

रही हैं। इसलिये मैं अब से अज्ञ करना चाहता हूँ कि अब वक्त आ गया है कि आप अवाम की आवाज़ को सुनें, आप सुनें कि वे लोग क्या कहते हैं कि जिन के वास्ते आप अपील करते हैं कि वह अपने खून का अखिरी कतरा आप को बचाने के लिये दें, अपने देश की हिफाजत के लिये दें। आप उन की आवाज़ सुनिये। आप देश की आवाज़ को सुनिये और इन का कल्ल बन्द करिये।

मैं जनाब का बड़ा मशकूर हूँ कि जनाब ने मुझे बोलने का मौका अता फ़रमाया। अब मैं खत्म करता हूँ।

FOURTH REPORT OF COMMITTEE  
 ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS  
 AND RESOLUTIONS

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The House will now take up Private Members' Bills and Resolutions.

**Shri Altekar (North Satara):** With your permission, Sir, I beg to move:

"That this House agrees with the Fourth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 16th March, 1954."

The Committee, after discussion with the Movers of the Resolutions and going through the other aspects, has allotted two hours to the first Resolution of Shri Gidwani regarding encouraging of family planning, two and a half hours to the Resolution by Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy regarding abolition of the Second Chamber at the Centre, and two hours for the Resolution of Shri Dabhi regarding the introduction of prohibition among the Army, the Navy and the Air Force. It is a simple matter. I commend this Report for the acceptance of the House.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The point is this. There are only three Resolutions on the Order Paper today:

Shri Gidwani's Resolution regarding family planning, Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy's Resolution regarding the abolition of the Second Chamber and Shri Dabhi's Resolution regarding the introduction of prohibition in the Army, the Navy and the Air Force. The Committee has allotted two hours for Shri Gidwani's Resolution, two and a half hours for Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy's Resolution and two hours for Shri Dabhi's resolution.

The question is:

"That this House agrees with the Fourth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 16th March, 1954."

*The motion was adopted.*

RESOLUTION RE. FAMILY  
 PLANNING

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Two hours is the time allotted for this. How long does the hon. Minister propose to take?

**The Minister of Health (Rajkumari Amrit Kaur):** I do not think I shall want more than 15 to 20 minutes to reply.

**Shri Gidwani (Thana):** Twenty minutes in the beginning and ten minutes at the end for me.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** We have got one hour and ten minutes. For the other Members, I will allow one Member from each group for 10 minutes.

**The Minister of Defence Organisation (Shri Tyagi):** In that case, the third Resolution does not come up at all.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy may not move the second Resolution.

**Shri Tyagi:** If he withdraws, that is another matter.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He has not moved. There is no question of withdrawal.

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy (Mysore):** I am not withdrawing.

**An Hon. Member:** Don't say that; he wants to go.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Nobody is willing to give an assurance whether a certain Resolution will be moved or not. The hon. Ministers may be in their places.

**Shri Gidwani:** I beg to move:

"This House is of opinion that with a view to control the rapid increase in population as revealed in the Census Report, 1951, Government should adopt all effective measures to encourage family planning in accordance with the recommendations of the Planning Commission."

This population problem in this country, as revealed by the Census Report is assuming alarming proportions. According to the Census Commissioner, the population of India in the 1951 Census was 35.7 crores. If the present rate of increase is maintained, by 1981, we should have a population of 52 crores because every year the population is increasing by 50 lakhs. Shri R. A. Gopalswami, Registrar General and Census Commissioner in 1951, in his Census Report states that if the present rate of increase continues, the total population will grow as follows:

1951	36 crores.
1961	41 crores.
1971	46 crores.
1981	52 crores.

In regard to the food production of the country, he says in the report that the present level of production is 700 lakh tons—50 lakh tons short of actual requirements—according to the present population. And if we produce every year 50 lakhs more of people, we require about six to seven

lakh or even eight lakh tons more. Every year this number will go on increasing, and it will be difficult to produce the required amount. Though I am aware we are making all efforts and undertaking new projects, still according to Shri Kidwai the official figures are misleading and are sometimes incorrect.

Apart from food, there is the question of health. If we look to all these problems, we will find that it will not be possible for this country to maintain this population.

For the last four or five days we have been discussing the Budget, and so many Members on this side and the other side have been complaining that even our first Five Year Plan is not properly working, and even the second or third Five Year Plan will not be able to solve all our problems. That being the situation, we have to seriously consider this question, not in a light-hearted manner or in a spirit of levity. It is a very serious problem, and I want the House to consider it in a calm and cool manner, and also in a realistic way. I particularly appeal to my Communist friends who have moved certain amendments to this Resolution, They always say that we must be realists, and I say that in this matter we should be realists.

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA  
in the Chair]

You are aware that thousands of people today are living in hovels. Even in a place like Delhi, our Praja-Socialist Party have taken a census according to which six thousand people were sleeping on the roads or on the pavements in the winter. In Bombay and other places lakhs of people have no shelter.

Similarly, about education, I read only this morning in the *Times of India* that the President of the Delhi Municipality says that there are about 7,000 children of school-going age in Delhi who did not attend any

school in 1953, according to a survey of primary education conducted by the Delhi Municipal Committee. There were 45,000 students on rolls in municipal primary schools, about 7,000 in the primary departments of Government schools, 20,000 in aided schools and about 19,000 in unrecognised private schools. Disclosing this, while he was presenting the budget of the Delhi Municipal Committee for 1954-55, Mr. Şham Nath said that about 50 more schools were necessary to provide educational facilities to all children in Delhi. This would cost an additional expenditure of about Rs. 10 lakhs which he said "we are unable to provide on account of our present heavy financial liabilities".

So, as regards education, shelter, housing and health services, we are very backward even with the present population, and if this rate of increase in the population continues, I do not know what will happen. Our economy may break down and conditions may be created which may be very harmful to the interests of the country. Therefore, I consider this problem from the economic, social, moral and humanitarian point of view. If you look at this from any point of view, this is a problem which cannot be ignored and must be tackled boldly.

I can understand if there are facilities for the absorption of people from the thickly populated countries of the world into the sparsely populated countries. But you know that nobody wants people from other countries to come to their country and live there. Even in America, when there is a bumper crop of foodgrains, they destroy it, but that grain is not available in many countries and people die of starvation. So long as the present economic structure of world continues, we must be realistic and plan according to our needs and requirements.

This is not only my opinion. I am glad that our Planning Commission  
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and our Government have accepted this principle and this policy. This is what is said in the Five Year Plan:

"The rapid increase in population and the consequent pressure on the limited resources available have brought to the forefront the urgency of problems of family planning. The main appeal for family planning is, however, based on considerations of the health and welfare of the family. Family limitation or the spacing of the children is necessary and desirable in order to secure better health for the mother and better care and upbringing of the children. Measures directed to this end, therefore, form part of the public health programme."

