

## DEMOGRAPHY AND POPULATION GROWTH IN 1970's ROMANIA: AN OVERVIEW OF DEMOGRAPHIC STUDIES PUBLISHED IN 'VIITORUL SOCIAL' JOURNAL

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**ABSTRACT.** This paper looks at how demographic knowledge was articulated in the 1970s in Romania in a context shaped by both a restrictive natalist agenda and the reestablishment of institutional affiliations with western academia. An account is given of the specific institutional affiliations that coordinated and made knowledge transfers possible between French and Romanian agencies. The text then focuses on the specific vocabulary and reasoning mechanisms employed in a series of texts published throughout the 1970s in the sociological journal *Viitorul Social*, a monthly magazine of socialist doctrine, culture and politics. The aim is to start a discussion about the possibility that the re-establishment of institutional connections with French demographic trends in the early '70s lent Romanian demographers a type of conservative scientific reasoning and vocabulary that was attuned to the natalist politics of the time. In turn, this authorised a highly politicised portrayal of working-class women as culpable for the diminishing birth-rates in Romania. The text ends by suggesting other research paths that might help situate demographic knowledge production and its ties with reproduction politics.

**Key words:** demography; knowledge production in state socialism; French demography; politics of reproduction; population planning;

### Introduction

This paper attempts to give an account of the emergence of Demography as a discipline in the context of the restrictive natalist policies articulated by the Romanian Government during the 1960s and 70s. I look at series of texts

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published throughout the 1970's in the sociological journal *Viitorul Social*, a monthly magazine of socialist doctrine, culture and politics. The texts are scientific attempts at understanding and articulating ways in which to transform national demographic trends. My aim is to start a discussion about some of the implications that this type of normative knowledge might have had on the formulation of increasingly repressive policies aimed at controlling working class women during the 1970s. I bring into discussion the possibility that the re-establishment of institutional connections with French demographic trends in the early '70s lent Romanian demographers a type of conservative scientific reasoning and vocabulary that was attuned to the natalist politics of the time. This authorised both a highly politicised portrayal of working-class women as culpable for the diminishing birth-rates in Romania (Mesaros, 1973), and the articulation of a "solution" to this in terms of a de-politicised, technocratic jargon of "optimisation between the social and demographic functions of women" (Trebici, 1974) (where "social function" means participation in the labour force, while "demographic" refers to the biological reproduction of the working class).

In the end I propose that further research might analyse this type of discursive production in the context fostered by Romania hosting the 1974 UN World Population Conference (which aimed at discussing strategies for global population control), and in terms of Romania's intensified industrial development as a response to the 1970s oil crisis (in which the need for women as labour force to drive industrial expansion and the lack of investment in publicly subsidized social services clashed with the regime's imperative for population growth).

### **Notes on addressing different regimes of knowledge production**

*Viitorul Social* (The Social Future) was a journal edited by the Academy of Social and Political Sciences of the Romanian Socialist Republic between 1972 and 1989. It was an instrument for publishing research conducted in the social sciences. The Academy of Social and Political Sciences was responsible for organizing, planning, and directing the activity of research centres and laboratories, social science departments in higher education institutions, museums and other subordinated units in the field. There is a keynote text in the first published volume of *Viitorul Social* which introduces socialist sociology as an epistemological project that is fundamentally different from the social constructivist agenda set by its anglo-saxon counterpart after the Second World War. While US social science emphasises the existence of a social realm that is the passive object of study for social scientists (who should strive to neutrally understand the world), Marxist sociology proposes an epistemology of knowledge

rooted in transformative drives, where, instead of acting as observers, sociologists are actively engaged in social transformation. Titled "Not therapy, but the structuring and restructuring of reality", the article reads as a mission statement: the social sciences have a transformative function in the socialist world-making project. The word „therapy” or „therapeutic” is used to mock western sociology as a type of intervention or practice that limits itself to observation and amelioration:

"This message of "social therapy" is made visible through a gallery of well-known attitudes: (...) from the decline of the capacities of sociology (dressed in the toga of "enlightened scepticism") to intervene in order to radically transform the system under investigation, to the repeated enunciation of attempts to elaborate "macro-social models" through which the whole of social development could be contained and... ("possibly") controlled." (Dumitru, 1972)

