wife both fired, 3 children and 4 elderly family members in dire situation], *China 50 Plus*, April 3, 2019. See also Xie Zhengling, “Huai di san hai bei citui” [Fired for bearing a third child], *Worker Online, Southern Daily*, January 10, 2019.

²⁵Dashan, “Guangdong: nu jiaoshi san tai, fuqi shuangshuang kaichu, 3 ge haizi 4 ge laoren, juejing” [Guangdong: female teacher had three children, husband and wife both fired, 3 children and 4 elderly family members in dire situation], *China 50 Plus*, April 3, 2019. See also Xie Zhengling, “Huai di san hai bei citui” [Fired for bearing a third child], *Worker Online, Southern Daily*, January 10, 2019.

²⁶Dashan, “Guangdong: nu jiaoshi san tai, fuqi shuangshuang kaichu, 3 ge haizi 4 ge laoren, juejing” [Guangdong: female teacher had three children, husband and wife both fired, 3 children and 4 elderly family members in dire situation], *China 50 Plus*, April 3, 2019.

²⁷*Ibid.*

²⁸“Shandong cunmin sheng san hai wei jiao shehui fuyang fei Weixin lingqian bei dongjie, cun ganbu: ta jia jingji tiaojian bing bu hao” [Shandong villager had three children but did not pay social compensation fees, WeChat cash account frozen, village official said his family’s financial situation not good], *Jiemiao*, reprinted in *Guancha Net*, February 13, 2019; Luo Fa, “Zhongguo yan’ge shixing er tai zhengce Shandong fufu sheng san tai zao fa” [China strictly implements two-child policy, Shandong couple punished for giving birth to a third child], *Deutsche Welle*, February 18, 2019; Michelle Wong, “China’s Two-Child Policy Under Fire as Parents’ Bank Account Frozen for Having Third Child,” *South China Morning Post*, February 14, 2019; Christopher Bodeen, “China’s Leaders Want More Babies, but Local Officials Resist,” *Associated Press*, February 19, 2019.

²⁹Christopher Bodeen, “China’s Leaders Want More Babies, but Local Officials Resist,” *Associated Press*, February 19, 2019; “Shandong cunmin sheng san hai wei jiao shehui fuyang fei Weixin lingqian bei dongjie, cun ganbu: ta jia jingji tiaojian bing bu hao” [Shandong villager had three children but did not pay social compensation fees, WeChat cash account frozen, village official said his family’s financial situation not good], *Jiemiao*, reprinted in *Guancha Net*, February 13, 2019; Luo Fa, “Zhongguo yan’ge shixing er tai zhengce Shandong fufu sheng san tai zao fa” [China strictly implements two-child policy, Shandong couple punished for giving birth to a third child], *Deutsche Welle*, February 18, 2019; Michelle Wong, “China’s Two-Child Policy Under Fire as Parents’ Bank Account Frozen for Having Third Child,” *South China Morning Post*, February 14, 2019.

³⁰“Shandong cunmin sheng san hai wei jiao shehui fuyang fei Weixin lingqian bei dongjie, cun ganbu: ta jia jingji tiaojian bing bu hao” [Shandong villager had three children but did not pay social compensation fees, WeChat cash account frozen, village official said his family’s financial situation not good], *Jiemiao*, reprinted in *Guancha Net*, February 13, 2019; Luo Fa, “Zhongguo yan’ge shixing er tai zhengce Shandong fufu sheng san tai zao fa” [China strictly implements two-child policy, Shandong couple punished for giving birth to a third child], *Deutsche Welle*, February 18, 2019; Michelle Wong, “China’s Two-Child Policy Under Fire as Parents’ Bank Account Frozen for Having Third Child,” *South China Morning Post*, February 14, 2019; Christopher Bodeen, “China’s Leaders Want More Babies, but Local Officials Resist,” *Associated Press*, February 19, 2019.