I congratulate our Government for doing something at least which is necessary to meet a very serious problem in this country, but my complaint is that enough has not been done. There may be some people who may object to family planning on religious grounds. In this connection, I may quote what Dr. Radhakrishnan said when he was invited to inaugurate the Third International Conference on Planned Parenthood. This is what he said:

"The question is sometimes raised whether it is not true that God sends children into this world and we should not interfere with the Will of God—that is the way in which it is put. I may tell you that if God has given us any intelligence, he has given it to us to be used. Intelligence is a Divine gift, anticipating consequences and planning with special relevance to the facts. These are things which we are called upon to adopt because the human mind is a gift of the Divine..... God is not an external despot. He is there in the innermost depth of our

[Shri Gidwani]

being, and when the still, small voice prompts us, asks to use our intelligence in a fairminded, objective, honest way, we are using the gift of God for purposes of human welfare. That is how we have to employ our intelligence to achieve human welfare."

Then, our Prime Minister, while sending his good wishes to the same conference said:

"Whatever individual views may be on this question, it seems to me clear that we should give it the fullest consideration from all points of view. The approach should be scientific and the aim social good. Any scientific approach must not be inhibited by preconceptions or convictions already held. We must approach the question with a completely open mind and examine every aspect of it."

Apart from these laymen, there are medical men, recognised authorities on this question. In *Population Problem of India*. Dr. A. R. Mehta, who was the Deputy Director-General of Health Services, Government of India, New Delhi, says:

"The conclusion seems to be inevitable that something must be done to check this growth of population which has already reached an unmanageable size. There are three methods to decrease the population pressure. One is to increase the death rate, thus to keep down the population, but this will not solve the problem of poverty, the aim of all civilized society being to improve the standard of living of the people and to create such conditions that people may live long and lead healthy and happy lives. The second method to decrease the pressure of population is by emigration, but we would need to send about four million people a year (our an-

nual natural increase) to some other country. But no country, however sparsely populated, is prepared to accept even a few hundred Asiatics, even if they in turn could be induced to discard their conservatism and leave their miserable conditions of living."

Then in the All-India Medical Conference which was held in Hyderabad from 27th to 29th December 1953, Dr. S. C. Sen, who was the president of that Conference, in the course of his presidential address said:

"The population in India is growing fast. Scientific development of agriculture might take up some of the load, but it cannot absorb all. The most realistic and recognised solution is that of family planning. A serious attempt must be made to achieve this on a nationwide scale. It must not, as it is at present, be confined to the intellectuals and the upper strata of society... If family planning is to be an effective means of checking the growth of population and improving health, medical men must take a most earnest interest in the matter. Advice and guidance and even the supply of appliances, should be available at all health clinics. Another essential is intensive research work, which will place cheap and easy methods within the reach of the average man and woman. The rhythm method and self-control may be excellent in themselves, but for the great masses of the people, simple contraceptives are the only answer."

Shri K. Subrahmanyam (Vizianagaram): Sacrilegious.

Shri Gidwani: This is what these two doctors have said.

Our Government had appointed a Committee known as the Family Planning and Programme Committee,

and after its first meeting, that Committee has submitted a report, in which it says:

"In India, cheapness and the ease with which the housewife can make a contraceptive out of material readily available to her at home, are matters of fundamental importance. towards the fulfilment of our objective of promoting an extensive use of the selected methods."

Further, the Committee says:

"...it is necessary to record the Committee's considered view that no reasonably rapid progress, based on sound methods, is likely to take place in promoting the cause of family planning unless sufficient support for it is given from the funds of governments and of local bodies. In making this recommendation, the Committee took note of the fact that there were only 165 centres in the country working in this field maintained either by Government, local bodies or voluntary organisations. This number is totally inadequate for the purpose in view. The Committee feels that the establishment of family planning centres in existing hospitals, dispensaries and maternity and child welfare centres is the only way, with the handicap imposed by the present financial resources of the country, of reaching the people on as large a scale as possible in urban as well as in rural areas. It would be desirable to develop in each State one centre for development and research."

I have gone through the scheme which Government have drawn, and I know that they have appointed two committees. But I would wish that this matter is given wider publicity, and wider support is enlisted for this purpose. I would suggest that an advisory committee may be set up, consisting of those Members of

the House who believe that this problem should be tackled, and that for tackling this problem, greater efforts are needed, to see that the information is made more easily available to the masses. This committee may be attached to the Ministry of Health, as an advisory body.

With these words, I conclude my remarks.

**Mr. Chairman:** Resolution moved:

"This House is of opinion that with a view to control the rapid increase in population as revealed in the Census Report, 1951, Government should adopt all effective measures to encourage family planning in accordance with the recommendations of the Planning Commission."

I would rather like to know how the situation stands in regard to the amendments.

**Shri D. C. Sharma (Hoshiarpur):**  
I beg to move:

That for the original Resolution, the following be substituted namely:

"This House is of opinion that with a view to control the rapid increase in population Government should adopt the following measures, namely:

- (i) hospitals and health centres for providing advice on methods of family planning for married persons who require such advice should be opened;
- (ii) field experiments on different methods of family planning with a view to determining their suitability, acceptability and effectiveness among different sections of the population should be conducted;
- (iii) techniques and procedures for educating people on family planning methods should be developed; and

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- (iv) research on the medical and technical aspects of human reproduction should be undertaken."

**Mr. Chairman:** There is an amendment in the name of Shri S. N. Das. The hon. Member is absent. Next, Shri Ragunath Singh, who is also absent.

**Shri Sadhan Gupta** (Calcutta—South-East): I beg to move:

That for the original Resolution, the following be substituted, namely:

"This House is of opinion that the idea of family planning as a State policy is based upon a theory which has no scientific validity and which is utilised by reactionaries all over the world to lay upon the people the responsibility for their failure to improve the standard of living of the people. This House, therefore, urges upon the Government the abandonment of family planning as a national policy."

**Shri S. C. Samanta** (Tamluk): I beg to move:

That for the original Resolution, the following be substituted, namely:

"This House is of opinion that a Population Commission as proposed in the Five Year Plan be at once set up to assess the population problem, appraise the results of experimental studies already done by two Committees and recommend measures in the field of family planning."

**Mr. Chairman:** Then there is an amendment in the name of Shri V. P. Nayar, which, I think is out of order.

**Shri V. P. Nayar** (Chirayinkil): Why?

**Mr. Chairman:** Because the real operative part is only a negation of the original Resolution, and the rest is argumentative.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** That is exactly the scope of the amendment of Shri S. N. Das, as also that of.....

**Mr. Chairman:** I do not want to be referred to the amendment of another hon. Member who has not moved his amendment at all. The matter would be relevant, only if it is allowed to be moved. But it has not been moved at all.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** I would like to know under what rule, this becomes inadmissible?

**Mr. Chairman:** Under the rules relating to amendments to Resolutions.

**Shri Nambiar** (Mayuram): Though it may be negative, still its aim is different.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** I do not find any rule. That is why I ask you under what rule it becomes inadmissible.

**Mr. Chairman:** Unfortunately, I do not have the rules at the tip of my fingers, but I have given the reasons, and I think these come within the rules.

**Shri Nambiar:** Though it is worded in a negative manner, still, its aim is quite different. It has a different purpose in view.....