To make things more complicated, it doesn't just boil down to a question of different epistemologies (different premises about what constitutes scientific knowledge and about what methods can be used to obtain it) but in a sense it's also about different premises as to what constitutes social reality. It is startling (or just weird) for anyone with even vague liberal sensibilities to find that there are scarcely any references to "individuals" in these texts, that the only element endowed with a faint sense of agency is the heteronormative nuclear family (via its "behaviour" in relation to reproduction), that there is no vocabulary or attempt to describe a non-reproductive sexuality (in the entire Viitorul Social digital library, there is one article titled "Some considerations upon the sociology of sexuality and demographic behaviour"; it renders sexuality unmoored from reproduction as deviant), or that a specific category of women make up the "the biological contingent of the nation". Given that I am not adequately trained in the language of this discipline, and because I am biased towards a constructivist perspective as an anthropologist, I approached the reading of these texts with some caution. I also imagined it would be useful to trace the life of some concepts that operated inside the discipline of demography in different epistemological realms.

A point in case is the difference in how "demographic behaviour" is defined. Theories of demographic behaviour are used internationally in demographic studies. In the US, since the 1960s, under the influence of neoclassical economics, demographic choices were viewed as resulting from rational, individual assessments of costs and benefits (Burch, 2001). In the Romanian "Small Encyclopedia of Demography" ("Mică Enciclopedie de Demografie") edited in 1975, demographic behaviour is defined as *"a married couple's attitude towards reproduction, towards the desired dimension of their families. It can be natural or primitive and conscious or Malthusian."* It is interesting that in a 1988 edition of "What is Demography?" ("Ce este demografia?") - a guide for making the main

themes of demography available to the general public- Trebici notes that “reproductive or procreative behaviour” is improperly termed “demographic behaviour” (Trebici, 1982:80).

“Natural” or “primitive” demographic behaviour is conceptualised as “the reproduction of the population exclusively according to its biological capacity” (Mesaros, 1972). This entails the belief that some societies exist in a “state of nature”, where it is “biology” and not “will” or “conscious decision” that drives reproduction. “Malthusian”, on the other hand, is used in reference to the “family planning” approach that developed in the U.S. during the 1960s as a response to an emerging panic at the prospects of global overpopulation and resource depletion. A different entry in the Encyclopedia classifies couples in themselves as “malthusian” (planners) or “nonmalthusians” (non-planners). One important semantic implication of this taxonomy is that the only plausible reason for not having children is the conscious awareness of a disastrous future.

**320. Perechi malthusiene** (engl. *planners*, fr. *couples malthusiens*, rus. *suprujeskie pari reguliruiuscie detorojdenie*, span. *parejas neomalthusianas*, germ. *geburtenregelende Paare*, ital. *coppie che regolano* sau *coppie malthusiane*, interl. *copulas planante*), cupluri care determină în mod conștient propria reproducție, folosind mijloacele de planificare a familiei.

**321. Perechi nemalthusiene** (engl. *non-planners*, fr. *couples non-malthusiens*, rus. *suprujeskie pari ne reguliruiuscie detorojdenie*, span. *parejas no neomalthusianas*, germ. *fortpflanzungsnatürliche Paare*, ital. *coppie che non regolano* și *coppie non malthusiane*, interl. *copulas non-planante*), cupluri a căror reproducție este determinată în exclusivitate de fertilitatea naturală; cupluri care nu folosesc mijloacele planificării familiei.

Data source: Mică Enciclopedie de Demografie, ed. Vladimir Trebici

## Viitorul Social and French Demography

Between 1972 and 1980, in lieu of a journal dedicated exclusively to demography, Viitorul Social published more than 30 demographic studies (Trebici, 1981). The centrality of the production of demographic knowledge throughout this period is also linked with Romania hosting the UN World Population Conference in 1974, and with the establishment in Bucharest, in 1974, of the United Nations Center for Demography (CEDOR). In an article published in the French journal “Population” in 1995, Vladimir Trebici, a prominent voice in the field and a recurrent author in Viitorul Social, offers a short overview of French-Romanian collaboration in the field of Demography.

He characterizes Romanian Demography as having so far experienced three "captivities": the French and English captivities in the interwar period, which he renders as "advantageous for the development of demography", whereas the latest soviet captivity is described as unequivocally detrimental. During the 1960s, however, this latter period of "capture" seems to have accommodated a set of international institutional collaborations, among which the links forged with French institutions are accounted for in the rest of the text. In 1966, following "a relative liberalization of the situation in Romania", the first visit of Romanian statisticians to the French Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE) took place. For the first time since the war, academic exchanges were enabled between the two countries. Following their training in France, some Romanian statisticians became UN experts in French-speaking former colonies.