³¹“Shandong cunmin sheng san hai wei jiao shehui fuyang fei Weixin lingqian bei dongjie, cun ganbu: ta jia jingji tiaojian bing bu hao” [Shandong villager had three children but did not pay social compensation fees, WeChat cash account frozen, village official said his family’s financial situation not good], *Jiemiao*, reprinted in *Guancha Net*, February 13, 2019; Luo Fa, “Zhongguo yan’ge shixing er tai zhengce Shandong fufu sheng san tai zao fa” [China strictly implements two-child policy, Shandong couple punished for giving birth to a third child], *Deutsche Welle*, February 18, 2019; Michelle Wong, “China’s Two-Child Policy Under Fire as Parents’ Bank Account Frozen for Having Third Child,” *South China Morning Post*, February 14, 2019; Christopher Bodeen, “China’s Leaders Want More Babies, but Local Officials Resist,” *Associated Press*, February 19, 2019.

³²*The Communist Party’s Crackdown on Religion in China, Hearing of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China*, 115th Cong. (2018) (testimony of Mihrigul Tursun, Uyghur Muslim detained in Chinese mass internment camp), 1–2, 5; Shosuke Kato and Kenji Kawase, “Xinjiang: What China Shows World vs. What Former Detainee Describes,” *Nikkei Asian Review*, August 10, 2019.

³³*The Communist Party’s Crackdown on Religion in China, Hearing of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China*, 115th Cong. (2018) (testimony of Mihrigul Tursun, Uyghur Muslim detained in Chinese mass internment camp), 4, 5, 7; Shosuke Kato and Kenji Kawase, “Xinjiang: What China Shows World vs. What Former Detainee Describes,” *Nikkei Asian Review*, August 10, 2019.

Population Control

³⁴*The Communist Party's Crackdown on Religion in China, Hearing of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China*, 115th Cong. (2018) (testimony of Mihrigul Tursun, Uyghur Muslim detained in Chinese mass internment camp), 4.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 5.

³⁶Shosuke Kato and Kenji Kawase, "Xinjiang: What China Shows World vs. What Former Detainee Describes," *Nikkei Asian Review*, August 10, 2019; Shannon Molloy, "China's Sickening Acts on Female Prisoners at 'Re-Education' Camps," *news.com.au*, August 13, 2019.

³⁷Shannon Molloy, "China's Sickening Acts on Female Prisoners at 'Re-Education' Camps," *news.com.au*, August 13, 2019. For more information on Gulbahar Jelilova, see the Commission's Political Prisoner Database record 2019-00032.

³⁸Noelle Mateer and Tang Ziyi, "'Singles Tax' Furor Highlights Sensitivity over Pressure to Have More Children," *Caixin*, November 5, 2018; "China to Encourage Childbirth in 2019," *Xinhua*, December 22, 2018; "China's Demographic Danger Grows as Births Fall Far Below Forecast," *Wall Street Journal*, February 9, 2019.

³⁹National Health and Family Planning Commission, "Li Bin zhuren deng jiu 'shishi quanmian lianghai zhengce' da jizhe wen wenzi shilu" [Text record of director Li Bin and others answering journalists' questions regarding "implementation of the universal two-child policy"], March 8, 2016.

⁴⁰National Health and Family Planning Commission, "Zhidaosi fuzeren jiu 2015 nian chusheng renkou shu da Jiankang Bao, Zhongguo Renkou Bao jizhe wen" [Department of Community Family Planning official answers questions from Health News and China Population Daily journalists regarding the number of births in 2015], January 20, 2016.

⁴¹"China's Demographic Danger Grows as Births Fall Far Below Forecast," *Wall Street Journal*, February 9, 2019; "China Sees Fewest Births in 2018 since Mao's Great Famine," *Bloomberg*, January 21, 2019; Hu Chao and Meng Leilei, "Is China Facing a Looming Population Crisis?," *CGTN*, February 7, 2019.