**Mr. Chairman:** Order, order. The hon. Member concerned is quite able to defend his own case. I may even refer to rules 313 and 314.

**Shri Dabhi** (Kaira North): I beg to move:

That in the Resolution, after the word 'measures' insert 'excluding artificial methods of birth-control'.

**Shri N. L. Joshi** (Indore): I beg to move:

That at the end of the Resolution, the following be added, namely:—

"and for this purpose set up a Committee of this House to advise the Government on this subject."

**Mr. Chairman:** There is an amendment in the name of Shri V. B. Gandhi. I am sorry that it is out of order. The original Resolution relates to family planning, and the amendment suggests a solution which is absolutely extraneous, viz. the creation of Ministry of Population, which is outside the scope of the Resolution.

Shri P. N. Rajabhoj has got an amendment in his name, but he is absent.

With regard to Shri Barman's amendment. I am sorry that also is out of order.

**Shri Barman** (North Bengal—Reserved—Sch. Castes): This is in support of the Resolution.

**Mr. Chairman:** There is no question of support here. This is outside the scope of the Resolution. This undernourishment has got nothing to do with family planning; even if it has, it has only a very very remote relation.

**Shri Barman:** I would like to submit that this is another method which will help family planning.

**Mr. Chairman:** That is exactly the objection. This is an absolutely different method, whereas the original Resolution is on family planning.

Then there is an amendment in the name of Shri Venkataraman.

**Shri Venkataraman** (Tanjore): I am not moving.

**Mr. Chairman:** There is one in the name of Shri Sivamurthi Swami. I am sorry that is also out of order.

श्री शिवमूर्ति स्वामी (कुष्टगी): मुझे जो अमेंडमेंट हाउस के सामने रखना है...

**Mr. Chairman:** About the admissibility of the amendment?

**Shri S. N. Das** (Darbhanga Central): May I request you to allow me to move my amendment?

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member has missed the bus.

How is the amendment of Shri Sivamurthi Swami relevant?

**Shri Sivamurthi Swami:** It is relevant because I do not think that family planning should depend on drugs and medicines. I want that production must be intensified.

**Mr. Chairman:** Again, the alternative method suggested by the hon. Member has nothing to do with the main Resolution.

Amendments moved:

(1) That for the original Resolution the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House is of opinion that with a view to control the rapid increase in population Government should adopt the following measures, namely:—

- (i) hospitals and health centres for providing advice on methods of family planning for married persons who require such advice should be opened;
- (ii) field experiments on different methods of family planning with a view to determining their suitability, acceptability and effectiveness among different sections of the population should be conducted;
- (iii) techniques and procedures for educating people on family planning methods should be developed, and
- (iv) research on the medical and technical aspects of human reproduction should be undertaken."

(2) That for the original Resolution the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House is of opinion that the idea of family planning as a State policy is based upon a

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theory which has no scientific validity and which is utilised by reactionaries all over the world to lay upon the people the responsibility for their failure to improve the standard of living of the people. This House, therefore, urges upon the Government the abandonment of family planning as a national policy."

(3) That for the original Resolution the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House is of opinion that a Population Commission as proposed in the Five Year Plan be at once set up to assess the population problem, appraise the results of experimental studies already done by two Committees and recommend measures in the field of family planning."

(4) That in the Resolution, after the word "measures" insert "excluding artificial methods of birth-control."

(5) That at the end of the Resolution the following be added, namely:—

"and for this purpose set up a Committee of this House to advise the Government on this subject."

**Dr. Rama Rao** (Kakinada): Sir, with many statements of the hon. Member, Shri Gidwani, I agree. But there are others which I will have to criticise. He has first talked about food starvation, then want of housing, then want of education and people sleeping on the pavements in the Delhi winter. There are many other things. I will just mention one. Our friends from Madras will remember that in 1951 there was a case in which a father was charged with stabbing his two sons and the judgement of the High Court says:

"Here is a rare case, a very curious case, in which a father stabs his two sons not out of hatred but out of love".

In the lower court, he got 20 years and the evidence was closed with a recommendation to the High Court to be lenient. But why did he stab his two sons? Out of love, out of starvation. He wanted to save them from starvation so he stabbed his sons. These are the conditions. I need not go into details about this. There is no difference of opinion as regards our starvation, our poverty, unemployment, very very low, miserable standards of our life and longevity of life. On all these things, we have no difference of opinion.

Now the question comes about the diagnosis and the cure. Here I feel Shri Gidwani has missed the bus. Now it has always been the imperialist and capitalist propaganda that the poverty of the country is due to over-population. They tell the backward countries: 'Oh, you breed like pigs. That is why you are starving'. In Rayalaseema recently there was a severe famine. There, one military officer—whom I do not want to mention by name—had the impertinence to tell them, the starving people living on roots, on *kanji* and other things: 'You are starving because you are producing too many children'. We must call a halt to this sort of nonsense of telling people who are starving that their starvation, their unemployment and all that is due to their producing like pigs. We must see the real cause. Misery exists in India not because there is over-population, but because there is maldistribution of wealth. There is no proper distribution and no proper production. To put it very briefly, Sir, the capitalist society which has been carrying on this propaganda of over-population, that all the miseries are due to over-population and not to maldistribution and improper production, has been having the best of life leaving millions and millions of people to starve, to remain unemployed and to suffer. This is a sort of what I may call 'Operation Sidetrack', just to deceive people. This morning we read in the papers—and very often we read in the papers—



how thieves knocked off cash boxes from banks and post offices. They throw a few notes on the ground and divert the attention of the poor victim and then knock off the bag. This morning we read that in a post office, they knocked off a big insured amount by throwing a few stamps on the ground. I want to mention this to my friend, Shri Gidwani, that he should not be deceived by these few notes and stamps and lose sight of the main, correct diagnosis and correct treatment. The correct diagnosis is the capitalist society. The capitalist order which lives on the sweat and blood of the vast majority of people for their own benefit is the real cause. We must change the society; we must change the order. Only then we can solve it. It is not new; it has been there and these people have been arguing many things. So the background of the argument by which our friend, Shri Gidwani, proceeds has been deceived. This family planning propaganda has been carried on by capitalist governments to keep people deceived. One of their most prominent experts—I would call, the Archbishop of family planning—is Vogt. He blames doctors for curing diseases. He says that doctors are doing a great disservice to the people by curing diseases like plague, cholera and others!

**Shri Raghavachari (Penukonda):**  
Who is he?

**Dr. Rama Rao:** Vogt. Prof. A. V. Hill in his presidential address to the British Association also says the same in a more dignified language. But the idea is the same—doctors are doing a great disservice to society by curing epidemics. There are others who argue that war is a blessing in disguise; it keeps the level of population low. These are all arguments to support capitalist society so that they can exploit people and live on them. Of course, I do not believe Shri Gidwani and many other people who believe in family planning or talk loudly about it believe in these arguments.

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy:** He is not married. He does not know the background of family planning.