According to Trebici, having been founded in 1972, *Viitorul Social* played an important role in popularising notes, interviews, chronicles and reports on French demography. The French journal "Population" was recurrently referenced in *Viitorul Social*, and French volumes were often commented upon for Romanian readership. In 1974, the Romanian edition of Roland Pressat's "L'analyse démographique. Concepts, méthodes, résultats" ("Demographic analysis. Concepts, methods, results") was translated into Romanian by Vladimir Trebici and Vasile Ghețău. The book was the second edition of a teaching manual commissioned by the French INED (Institute for Demographic Studies), widely translated and used in the training of generations of demographers world-wide. Along with other French publications, it was used in the Population Statistics department of the Academy of Economic Studies in Bucharest. Trebici authored the "Multilingual Demographic Dictionary", which was published by the Journal of Statistics (*Revista de Statistică*) between 1971 and 1973. The dictionary presented Romanian demographic terminology with its French and English equivalents. In 1975, Trebici published the "Small Encyclopedia of Demography", in which fundamental demographic concepts were presented in eight different languages.

In another retrospective essay published in 1999, Trebici reflects on the links between demography and the demographic policies implemented in Romania until 1989. Decrees 770/1966 (restricting access to abortion) and 779/1966 (restricting the possibility of divorce) were the first and most conspicuous legal measures that launched Romania's restrictive natalist politics. While an immediate spike in birth-rates was visible in the first two years after the decree, by 1968 fertility rates started to drop. In 1974 the Romanian government revised the instructions for implementing Decree 770/1966, which spurred the emergence of an expanding web of bureaucratic and legal surveillance structures that slowly took control over the entire medical body during the following decade. The peak of the repressive force of this apparatus was felt during the 1980s, when the Ministry of Health was placed in subordination to a

structure called the Superior Sanitary Commission. This structure was powerful enough to implement the notoriously violent forms of control over employed women's bodies via a network of medical units operating at factory level in order to monitor pregnancies and criminally prosecute illegal abortions. (Kligman, 2000)

Trebici comments that the measures introduced in 1966 had not been backed by demographic or other population studies. Under these circumstances, the National Demographic Commission (Comisia Națională de Demografie) was established in 1971, which Trebici argues was intended purely as an instrument for implementing party directives:

Before the Commission was set up, a number of people were consulted on the role and tasks of the future establishment. I was also asked. My opinion was that such an institution was necessary, that it should be scientific. It was proposed that it should operate alongside the Central Statistical Directorate – similar to the experience of other socialist countries - or alongside the Centre for Sociological Research. The Party thought otherwise and decided accordingly: the Commission was set up as a political body par excellence. Its 100 members - ministers, heads of departments, representatives of trade unions and other public organisations - included some demographic specialists. The Commission, which functioned until December 1989, proved totally ineffective. There was also a small secretariat of expert-demographers, most of whom were mere party officials, impostors. (Trebici, 1999)

Trebici also interestingly comments on how the pro-natalist political agenda was present not only in political discourse and official propaganda, but that it had thoroughly permeated demographic education at the university level. He contends that some of the theses and theories that were advanced by demographers in line with the population growth agenda were “sometimes even sincerely” met with support from the scientific community:

“Slogans such as ‘the golden future’, ‘the youth - the golden generation’, ‘the patriotic duty to bring a large number of children into the world’, ‘the family - the basic nucleus of society’ were even appropriated by scientists. That is why estimates were made for the “optimal population”, the “optimal population growth rate”, and normative population projections were attempted. And as state child allowances, family allowances, maternity leave and other incentives were increasingly discussed, and articles were being published proposing various ways of dividing up this budgetary expenditure, the effectiveness of these measures seemed to be guaranteed. The family with 3-4 children was not only being glorified, it was also being proven to be possible.” (Trebici, 1999)

## Demography and natalist imperatives

„If the desired demographic results were to follow automatically from economic and social development, there would be no need for state coordination or intervention in this area. It is therefore easy to understand why the second approach, or concept, whereby population policy involves specific, conscious measures or actions, with specific demographic goals, is more in line with the requirements of reality.” (Mesaros, 1974)

In a text published in *Viitorul Social* in 1972, “The social-economic base of demographic behaviour and family planning”, Emil Mesaros argues that different types of demographic behaviour correspond to different stages of economic and social development of a society. According to this view, the population dynamics in Romania currently fit the model of “transition or negative demographics”: a phase characterised by the “voluntary limitation by the family of the number of offspring, which occurs simultaneously with increased standards of living and educational levels” (Mesaros, 1972).