⁴²National Bureau of Statistics of China, "2018 nian jingji yunxing baochi zai heli qujian fazhan de zhuyao yuqi mubiao jiao hao wancheng" [The economy moved within reasonable range in 2018, main expected development targets were reached], January 21, 2019; National Bureau of Statistics of China, "Li Xiru: renkou zongliang pingwen zengzhang chengzhenhua shuiping wenbu tigao" [Li Xiru: total population increases steadily, urbanization level improves steadily], January 23, 2019. For the total number of births in 2017, see National Bureau of Statistics of China, "2017 nian jingji yunxing wenzhong xianghao, hao yu yuqi" [The economy was stable in 2017, exceeding expectations], January 18, 2018.

⁴³Ma Danmeng and Han Wei, "Couples Not Delivering on Beijing's Push for Two Babies," *Caixin*, January 19, 2018; Liang Jianzhang and Huang Wenzhang, "Chusheng renkou xuebing wei yao haizi jianshui he butie" [Birth population avalanche: cut taxes and provide subsidies to encourage having more children], *Caixin*, January 18, 2018; "China's Declining Birth Rate Requires Policy Change," *Xinhua*, January 25, 2018.

⁴⁴"Zhongguo shengyu lu quanqiu dao shu quanmian kaifang reng yaoyao wuqi? (xia)" [China's fertility rate lowest in the world, is the end of family planning policy still distant? (Part 2)], *Radio Free Asia*, January 25, 2019.

⁴⁵Shannon Tiezzi, "China's Number of Births Just Keeps Dropping," *The Diplomat*, November 1, 2018; Liang Jianzhang and Huang Wenzhang, "Opinion: China's Demographic Crisis Is a Reality," *Caixin*, January 25, 2019; Asa Butcher, "Birth Rate Drops in China for Third Consecutive Year since Child Policy Change," *GB Times*, January 4, 2019; Cao Siqi, "China Births Dip in 2018," *Global Times*, January 1, 2019.

⁴⁶Shannon Tiezzi, "China's Number of Births Just Keeps Dropping," *The Diplomat*, November 1, 2018; Liang Jianzhang and Huang Wenzhang, "Opinion: China's Demographic Crisis Is a Reality," *Caixin*, January 25, 2019; Asa Butcher, "Birth Rate Drops in China for Third Consecutive Year since Child Policy Change," *GB Times*, January 4, 2019; Cao Siqi, "China Births Dip in 2018," *Global Times*, January 1, 2019; CECC, *2017 Annual Report*, October 5, 2017, 154.

⁴⁷Liang Jianzhang and Huang Wenzhang, "Opinion: China's Demographic Crisis Is a Reality," *Caixin*, January 25, 2019; Shannon Tiezzi, "China's Number of Births Just Keeps Dropping," *The Diplomat*, November 1, 2018; "Zhongguo weilai ji nian xin sheng renkou yuji chixu xiajiang" [China's newborn population expected to continue declining in the next few years], *Voice of America*, November 1, 2018.

⁴⁸Liang Jianzhang and Huang Wenzhang, "Opinion: China's Demographic Crisis Is a Reality," *Caixin*, January 25, 2019; Cao Siqi, "China Births Dip in 2018," *Global Times*, January 1, 2019; Shannon Tiezzi, "China's Number of Births Just Keeps Dropping," *The Diplomat*, November 1, 2018.

⁴⁹Shannon Tiezzi, "China's Number of Births Just Keeps Dropping," *The Diplomat*, November 1, 2018; Asa Butcher, "Birth Rate Drops in China for Third Consecutive Year since Child Policy Change," *GB Times*, January 4, 2019; Hu Chao and Meng Leilei, "Is China Facing a Looming Population Crisis?," *CGTN*, February 7, 2019.

⁵⁰Hu Chao and Meng Leilei, "Is China Facing a Looming Population Crisis?," *CGTN*, February 7, 2019; Wang Xiaodong, "Birthrate's Continued Fall Triggers Search for Ways to Grow Families," *China Daily*, March 18, 2019; Marcus Roberts, "The Bifurcation of Chinese Family Planning Policy," *Mercator Net*, February 26, 2019.

⁵¹Wang Xiaodong, "Birthrate's Continued Fall Triggers Search for Ways to Grow Families," *China Daily*, March 18, 2019; "China Facing Shortage of Child Care Services," *Xinhua*, April 3, 2019; "China to Encourage Childbirth in 2019," *Xinhua*, December 22, 2018.