**Dr. Rama Rao:** Now, I will come to the land question. They say the main thing is the law of diminishing returns. That is the basis of the family planners' wrong theory. We know that with modern equipment, with modern manures and modern methods we can produce more and more out of the land. It is not because the land is already exhausted that we are getting less. The capitalist does not do enough for the people for our own country, leaving other countries alone. Of the arable land, only tow-thirds is under cultivation and we know very well that with our rivers, our projects like the Ganga Barrage, the Gandak project, and coming to my own State of Andhra, with rivers like Godavari and Krishna—which are now going waste—there is any amount of scope to develop irrigation and thus from every acre we can get any amount, much more than what we are getting at present. Look at the recent Japanese method of cultivation. We will evolve new methods and increase the productivity of land; then atomic energy will be used to serve people, not to destroy them. With all these it is simple blindness and shortsightedness to say that the land cannot maintain the people. Of course, the land cannot maintain people as long as the benefits of the sweat of the vast majority are enjoyed by a handful. Land cannot keep them; people will be starving; people will be dying; they will be thrown into the dust-bin as long as the present conditions exist and not because the numbers are very great.

I will just read one line from what Lord Boyd-Orr who, of course, is anything but a Communist, said. Referring to population control, he says:

"There is very little doubt that the only real effective method of birth control is to improve the diet, to raise the standard of living and education".

In this connection, I may say it is an established fact that people who

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eat less protein have more children. Our diet must contain more protein. It has a physiological action. More protein saves the liver and the liver will control ovarian secretion. Thus, fertility is less where the protein intake is high. We eat very little protein; we live on a starvation diet. The society in which we live, the capitalist society, keeps people starving and deceives them by saying: You are starving because you are producing like pigs'. This is a most intolerable thing. Let us realise the cause.

Yesterday I was glad to hear Mr. Samanta use the word 'budgeting' the manpower. We budget manpower to create a new world and not by this sort of talk. So let us not deceive ourselves by family planning.

**Shri Nambiar:** May I make a submission, Sir? This is a controversial subject. Therefore, I might request that one Member in support of the Resolution and one in opposition might be allowed to speak alternatively.

**Mr. Chairman:** I shall have to find out beforehand who is in favour and who is against!

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** Those who have moved amendments might be given a chance first.

**Shri Venkataraman:** Sir, my desire to participate in this debate is the result of study of the somewhat gloomy report of the Census Commissioner which, I am sure, has been perused by everybody.

**Shri B. C. Das (Ganjam South):** It is exploded!

**Shri Venkataraman:** The Census Commissioner—I know my friends always explode—has made a very detailed and thorough study of the trend of the growth of population in this country together with the amount of land available, the quantity of land that can be brought under cultivation and also the extent of improvement by irrigation, increased use of fertilizer and so forth, increased or improved methods of cultivation, and

has come to a somewhat dismal conclusion that by the year 1981 if we do not check the growth of our population, we shall very probably have to re-enact those tragic scenes of 1943 in Bengal. It has been estimated that per capita a person consumes  $4\frac{1}{2}$  maunds of foodgrains, that is nearly one-fifth of a ton per annum. At the rate of progress of the growth of population in our country, you will require, at the end of 1981, something like 380 lakh tons of food. Allowing for the increased acreage of 5 lakhs, and also for double cropping in the existing lands, it has been estimated that the food production would go up to 120 lakh tons, and another 120 lakh tons by improved use of fertilizers, etc. Whereas your total need would be to the order of 380 lakh tons, the total increased production would be to the order of 240 lakh tons. Unless my hon. friend, Dr. Rama Rao, is able to disprove these facts, I do not think any amount of abuse of the capitalist system of society would ever bring food to the growing population of our country. I am well aware that merely because there is a small population in a country the standard of life in that country need not be very high. If you are given a fixed quantity of national income and if the number of the population is increased, naturally the standard of life is decreased, and conversely if the population decreases, the standard of life increases. The national income of a country, however, is never fixed. There is always an endeavour on the part of the people in charge of the administration of the country to increase the national income, and what, therefore, determines within broad limits the standard of life of the people is really the productivity of man in that country. The productivity has also got its limitation and you cannot increase the productivity of man even in the field of producing children beyond a particular level.

**Pandit K. C. Sharma (Meerut Dist—South):** There is no limit to that even.

**Shri Venkataraman:** The limit of productivity of man in a particular country is dependent upon the scientific progress, the capital available, the quantity of land available in the country and various other factors. The simple answer which is very familiar now and which I have heard repeated in several places is that you should collectivise the land, you should change the system of production and distribution and then you will solve your problem. That is the familiar slogan which Dr. Rama Rao has repeated from the various doctrinaire theories of his Party. I have searched through all the documents relating to statistics in the world, but I have not found any statistics with regard to the Soviet Union's population, but in respect of other countries I have got the statistics of population, the density of population per kilometer, the *per capita* income, the national income and so on. If my friend Dr. Rama Rao says that, it must be capable of proof and the proof can come only by reference to the total quantity of production in the country and the *per capita* income in that country. I would request any Member of the Opposition to come forward with figures with regard to the *per capita* income of the Soviet Union minus Siberia.

**Dr. Rama Rao:** Ask Rajkumari Amrit Kaur.

**Shri Venkataraman:** Why? (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Nambiar:** Because she has been there.

**Shri Venkataraman:** The information should be available, but it is not found in any document of the United Nations, so far as Soviet Union's population is concerned. It is a glib talk to go about and say that if you collectivise and change the manner of production, you will have a better standard of life. If we really want that the standard of life of the people should increase in this country, there is no other way than to control the population, and the method of control is, of course, left

to the experts to decide. Unless you control the population. (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member may proceed.

**Shri Venkataraman:** It is the only way in which we can improve the standard of life of the people. Sir, I think I had better stop here at the close of a sentence.

**Shrimati Ila Palchoudhury (Nabadwip):** Family planning cannot be looked at from a narrow angle. Some hon. Members of the Opposition, I think, stated that whenever there is any question of the improvement in the economic structure of India, we are shown the bogey of over-population, but that cannot be held as the only stumbling block for better conditions of living. To my mind, to a mother there can be no unwanted child, fundamentally. Society and economic pressure force her to feel so sometimes. What we need is the help of the State in looking after all children, a structure of economic framework that will cater for the needs of children for their efficient upbringing. Children are, after all, the future India. What happens now? Children uncared for swell the figures of infant mortality; they fill the ranks of the "juvenile delinquents"—as they are called—I personally have a strong dislike for that term. Young people are misguided, they are hardly ever bad in themselves. Juvenile delinquency, is mainly, to my mind, a projection of adult antisocial behaviour. Anyway, when these poor children are let off from our juvenile jails, where no sympathetic and adequate training has been arranged for up to any standard, they ultimately, no longer juvenile, swell the ranks of antisocial elements, and become a burden on society. If we had better employment, better schools, better standards of living, the problem of family planning would automatically fall into its rightful place. Admittedly, guidance is necessary and doctors, clinics, health visitors, etc.