**Table 1.**

The repartition of women aged 15 and above according to their number of children and level of education/professional qualification

**Repartizarea femeilor în vîrstă de 15 ani și peste după numărul copiilor născuți vii și nivelul de instruire**  
— în % —

Nivelul de instruire	Total femei	Copii născuți vii				4 și mai mulți copii
		Fără copii	1 copil	2 copii	3 copii	
Superior	100,0	49,6	34,0	13,8	1,8	0,8
Mediu	100,0	48,2	30,3	15,6	3,6	2,3
Elementar și alte situații	100,0	25,1	19,8	19,9	11,3	23,9

Sursa: Calculat după *Recensămîntul populației și locuințelor din 15 martie 1966. Rezultate generale*, vol. I, *Populație*, București, Direcția Centrală de Statistică, 1968, p. 53.

**Data source:** *Viitorul Social*, no. 4, 1972

The main argument of the text is built around the possibility of overcoming this transitory phase, leading to a stage characterised by “optimal demographic behaviour”:

To this end, we start from the premise that in order to transform negative demographic behaviour into another type of behaviour, i.e. in order to achieve this transition, it is not sufficient at a given moment to reach a certain general level of education or living standards of the population. For this to happen, it is necessary for one or more generations to have lived in the relevant conditions of well-being. (Mesaros, 1972)

The text invokes studies of current population dynamics in western industrialised states (notably France, the German Federal Republic, and the UK) to show that advanced stages of industrial development give rise to new population dynamics characterised by high birth-rates among skilled labourers:

„...we believe that the data we have on the demographic behaviour of certain population groups in the US can serve our purpose (similar data on France and the RFG lead to the same conclusions\*). We have in mind some research which shows that the inverse relationship mentioned above is no longer valid and that, on the contrary, **the higher the income and education level, the higher the number of children in the family is, as a rule.** The available data do not allow us to see the length of the transition phase and precisely when this change in behaviour occurred, which is why we limit ourselves to commenting only on these results, which refer to the period of the last 10-12 years (see Table 2):”

**Table 2.**

The average no. of children born to a woman between 35-44 years old, according to annual income and professional category in the USA in 1959

Numărul mediu de copii născuți de o femeie în vîrstă de 35-44 ani  
în funcție de venitul anual și de categoria profesională  
(S.U.A., 1959)

Categorია profesională	Venitul anual în dolari S.U.A.	
	7 000-9 999	2 000-3 999
<i>Specialiști</i>	—	—
Fără studii medii	—	—
Cu studii medii	2,23	1,63
Cu studii superioare	2,24	1,92
<i>Cadre de conducere</i>		
Fără studii medii	2,07	2,12
Cu studii medii	2,23	1,73
Cu studii superioare	2,27	1,96
<i>Mesteșugari</i>		
Fără studii medii	2,22	2,06
Cu studii medii	2,32	1,84
Cu studii superioare	2,30	1,84
<i>Muncitori</i>		
Fără studii medii	2,55	2,31
Cu studii medii	2,42	2,00
Cu studii superioare	—	—

Sursa : Julian L. Simon, *The Effect of Income on Fertility*,  
în : „Population Studies”, vol. XXIII, nr. 3, nov.  
1969, p. 337.

Data source: Viitorul Social, no. 4, 1972



Although seemingly aware of the limits of what can be inferred from this data, Mesaros elaborates further on. Having proposed this model, and given the industrial makeup of the Romanian economy, it follows that Romania too was bound to, at some point, witness shifts in the demographic behaviour of its skilled industrial population. Because these changes don't seem to happen "naturally", the conclusion follows that state intervention is necessary to „optimise" demographic behaviour for it to fit the actual stage of economic development:

„What is particularly important, and what this data attests to, is that the phenomenon of under-reproduction does not exist in any of the high-income occupational categories surveyed. This suggests that such a transition could become generalised in other countries in the future, a process which could be encouraged by demographic policy measures appropriate to the conditions and stages of development in question. (Mesaros, 1972)

(...)