⁵²Wang Xiaodong, "Birthrate's Continued Fall Triggers Search for Ways to Grow Families," *China Daily*, March 18, 2019; Echo Huang, "China in 2018 Saw Its Fewest Births in More than Half a Century," *Quartz*, January 21, 2019; "Family Support, Career Prospects Top Concerns for Having Second Child: Newspaper," *Xinhua*, January 23, 2019.

⁵³"China's Demographic Danger Grows as Births Fall Far Below Forecast," *Wall Street Journal*, February 9, 2019; "China Sees Fewest Births in 2018 since Mao's Great Famine,"

Population Control

Bloomberg, January 21, 2019; Zhou Minxi, “Young, Middle Class and Childless: Behind China’s Declining Birth Rates,” *CGTN*, January 30, 2019; Tom Clifford, “China Faces Economic Headwinds from Shrinking Population,” *International Policy Digest*, March 27, 2019.

⁵⁴ Steven Lee Myers and Claire Fu, “A Flurry of Ideas to Reverse China’s Declining Birthrate, but Will Beijing Listen?,” *New York Times*, March 13, 2019; Teng Jing Xuan, “Will a Boom in Lucky ‘Pig’ Babies Reverse China’s Fertility Slump?,” *Caixin*, December 20, 2018; Asa Butcher, “Birth Rate Drops in China for Third Consecutive Year since Child Policy Change,” *GB Times*, January 4, 2019.

⁵⁵ Liang Jianzhang and Huang Wenzhang, “Opinion: China’s Demographic Crisis Is a Reality,” *Caixin*, January 25, 2019; Steven Lee Myers and Claire Fu, “A Flurry of Ideas to Reverse China’s Declining Birthrate, but Will Beijing Listen?,” *New York Times*, March 13, 2019; Marcus Roberts, “The Bifurcation of Chinese Family Planning Policy,” *Mercator Net*, February 26, 2019.

⁵⁶ Shannon Tiezzi, “China’s Number of Births Just Keeps Dropping,” *The Diplomat*, November 1, 2018; Liang Jianzhang and Huang Wenzhang, “Opinion: China’s Demographic Crisis Is a Reality,” *Caixin*, January 25, 2019; Shi Yu, “People-First Policy for Healthy Growth,” *China Daily*, August 22, 2018.

⁵⁷ “Zhongguo shengyu lu quanqiu dao shu quanmian kaifang reng yaoyao wuqi (xia)” [China’s fertility rate lowest in the world, is the end of family planning policy still distant? (part 2)], *Radio Free Asia*, January 25, 2019; Christopher Bodeen, “China’s Leaders Want More Babies, but Local Officials Resist,” *Associated Press*, February 19, 2019; Shi Yu, “People-First Policy for Healthy Growth,” *China Daily*, August 22, 2018.

⁵⁸ Shi Yu, “People-First Policy for Healthy Growth,” *China Daily*, August 22, 2018.

⁵⁹ National Health Commission, “Dui Shisan Jie Renda Yici Huiyi di 1949 hao jianyi de dafu” [Reply to 13th NPC First Session’s suggestion no. 1949], January 8, 2019.

⁶⁰ National Health Commission, “Dui Shisan Jie Renda Yici Huiyi di 1948 hao jianyi de dafu” [Reply to 13th NPC First Session’s suggestion no. 1948], January 8, 2019.

⁶¹ World Bank, “Fertility Rate, Total (Births Per Woman): China,” accessed April 3, 2019.

⁶² Central Intelligence Agency, “World Factbook: China,” accessed May 15, 2019; Charlie Campbell, “China Is Preparing to End Draconian Family Planning Measures. but That Won’t Solve Its Demographic Crisis,” *Time*, August 28, 2018.

⁶³ Marcus Roberts, “The Bifurcation of Chinese Family Planning Policy,” *Mercator Net*, February 26, 2019; Christopher Bodeen, “China’s Leaders Want More Babies, but Local Officials Resist,” *Associated Press*, February 19, 2019.