[Shrimati Ila Palchoudhury]

should work to impart enlightened knowledge and thus help save the credulous and ignorant from quacks and wrong information. Why the Press (Objectionable Matter) Act does not apply itself to the various advertisements that are both untrue and fantastic and cause untold harm in many cases, I do not know! In India, the attitude of the mother to the child she bears and nurses in her arms is one of love and pride. The child to her, is the very epitome of the "Bal Gopal" that has come to bless her heart and home. Till a proper economic level can be established that will look after the minimum needs of the children in the State, a certain wisdom in assuming parenthood should be encouraged; but the real problem to be solved is the giving in a Welfare State, to all children, their natural heritage and right, to be loved, clothed, cared for and educated.

The average child, whenever he or she comes into the world under such a regime, where their parents have been wise and the State has removed many of the difficulties, will grow up to be the average man or woman and will be the backbone of the country. Their achievements may not always be spectacular, but will always be worth while and steady. Their mothers will feel, along with that well known mother of ancient India—

कुलं पवित्रम जननी कृताध्याः :

(Koolam pavitram janani Kritarthya); for she will be guarded by knowledge, for wise parenthood, and helped by the State to give the best to her child, and she will realise that great satisfaction, that only a mother knows—

“कुलं पवित्रम जननी कृताध्याः”।

श्रीमती उमा नहू (ज़िला सीतापुर व जिला खेरी—पश्चिम) : जनाब चेअरमेन साहब में न अभी जो एमेन्डेमेन्ट मुना उस

से मैं हारत में पढ़ गई। यह एमेन्डेमेन्ट जिस में कि एक भाई ने कहा कि "Production to be intensified" तो मेरा यह ख्याल हुआ कि वाकई जो प्रस्ताव यहाँ आया है उस में कोई सीरियसनेस है या कि वह केवल मन्त्रांक है। मैं समझती हूँ कि हमें यहाँ इस सवाल पर बहुत संजीदगी से विचार करना चाहिये।

श्री शिवमूर्ति स्वामी : मेरी बहन ने जो मुझ पर रिमार्क किया है उन से मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि मेरा मतलब यह था कि फैमिली प्लानिंग . . .

Mr. Chairman: Order, order. Is the Member replying to the debate, making a personal explanation or raising a point of order? I believe none. He only wants to advance an argument at this stage, which he is not entitled to.

श्रीमती उमा नहू : मेरे ऊपर तो यही असर पड़ा। लेकिन खैर, मुझे आज बहुत मुबारक देनी है अपने आनरेबुल भाई गिडवानी साहब को जिन्होंने आज यह प्रस्ताव रखा है। लेकिन साथ ही यह प्रस्ताव जब वह लाये तो मैं सोच रही थी कि गिडवानी साहब जो कि शादीशुदा नहीं हैं उन को कहां से इतनी हिम्मत हुई। बहरहाल अगर उन की जगह में होती तो मेरी हिम्मत नहीं होती। लेकिन फिर भी उन को मुबारक है कि उन्होंने आज इतनी हिम्मत कर के और ऐसी खूब-सूरती से बयान दिया है यहाँ पर कि फैमिली प्लानिंग किस तरह से होनी चाहिये। फैमिली प्लानिंग का प्रश्न जब हमारे सामने आता है तो हम को पूरा देश का नक्शा देखना पड़ता है। सारे नक्शों में से केवल एक फैमिली प्लानिंग को हम ले लेते हैं, यह बाकी ठीक नहीं है।

असल बात यह है कि फैमिली प्लानिंग के पहले सोशल प्लानिंग हुआ करता है।

अगर हमारा सोशल प्लानिंग इस तरह का होता कि उस में हमें दिक्कतें न होतीं तो शायद यह फ़ैमिली प्लानिंग का प्रश्न ही हमारे सामने न आता। लेकिन हालत यह है कि हम से कहा जाता है कि जो जीव भगवान के इस दुनिया में आते हैं वह अपनी गिजा भी अपने साथ लाते हैं। यह शिक्षा हम को दी गई है। हम ने यह देखा है कि जो सीधी सादी जिन्दगी बसर की जाती थी उस में एक रेस्ट्रेंट रहता था लेकिन हम अब यह देख रहे हैं कि आज कोई ब्रेक ही नहीं है। मुझे यह कहना नहीं है कि कंपीटलिस्ट स्टेट होनी चाहिये या सोशलिस्ट स्टेट होनी चाहिये। लेकिन इस में शक नहीं है कि हमारी हालत यह है कि जो लोग हैं वह भूखे हैं, उन के पास मकान नहीं है, उन के पास कपड़े नहीं हैं। हम यह भी देखते हैं कि अगर उन के पास रहने सहने को जगह नहीं है, उन के पास वस्त्र नहीं हैं, उन के पास मकान नहीं हैं तो फिर हम को सोचना पड़ता है कि अगर हमारी स्टेट हम को यह चीजें प्रोवाइड कर दे तो हम को यह दिक्कत न हो। लेकिन हालत यह है कि वहां भी उस के लिये गुंजाइश नहीं है। तीसरी तरफ हम देखते हैं कि आजकल हालत यह हो रही है कि बच्चे कीड़ों की तरह पैदा हो रहे हैं। यह भी हमारे सामने है। साथ ही उन को हम भूखें मरते हुए भी देखते हैं। जब यह सवाल हमारे सामने आता है तो हमें यह ख्याल होता है कि फ़ैमिली प्लानिंग होना चाहिये, इसलिये नहीं कि हमारी कंपीटलिस्ट स्टेट है बल्कि इसलिये कि हमें जीवों को बचाना है। संसार में जीवों को ला कर उन को मरने देना बड़ा पाप है। यह सब ख्याल हमारे सामने आते हैं। लेकिन फ़ैमिली प्लानिंग में दिक्कत यह है कि जिस तरह से फ़ैमिली प्लानिंग बतलाया जाता है उस तरह से हो या किसी और तरह से हो। मैं समझती हूँ कि इन दिक्कतों को समझने

में हमारी गवर्नमेंट काफी काबिल है और साथ गवर्नमेंट के मेडीकल आदमी भी हैं जोकि इन बातों को समझते हैं। गवर्नमेंट ने इस प्रश्न को अपने हाथ में लिया हुआ है। मुझे पूरा यकीन है कि गवर्नमेंट इस प्रश्न को अपने तरीके से चलायेगी लेकिन अगर गवर्नमेंट के चलाने में कोई दिक्कतें हुईं, कामयाबी नहीं हुई तो कोई वजह नहीं होगी कि गवर्नमेंट क्यों न दूसरा तरीका अस्तित्कार करे। मैं ऐसा नहीं समझती कि गवर्नमेंट बेखबर है उस को पता नहीं है और सिर्फ हमें ही होश आया है। जिन के पास खाना नहीं है, फलों चीजें नहीं हैं तो बच्चे भी नहीं होने चाहियें। यह सब चीजें सोचनीय हैं। यह बहुत पेचीदा सवाल है। एक दम से आप कहें कि फ़ैमिली प्लानिंग से हम प्लान कर लेंगे कि एक बच्चा हो, दो हों या चार हों यह बहुत मुश्किल है और यह बहुत सोचने की बात है। मेरे पास इस पर बोलने के लिये ज्यादा समय नहीं है। फ़ैमिली प्लानिंग पर तो एक लम्बी डिबेट होनी चाहिये। उस के एक एक पहलू को समझना चाहिये। यहां तो उस पर खाली इजहार राय करना है और वह यह है कि मुझे पूरा विश्वास है अपनी सरकार पर क्योंकि सरकार के पास नरसेज हैं, डाक्टर हैं और सब चीजें हैं। वह इस को अच्छी तरह से समझती है। अगर हम में सरकार से ज्यादा काबिलियत है तो हम खुशी से अपनी राय दें और बतलायें कि वह क्या करे और क्या न करे। आज हम को इस का ख्याल इसलिये पैदा हुआ है कि हमारे पास देश के बच्चों की परवरिश व जिन्दा रखने की सहूलियतें नहीं हैं।