Knowing the recent evolution and the current trends of the main demographic phenomena in Romania, one could consider that the priority objective of the demographic policy on the way to optimization is to maintain the net reproduction index at the supra-unit level and after that to stabilize it around 1.10 - 1.17. This would ensure not only a larger reproduction rate but also a rational natural increase in the population." (Mesaros 1972)

In a different article in 1973 ("Demographic policy - Concepts - Content - Objectives") Mesaros restates this argument.

"...it should be noted that in Romania the development of the economy in recent decades has provided a solid material basis for the reproduction of the population (...). If we add to this the forecast that in 1990 the national income per inhabitant will reach about 3 000 dollars, compared to 600 in 1970, the conditions or climate in which the demographic behaviour of the population will be formed are fully outlined. **There are therefore objective conditions for taking political measures to influence demographic behaviour on this sound economic basis. Among these, the most specific are those aimed at ensuring that all social and professional categories participate in the reproduction of the population.**" (Mesaros, 1973)

An abstract version of the economy ("a solid material basis") serves as grounds to justify interventions aimed at population growth. The quip about ensuring that "all social and professional categories participate in reproduction"

plays up the concern that birth-rates were lowest among women in skilled professions. Later in the article, the eugenic undertones of these arguments are expressed in the specific desire for the reproduction of “women with higher education”:

„We stress once again that we are not addressing here the question of the appropriateness, or effectiveness, of various population policy measures. We are merely listing the main measures in this category that have been known and practised in the demographic policy of our country, and of other countries, both in the past and at present (...) Of course, each of these measures influences demographic behaviour to some extent, with both positive and negative aspects. **For example: banning abortion may lead to a sharp increase in the birth rate, but it does not fully solve the problem of women with higher education participating in reproduction**” (Mesaros, 1973)

It is difficult, in hindsight, not to imagine links between these explicit concerns about the low birth-rates among working women and the repressive methods later designed as a solution to this perceived problem (the expansion of a network of medicalised control units implemented at factory level during the '80s). The only plausible reason why there don't seem to be any attempts at researching the underlying causes for these demographic trends is that these causes are already known: industrial investments at the expense of social investments are bound to hinder a pro-natalist agenda. Instead of pointing out to these contradictions, demographers insist that the economic base in Romania can accommodate population growth, so that the only thing left to do is to compel women „of all social and professional categories” into childbearing.

At one point in the 1973 article, while contemplating educational measures aimed at the formation of a positive demographic behaviour, Mesaros proposes that “the question of perpetuation and reproduction of the nation should be put on the same level as the necessity of production of material goods for survival”. Childlessness is then framed as “an evasion of a patriotic obligation”, which “leads to an increase in social inequality, since another family will have to have more children (to compensate for the evasion)”.

These themes reappear in a paper written by Trebici and published in *Viitorul Social* in 1974. In “Fertility and the social status of women”, the inverse correlation between birth-rates and the status of women (where status is indicated by access to education and wage-labour) is posed as an international concern:

„More and more international comparative studies are being carried out on this topic, allowing important theoretical conclusions to be drawn. In this respect, we mention the comprehensive study by the Working

Group on „Legislation Directly or Indirectly Affecting Fertility in European Countries”, organised by the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP) and the Vienna Centre for Coordination and Documentation in the Social Sciences in which a chapter is devoted to the status of women in society.” (Trebici, 1974)

The paper opens with the acknowledgement that the decline of birth rates could simply be understood as a distinct phase of demographic transition. However, this time Trebici poses the decline of birth-rates among women with higher levels of formal education or who are skilled labourers as THE central problem to the project of demographic planning:

This creates a particular situation which must be taken into account when formulating social and population policy, namely that modern society cannot deny the affirmation of women's full economic, social and political equality with men and, on the other hand, cannot fail to be aware of the negative impact that changes in women's social status have on women's function as wives and mothers. It is therefore noted that a number of measures taken to achieve the social, economic and political status of women may conflict with demographic policy measures if they are pro-natalist in nature, in the sense that they diminish their effect.”

...