⁶⁴ National Bureau of Statistics of China, “2018 nian jingji yunxing baochi zai heli qujian fazhan de zhuyao yuqi mubiao jiao hao wancheng” [The economy moved within reasonable range in 2018, main expected development targets were reached], January 21, 2019; Tom Clifford, “China Faces Economic Headwinds from Shrinking Population,” *International Policy Digest*, March 27, 2019; Stella Qiu, Yawen Chen, and Ryan Woo, “Modern China’s Birth Rate Falls to Lowest Ever,” *Reuters*, January 21, 2019; Central Intelligence Agency, “World Factbook: China,” accessed May 15, 2019. According to the Central Intelligence Agency, the birth rate is defined as “the average annual number of births during a year per 1,000 persons in the population The birth rate is usually the dominant factor in determining the rate of population growth.”

⁶⁵ National Bureau of Statistics of China, “2018 nian jingji yunxing baochi zai heli qujian fazhan de zhuyao yuqi mubiao jiao hao wancheng” [The economy moved within reasonable range in 2018, main expected development targets were reached], January 21, 2019; National Bureau of Statistics of China, “Li Xiru: renkou zongliang pingwen zengzhang chengzhenhua shuiping wenbu tigao” [Li Xiru: total population increases steadily, urbanization level improves steadily], January 23, 2019; National Bureau of Statistics of China, “2017 nian jingji yunxing wenzhong xianghao, hao yu yuqi” [The economy was stable in 2017, exceeding expectations], January 18, 2018; “Jisheng weiji baofa Zhongguo 10 nian hou 2 ren gongzuo yang 1 ren” [Family planning crisis, in China 10 years from now, the work of 2 people will support 1 person], *21st Century Business Herald*, reprinted in *Boxun*, January 29, 2019.

⁶⁶ National Bureau of Statistics of China, “2018 nian jingji yunxing baochi zai heli qujian fazhan de zhuyao yuqi mubiao jiao hao wancheng” [The economy moved within reasonable range in 2018, main expected development targets were reached], January 21, 2019; National Bureau of Statistics of China, “Li Xiru: renkou zongliang pingwen zengzhang chengzhenhua shuiping wenbu tigao” [Li Xiru: total population increases steadily, urbanization level improves steadily], January 23, 2019; National Bureau of Statistics of China, “2017 nian jingji yunxing wenzhong xianghao, hao yu yuqi” [The economy was stable in 2017, exceeding expectations], January 18, 2018.

⁶⁷ State Council, “Guojia Renkou Fazhan Guihua (2016–2030 Nian)” [National Population Development Plan (2016–2030)], issued December 30, 2016.

⁶⁸ Chen Jian, “Baogao yuce, 2050 nian Zhongguo laonian xiaofei shichang jiang da 60 wanyi yuan” [Report predicts, China’s elderly consumer market will reach 60 trillion yuan by 2050], *China News Service*, October 21, 2018; Zhu Yueying, “Fazhan zhihui yanglao yingdui laolinghua” [Develop smart [ways] to care for the elderly to address aging], *People’s Daily*, December 6, 2018.

⁶⁹ “Renkou yu Laodong Lupishu: Zhongguo Renkou yu Laodong Wenti Baogao No. 19’ fabuhui zhaokai” [“Population and Labor Green Paper: China’s Population and Labor Issues Report No. 19’ conference held], *Social Sciences Academic Press*, January 3, 2019; Tang Ziyi, “Chart of the Day: China’s Shrinking Workforce,” *Caixin*, January 29, 2019.

⁷⁰ “Jisheng weiji baofa Zhongguo 10 nian hou 2 ren gongzuo yang 1 ren” [Family planning crisis, in China 10 years from now, the work of 2 people will support 1 person], *21st Century Business Herald*, reprinted in *Boxun*, January 29, 2019; Wang Feng and Yong Cai, “China Isn’t Having Enough Babies,” *New York Times*, February 19, 2019; David Stanway, “China Lawmakers Urge Freeing Up Family Planning as Birth Rates Plunge,” *Reuters*, March 12, 2019; Frank Tang, “China’s State Pension Fund to Run Dry by 2035 as Workforce Shrinks Due to Effects of One-Child Policy, Says Study,” *South China Morning Post*, May 3, 2019.