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** Sir, it is a very simple human problem that I am going to present before you. I do not want to base my arguments on medical grounds; I do not want to quote the names of big persons in support of my argument. I think any

[Shri D. C. Sharma]

Member who has been elected to this House or to any legislature, must be aware of this problem at all levels. We represent all levels of society here, from the humblest if I may use that term,—that word is rather egotistical and high-brow—to the highest. I use the connotation which is very well known in this country.

From my experience of those persons whom we call Class I officers, and also of those persons who live on the starvation level, or on the marginal subsistence level, I can say that family planning is highly desirable. Only recently I met a Class I officer. We all make much of Class I officers. He told me that he had a child eight years old and he was going to retire in two or three years' time. He did not know what to do with it. This problem of taking care of your children, clothing them, giving them education and placing them well in life, is a problem which we have to face. I think we are living in an era of planning which is the most dynamic thing. What is the most radical thing that has happened during the last two or three years? I think it is the Five Year Plan; everybody talks of the Five Year Plan. It has made us plan-minded. When I go to a college, I hear about a plan; when I go to a school, they talk about a plan and every municipality and town have their plans. I work in a college and that college has a plan. Everywhere we have plans and I do not see the reason why we should not have this kind of plan in that unit of human society which is the basis of all the plans in this world, the basis of human happiness and human welfare.

I, therefore, think that in the context of our Five Year Plan, in the context that we are working for a welfare State and trying to bring the substance of this welfare in the life of the people, family planning is a highly desirable thing. When I look at the old history of India I find that Shri Dasaratha had four children; Shri Ramachandra had only two

sons. I think we have been living under these traditions where we do not want to have too many children. I therefore think that this is necessary in order that the standard of living of the people might improve and in order that we should be able to build a welfare State.

There seems to be an impression that this family planning is going to be something compulsory for everybody. I do not think so. I think the framer of the Resolution has said this, and I have also said this in an amendment, and so many persons have also said this. What we need is a kind of education so far as family planning is concerned. I want to make it clear that so far as the western methods are concerned, I do not want to have any truck with them nor have anything to do with them. I think these methods are not suited to India.....

**An Hon. Member:** What are the Indian methods, then?

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** What we need is education of the people in family planning. It is not going to be imposed; it is not going to be a matter of compulsion; it is going to be a matter of personal choice, of personal will on account of economic considerations and the desire to have a higher standard of living. This is something which is to be attempted and achieved at this time.

I find that it has been said this is something unscientific. I am sorry to see that, but as we have in this world two sides to every question, so science also has two sides. There are certain scientific things which are looked upon by us as very scientific but those very things are said to be unscientific by some others. I do not think, therefore, that we should be misled by the words, scientific or unscientific. That which has stood the test of time is scientific. (*Interruptions*).

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member has not yet finished. I shall call on the next speaker after he finishes.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** Family planning may be done in this way. We shall start centres, as I have said in my amendment, in towns and villages and we shall tell people about the necessities of family planning and they will learn these things.

**An Hon. Member:** Is it going to be some kind of religious instruction?

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** I do not think so.

6 P.M.

**Prof. Mathew (Kottayam):** I do not go to that extent to which some critics of the Resolution would like to go, to suggest that those who advocate this family planning are perhaps misguiding us with almost a wrong motive, that they are trying to sidetrack the main issue before the country, that they are using it as a camouflage for not putting forth the best efforts in the constructive line by way of adding to the food production of the land and of providing better and greater educational facilities, and so on and thus solving our problems. I repeat I do not want to go to that extent of criticism. But, still, I wonder whether the insistence on "this need, great need, imperative need", as they would wish to make out, of family planning has not the effect of misdirected emphasis or misplaced emphasis. Of course it is open to the advocates of this resolution to reply that while they advocate family planning they are all for the other positive direction of effort for adding to the food supply, adding to educational facilities, for greater and more medical facilities and so on. They do not advocate family planning to the exclusion of other nation-building activities. They say in effect that they want to develop both lines side by side. But still there is such a thing as priority of emphasis in order to direct our efforts. You may say: 'we want this, we want that and we want a third thing and we want all these things at the same time'. But I repeat there is the question of laying greater emphasis on one thing rather than on another

at a given time and therefore, I agree to some extent, with those friends of the Opposition who say that in the over-emphasis of this particular line of solution by family planning, perhaps we are misdirecting our effort, by not laying as much emphasis if not more on other constructive lines.

However, after I have referred in this way to preliminary consideration, I want to pass on next to an aspect of a distinctly and directly moral nature. I do not want to take refuge in any great name, even the great name of the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi. It is a familiar line of tactics that whenever we want to support our own argument we turn to Mahatma Gandhi and use his name when we feel that the argument advanced by us is not carrying sufficient weight by itself. I do not believe in the infallibility of any person. Gandhiji himself never asked for any unquestioned acceptance of any of his views but still his authority, his convictions, especially his moral convictions are factors to be taken into account. I do not say that we should always abide by that, but we should take them into account and then use our own independent reasoning and we may perhaps come to a different conclusion. However it is well known to everyone who has studied his writings and views that he was for family planning only in the sense of planning by moral control and moral restriction; he was against artificial, mechanical birth control. But we are not discussing in the resolution before us here. I take it, the question of moral control to which of course there will be no objection from any side of the House. Though it is called family planning, we are discussing in this Resolution family planning by the use of artificial, mechanical methods. There are those besides Gandhiji who argue that the very principle of it is wrong though I do not think that there can be unanimity on that point. By artificial means I mean that kind of attempt to divorce as it were, a very sacred and intimate marital relationship from that

[Prof. Mathew]

purpose for which providence or—if you do not believe in providence—Nature would seem to have designed it. I do not wish to stress that argument to a great extent, though it seems to carry a good deal of weight with it.

In a country like India where leaders of real quality are limited in number there is this danger that those who first avail themselves of this family planning are the educated people, while it may take a pretty long time for the knowledge of this method to reach the lower classes. Therefore the restriction of population would seem to affect more the higher ranks of the educated people. And that would seem to be one distinct disadvantage, among others, to be taken into account.