„How can women's two functions be harmonised: as a wife and mother and as a participant in social, economic and political life, on equal terms with men... in a way, the problem is to "optimise" the relationship between the demographic role -to use a more plastic term- and the social role of women.” (Terica, 1974)

## **Conclusions and further questions**

This text set out to explore how demography operated as a mode of knowledge production in the context of Romania's intensified natalist agenda. The intensification of repressive pro-natalist policies in Romania is anticipated in texts published in *Viitorul Social* throughout the 1970s. In part, these texts reveal a worldview in which the achievement of economic conditions to sustain population growth were held as a fact, so that the only variable left in an equation that had population growth as its outcome was the “demographic behaviour” of families. Instead of socialising domestic labour and abolishing patriarchal relations, the socialist development project wrenched women in between the requirement to continue to fully participate in industrial labour with little or no access to socialised domestic work and a demographic politics in which

population growth was discursively constructed as the main responsibility of working women. What followed was the intensification of a coercive and lethal politics of reproduction that extracted both industrial and reproductive labour from women.

To further this research, I believe it would be equally important to situate the politics for population growth in Romania in relation to the government's continuous drive for industrial expansion. Throughout the 1960s, while most other EE socialist regimes began experimenting with economic reforms and decentralisation, Romania reinforced its model of centrally planned industrialization. The decision to protect and expand the industrial program led to a mix of import substitution policies and export-oriented production (Ban, 2014:55). These labour-intensive strategies would lead to tensions between politics aimed at integrating women into the labour force and those that placed birth-rate growth at the centre of population policies (Jinga, 2015; Kligman, 2000). This tension -unacknowledged as such- is at the core of many of the papers in *Viitorul Social*. It is also at the core of what Kligman famously dubbed a "politics of duplicity": the celebration of industrial employment of women as emancipatory, while later using the same industrial infrastructure for the purpose of actively policing women's bodies.

Demographers did point out that, as part of the socialist project, women's emancipation from patriarchal oppression was to be achieved through their economic independence via direct participation in productive work. In this respect, given its recent history of rapid industrialisation, Romania did register a growing percentage of women joining the labour-force. While texts such as Tamara Dobrin's article in *Viitorul Social* "Some features of the integration of women in contemporary social-economic life" synthesize some emancipatory aspects of this integration, not much is discussed in terms of its shortcomings. Some authors do acknowledge that the large-scale employment of women would only be possible if accompanied by state-led socialisation of child-rearing and domestic work (Spornic, 1975). Although state socialist systems were more egalitarian and accommodated a larger volume of reproductive needs in comparison with non-socialist semi-peripheries (Gagy 2021:138), the real amount of investment needed to cover the social costs of industrialisation was never met. Despite a lack of investment in infrastructure for socialising domestic labour, after 1966 nurseries started to be touted as the appropriate substitute for extended maternity leave. Until then, policies had facilitated women's exit from production during the early stages of children's lives. For example, up until then mothers had had the legal right to work half-time shifts until their children were 6 years old, without losing a number of rights and benefits linked to continuity of employment (Spornic, 1975; Doboş et al, 2011).

Further research could also try to connect the internal dynamics of Romanian demographic politics with the international debates surrounding population growth at the time. Between 1962 and 1972, based on a US agenda that pushed for “family planning” as a strategy for addressing the perceived threat of overpopulation, some national governments began implementing policies aimed at controlling birth-rates. This culminated in the 1972 resolution of the Economic and Social Council of the UN that formulated a draft “World Population Plan of Action” which urged member states to “cooperate in exploring the possibility of setting targets for reducing population growth rates in countries that considered their rates too high” (Finkle, Crane, 1975; Stanciu, 2014). The consolidation of this draft plan and its implementation strategies was supposed to set the theme for discussions at the Third World Population Conference, held in Bucharest in 1974. However, a strong push to amend the Draft Plan came from several Non-Aligned nations, who brought the demand for a new economic order at the centre of the discussions. General support was gained for amending the Plan and de-emphasizing its population control objectives. Romania was among the socialist countries that supported the Non-Aligned governments’ proposal of a New International Economic Order and stressed the importance of respecting state-sovereignty in terms of internal demographic policies. This position is anticipated in a text V. Trebici published in *Viitorul Social* in 1973 as an overview of academic and institutional proceedings for the 1974 World Population Conference. Titled “Demography and International Cooperation”, the article frames the UN population control agenda as a collection of ideas that may be appropriate in some contexts. The conclusions of the article reinstate that demographic politics are state politics and therefore should not be subject to external political interventions.

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