Population Control

⁷¹“Renkou yu Laodong Lupishu: Zhongguo Renkou yu Laodong Wenti Baogao No. 19’ fabuhui zhakaikai” [“Population and Labor Green Paper: China’s Population and Labor Issues Report No. 19” conference held], *Social Sciences Academic Press*, January 3, 2019; Zhou Minxi, “Young, Middle Class and Childless: Behind China’s Declining Birth Rates,” *CGTN*, January 30, 2019; “China’s Demographic Danger Grows as Births Fall Far Below Forecast,” *Wall Street Journal*, February 9, 2019.

⁷²For national laws and regulations prohibiting the practices of non-medically necessary gender determination testing and sex-selective abortion, see *Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Renkou Yu Jihua Shengyu Fa* [PRC Population and Family Planning Law], passed December 29, 2001, amended December 27, 2015, effective January 1, 2016, art. 35; National Health and Family Planning Commission et al., *Jinzhi Fei Yixue Xuyao De Tai'er Xingbie Jianding He Xuanze Xingbie Rengong Zhongzhi Renshen De Guiding* [Provisions on Prohibiting Non-Medically Necessary Sex Determination and Sex-Selective Abortion], issued March 28, 2016, effective May 1, 2016. For provincial regulations that ban non-medically necessary sex determination and sex-selective abortion, see, e.g., Jiangxi Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, *Jiangxi Sheng Renkou Yu Jihua Shengyu Tiaoli* [Jiangxi Province Population and Family Planning Regulations], issued June 16, 1990, amended and effective May 31, 2018, arts. 12–14; Hubei Province People’s Congress Standing Committee, *Hubei Sheng Renkou Yu Jihua Shengyu Tiaoli* [Hubei Province Population and Family Planning Regulations], issued December 1, 2002, amended and effective January 13, 2016, art. 31.

⁷³See, e.g., Linda Lew, “Chinese Blood Mule, 12, Caught Trying to Smuggle 142 Samples into Hong Kong for Sex Testing,” *South China Morning Post*, March 28, 2019; “Feifa tai'er xingbie jianding cheng heishe! Chouxue ji dao jingwai jiance bian zhi nan nu” [A black market for illegal fetal sex determination! Blood sample sent overseas to determine sex], *Shanghai Observer*, October 26, 2018.

⁷⁴National Bureau of Statistics of China, “2018 nian jingji yunxing baochi zai heli qujian fazhan de zhuyao yuqi mubiao jiao hao wancheng” [The economy moved within reasonable range in 2018, main expected development targets were reached], January 21, 2019.

⁷⁵National Bureau of Statistics of China, “2015 nian guomin jingji yunxing wenzhong youjin, wenzhong youhao” [National economy moved in the direction of steady progress in 2015], January 19, 2016.

⁷⁶National Bureau of Statistics of China, “2016 nian guomin jingji shixian ‘Shisan Wu’ lianghao kaiju” [National economy achieved a good start for the “13th Five-Year Plan” period in 2016], January 20, 2017; National Bureau of Statistics of China, “2017 nian jingji yunxing wenzhong xianghao, hao yu yuqi” [The economy was stable in 2017, exceeding expectations], January 18, 2018; National Bureau of Statistics of China, “2018 nian jingji yunxing baochi zai heli qujian fazhan de zhuyao yuqi mubiao jiao hao wancheng” [The economy moved within reasonable range in 2018, main expected development targets were reached], January 21, 2019; *Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Renkou Yu Jihua Shengyu Fa* [PRC Population and Family Planning Law], passed December 29, 2001, amended December 27, 2015, effective January 1, 2016, art. 18. On December 27, 2015, the 12th National People’s Congress Standing Committee amended the Population and Family Planning Law, which became effective on January 1, 2016, allowing all married couples to have two children.