For want of time, Sir, I drop the other points that I wanted to develop.

**Shri Raghavachari:** I rise to support this Resolution, but in a modified form. Apart from that, I agree with my friends when they say that this problem of family planning or this planned parenthood or unwanted motherhood and all this kind of talk is really sidetracking the issues in the world. The whole purpose of creation is multiplication. It is so in nature and in human beings, and it will continue to be so. And all scriptures, religions, societies and nations have always believed in this theory. Without children the life of a man and a woman is without purpose.

“ प्रजया हि मनुष्यः पूर्णः । ”

If a man to live fully and usefully he must certainly have a family and children. Otherwise it is not complete. You take the highest of our cultures. In the *Upanishad*, when the student after his examination goes out of the university, the master tells him :

“ प्रजातन्तु मा व्यवच्छेदसीः । ”

That means you must not break the thread of progeny. We always believe in children for doing *shradh*,

protecting you in your old age and at every stage. Therefore, to say that we do not want children is not quite the correct thing. What exactly makes this problem? You must not sidetrack it. You must take a realistic view of it. The realistic view is the world is large, scientific methods are available. Produce more food, produce more comforts, produce more of everything. To say “produce less children” is the wrong way of looking at the problem.

But, really, where exactly the crux for family planning comes is that the old method of a restrained life, of a purposeful life and everything of the spirit has gone. We are in a materialistic age, and now you have nothing more than pleasure and indulgence. It is this that is responsible, as well as the society which encourages materialism, and the whole atmosphere is nothing but sex and sexy life. The only thing that is left for a poor nation which has no diversion, no education, no culture—the only pastime is sex. Unfortunately the world goes on like that and doctors have told us, people who take some kind of unproteinized food and less nourishment produce more children. This is the kind of thing going on.

The real point that should attract the attention of the nation will be certainly what would be the result if the multiplication goes on at this rate. Therefore the thought and the idea of a family planning must necessarily be in the mind of the nation.

Suppose this family planning had been adopted by our ancestors, would we have had Gandhiji here, or Tagore?

**Shri Nambiar:** The whole House would not be here.

**Shri Raghavachari:** Most of us may not have been here. What I mean is that Gandhiji was not the second



or the third child of his parents, nor was Tagore. Therefore this process of looking strictly from this narrow point of view is wrong.

But the position is this. Whatever we see in the urban population, in the modern civilised population, in the half-civilised population, is poverty, modern materialism and increase in the fertility rate.

I only wish to stress one point and it is this. We have committed a sin, as Sharmaji put it. In every strata of society there is this enforced motherhood on a lady whether she wills it or not, by the aggressive man. The result is we see them ill, suffering, miserable, and that is where there is sin. I feel that the enforcement of a responsibility on a person who cannot bear it is committing a sin and is violence. That has to be prevented. It can be done only in certain cases by proper education, by the raising of the standards of life and by telling them the proper way of doing it. Taking only to mechanical means would simply ruin the nation spiritually and morally. And it will lead to nothing but indulgence. Therefore I would urge the ancient method of restraint, control and also improvement of the social and economic conditions, which alone is the proper method.

**Pandit K. C. Sharma:** I am grateful to you for having given me this opportunity. After millions of years of struggle, integration and disintegration, strides and defeats, progress and recessions, man has come to be evolved to his present state in this world. This evolutionary process has brought us to a stage where man can easily be called the most civilised creature on this earth, rather the finest product of the Almighty, a piece of art, a piece of beauty.

Now this piece of art and beauty faces difficult problems. You are growing. You have grown. But may I respectfully ask you: would you have been evolved in this shape and

in this existence if all the babies that were born had been allowed to live and no natural inhibitions had taken place. This is the law of nature. In order to evolve a better being you have to exterminate the rougner, you have to do away with certain elements. Man has come to control the world. He de-natures uranium, produces things out of un-productive things. But by the nature of this marshalling of factors in the world, productive and other things of beauty and youth, you have somehow to plan yourself to see that a better race, better than we are, is produced. How is it possible? It is not possible if all the mass of human society is allowed to develop as, by natural method, it is developing. Now are we to see that the finer specimen, some sort of super-man is possible on this earth? It is possible only if you control the growth of human population. My friend says that there are so many possibilities like producing more food, wealth and greater amenities of life. To him I put only one question. Is it possible to produce enough food to feed the inhabitants of every nation in the world and also provide modern amenities? It is not possible. If you produce enough of agricultural food, that is cereals necessary for the population of a nation and try to be self-sufficient as is necessary in war, then industry will come down and everybody will have to go naked. Then we will go to the primitive days. Unless we limit our population to the extent that cereals are sufficient for every man and woman, and the other amenities of life can be made easily available to the people, we will have to go back to the primitive days, that is, we will have to say good-bye to all the higher values of life. I am one of those who attach greater importance to the higher values of life that humanity cherished all along, rather than to greater numbers.

Sir, it is clear that we have three clear alternatives, that either you have the birth-control or war and

[Pandit K. C. Sharma]

consequent killing or you lead a miserable life and reduce yourself to the primitive days of starvation and misery. I beg to submit that birth control is the safest and best of the three. Now, there are two objections to this—religious and national. I say that religion itself is a way of making possibilities for better evolution, and for better evolution, limitation of population is necessary. It is more religious therefore that birth control should be resorted rather than have a mass of humanity in degradation, misery and starvation. As far as nationality is concerned, it is better to have a stronger, long-lived and more intelligent population, though in smaller number, than to have deteriorating, degrading and unthinking persons in large numbers.

With these words, I submit that there is no way out except to control population in this way.

**Shri Raghuramaiah** (Tenali): I rise to support the resolution not in any light-hearted manner, but in a religious frame of mind, because I am convinced—and the House will agree—that family planning is the greatest revelation since Adam ate the forbidden fruit. I am really surprised that Dr. Rama Rao who is often so very eloquent about increasing the standard of living of people in this country, should oppose the Resolution so vehemently, and should call it a capitalistic move and things like that. I really do not know how capitalism comes into this. If a desire to increase the economic status of the general mass of the people is capitalism; if a desire to reduce the hungry mouths and at the same time increase the resources of the country is capitalism, well capitalism, I must say, stands redefined. Dr. Rama Rao has expended a good many eloquent words trying to prove that our resources can be indefinitely increased. I do not know whether he has ever heard of the theory of diminishing returns. He was referring to fertilizers and so on. In my own

village last year, they went on adding lots and lots of these fertilizers to land—double and treble—with the result that the quantity actually produced per acre has not been quite commensurate.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** Blame your Government for that.

**Shri Raghuramaiah:** If that is the way you look at things I am sorry for you. If you go on adding even first class fertilizers, double and treble to the land.....