⁷⁷Liu Yanju, “Daling sheng nu bushi shenme wenti, nongcun sheng nan caishi zhenzheng de weiji” [Older leftover women are not a problem, rural leftover men are the real crisis], *Beijing News*, January 23, 2019; Wusheng County Communist Party Committee Party School, “Pinkun diqu daling nan qingnian hunpei kunnan wenti de diaocha yu sikao — yi Wusheng xian Liemian zhen weili” [Research and reflection on the problem of older men with marriage difficulties in poor rural areas: Wusheng county’s Liemian township as an example], December 6, 2018; Dandan Zhang, Lisa Cameron, and Xin Meng, “Has China’s One Child Policy Increased Crime?,” *Oxford University Press* (blog), March 25, 2019; Andrea den Boer and Valerie M. Hudson, “The Security Risks of China’s Abnormal Demographics,” *Monkey Cage* (blog), *Washington Post*, April 30, 2014.

⁷⁸Liu Yanju, “Daling sheng nu bushi shenme wenti, nongcun sheng nan caishi zhenzheng de weiji” [Older leftover women are not a problem, rural leftover men are the real crisis], *Beijing News*, January 23, 2019; Andrea den Boer and Valerie M. Hudson, “The Security Risks of China’s Abnormal Demographics,” *Monkey Cage* (blog), *Washington Post*, April 30, 2014; Peng Xunwen, “3000 wan ‘shengnan’ gen shui jiehun” [Who will marry the 30 million “surplus men?”], *People’s Daily*, February 13, 2017.

⁷⁹Wusheng County Communist Party Committee Party School, “Pinkun diqu daling nan qingnian hunpei kunnan wenti de diaocha yu sikao — yi Wusheng xian Liemian zhen weili” [Research and reflection on the problem of older men with marriage difficulties in poor rural areas: Wusheng county’s Liemian township as an example], December 6, 2018; Andrea den Boer and Valerie M. Hudson, “The Security Risks of China’s Abnormal Demographics,” *Monkey Cage* (blog), *Washington Post*, April 30, 2014; Peng Xunwen, “3000 wan ‘shengnan’ gen shui jiehun” [Who will marry the 30 million “surplus men?”], *People’s Daily*, February 13, 2017.

⁸⁰See, e.g., “How China’s Massive Gender Imbalance Drives Surge in Southeast Asian Women Sold into Marriage,” *Agence France-Presse*, reprinted in *South China Morning Post*, December 11, 2018; Rina Chandran, “New Roads, Old War Fan Sale of Southeast Asian Brides in China,” *Reuters*, December 7, 2018; Anna Maria Romero, “How China’s One-Child Policy Has Resulted in Millions of Single Men, Plus South East Asian Women Sold into Marriage,” *The Independent*, December 13, 2018; Sidharth Shekhar, “Chinese Men Using CPEC to Lure Pakistani Women for Trafficking to China as ‘Brides,’” *Times Now News*, April 20, 2019.

⁸¹See, e.g., Nguyen Hai, “Another Vietnamese Woman Investigated in Sale of Newborns to China,” *VnExpress*, February 16, 2019; Nguyen Hai, “Vietnam Probes Sale of Newborns to China,” *VnExpress*, January 28, 2019; Frank Hossack, “China’s Child Trafficking Problem Its Unwanted Children,” *Nanjinger*, August 19, 2018.

Population Control

⁸²Nguyen Hai, "Another Vietnamese Woman Investigated in Sale of Newborns to China," *VnExpress*, February 16, 2019; Nguyen Hai, "Vietnam Probes Sale of Newborns to China," *VnExpress*, January 28, 2019.

⁸³Nguyen Hai, "Another Vietnamese Woman Investigated in Sale of Newborns to China," *VnExpress*, February 16, 2019; Nguyen Hai, "Vietnam Probes Sale of Newborns to China," *VnExpress*, January 28, 2019.

⁸⁴Nguyen Hai, "Another Vietnamese Woman Investigated in Sale of Newborns to China," *VnExpress*, February 16, 2019; Nguyen Hai, "Vietnam Probes Sale of Newborns to China," *VnExpress*, January 28, 2019.