**Dr. Rama Rao:** Ask Dr. Deshmukh about it.

**Shri Raghuramaiah:** I need not ask Dr. Deshmukh. I have seen the fertilizer myself and I am satisfied that it is of the best quality in any part of the world. If you still doubt my statement, you read any book on elementary Economics and you will find a chapter on the law of diminishing returns. There is a limit to productivity beyond which you do not get the same return for the expenditure you incur or for the stuff you put in. Therefore, the resources of this country being limited, you cannot go on increasing your population and then complain of poverty. I am told that within the last ten years the increase in the country's population is equal to the total population of France. If we go on producing little Frances every ten years, I do not know where it is going to end. At the rate we are producing now, by about 1970 we will have a population of 52 crores. I know it suits the purpose of some of my friends because they will have more dissatisfied souls and more votes. Also, they will have greater fields of activity.

**Shri Nambiar:** By that time the difficulty will be solved.

**Shri Raghuramaiah:** Anyhow, it is blasphemous to call this plea for family planning a capitalistic crime. As a matter of fact it is there in most of the advanced countries. I

know you would like us, as in Russia, to go on paying for children. Fortunately, in this country we are quite prolific and there is no need to encourage birth of children. We need not go on the analogy of those countries. We do not have to canvass for children. There is a book—I think just now a copy lies with Dr. Rama Rao—by name “Geography of Hunger” by D’Costro who is Chairman of the Council of F.A.O., and the thesis which he has put forward in that book—which is of interest to this country—is that, wherever there is under-nourishment, there is increased growth in population. It is a vicious circle. When population increases, your resources being limited, the standard of living goes down. Where there is under-nourishment, there is more population. I think it is high time that...

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** So, why not increase nourishment, rather than decrease population?

**Shri Raghuramaiah:** We are trying to do both. Our Five Year Plan is trying to do that; on the one hand to increase our resources and on the other to see that the population is not unnecessarily increased. I do not know why my friends are thinking that this family planning is something novel in India. We always had it. Our ancestors had it. It was because of economic reasons. Our great Smriti writers, all of them, have said that we should have more and more male children. They discouraged female children because of the economic conditions. Therefore, it is not something new. Now, of course, male children are as big a burden as female children and, therefore, we are trying to limit both.

I would, therefore, strongly support the Resolution. I should say that one of the ways in which the misery in this country can be eliminated is by family planning and if you do not adopt family planning there will be family famine.

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**Shri Tek Chand (Ambala-Simla):** Excessive population has reached a proportion in this country when the problem, when the menace, when the threat has become both grave and grim. Ours is a land not only of the highest population, not only of the highest birth rate, not only of the highest death rate, but also of the lowest age at the time of mortality. To boot, there is a permanent addition of immortals, if I may say so, numbering 50 lakhs a year. That is to say, individuals may live or individuals may die, but there are 50 lakhs of immortals added permanently to our population every year. In short, we have to think of populating three Delhis every year. That is the problem that is facing us. If this problem is not examined, if this increase is not checked, the result will be that the process that we are going through will bring in mass suicide. It is therefore very necessary to deal with this problem. Those who are talking of religious principles are not being religious, but they are being religiose. Religiosity is the bane of our country, not religiousness. Religiousness prescribes self-denial, not self-indulgence. In the name of self-indulgence, appeal is made to religion. Therefore, whether it is to be examined from the point of view of scientists or it is examined from the point of view of absolute self-existence, or it is going to be examined from the point of view of true religiousness, it is not only desirable, but it is mandatory, it is imperative that we ought to know the dire consequences of the process if it is not checked. It is extremely desirable that something should be done about it.

What I suggest is this. The knowledge of the danger facing us, the knowledge of the consequences of breeding like, I won't say, mosquitoes, but almost like rabbits should be spread among the people. The effect of the population is going to tell on our age, on our health, on our longevity. Impart knowledge, tell the

[Shri Tek Chand]

people about this danger, scare them, frighten them with hard facts that if they go on with the same process, their progeny is not going to live long and that there is that danger ahead. Facts and figures have to be presented and knowledge has to be imparted.

Another thing is this. Methods have to be devised. That is a serious matter. I heard a word or two against contraceptives. If your medical scientists have evolved a formula whereby this overgrowth can be checked, the knowledge of that discovery has to be brought home and inexpensive methods have to be evolved; the earliest the best.

**Shrimati A. Kale (Nagpur):** I thought that I had not even the slightest chance of speaking on this Resolution and therefore I had to take a little time to recoup myself. I have not much time at my disposal and I shall therefore hurriedly say what I have to say in this matter.

An hon. Member from behind quoted the instance of Mahatma Gandhi. But I would like to tell him that we accepted Mahatma Gandhi as our political guru and not as our guru in matters of this kind. Therefore, no purpose is served by quoting Mahatma Gandhi with regard to his ideas about contraceptives.

I, myself, along with other women in the Women's conferences have been working in this direction for the last 23 years. Let me tell you that all these years I have not met a single woman so far who is against family planning, because, after all, it is the woman who has to bear the burden of the family. Not only that. Recently, I think six months ago, we convened a mixed meeting of men and women in Nagpur over which I presided. Many of the eminent delegates advocated family planning. I am glad to tell you here that to me, the men seemed to be more anxious about it than women. Not only that. After two or three

days, when I was going in my car, one man stopped my car. I thought he was going to kill me because of the meeting that I had convened. He said, we are grateful to you for voicing forth the feelings of 99.9 per cent. of the people of this class, meaning the clerks in the secretariat. Therefore, we see that the time has come when even if one does not want to resort to it, the circumstances are such that you cannot but resort to family planning.

What the methods will be. I do not know, I will quote one or two instances that have occurred recently which will go to show how society is moving. Only some 15 days ago, a man committed suicide by laying himself prostrate on the railway line because he was only getting Rs. 150 with four children to support, and he could not support them. So also, a young woman,—a very able woman and if she had survived, she would have been the greatest social worker that we have ever produced—she had married a clerk with a salary of Rs. 100/- and he blessed her with five children—was affected by tuberculosis and she died in the most tragic circumstances. These are not solitary instances that I am quoting. If you keep your eyes open, you will find everywhere similar things happening. The old ideal of *ashta puthra sowbhagyavati bhava* does not hold good any more. If we can afford to put them in luxury at least, let us have twelve children. Shri Tulsidas can afford to have twelve children; not any ordinary person in the secretariat, who finds it very difficult to make the two ends meet. I am very sorry to have to make the statement that seven years have passed since we have been ruling this country, but, if you judge by the population, we find that at least 3½ crores have been added to this country making it very difficult to make any scheme successful. I am sorry to find that our Government has not been very active in

this matter. Because, after all, I think that any scheme of expansion, whether it is in the economic field, whether it is in the field of education, whether it is in the matter of raising the standard of living, will be shattered on this rock of over-population. Therefore, I think that the time has come when we must think impartially, rationally and without any religious bias. It is the duty of those in power to subjugate their personal views in obedience to the wishes of the Government and follow the policy that has been laid down. I also know that even in the days when we had the National Planning Committee of which Shri Jawaharlal Nehru was the Chairman, there was reference to this question and it is stated that not only is it necessary to curtail the population, but it is necessary to checkmate the growth of population by means of contraceptives. Therefore, I again appeal to the hon. Minister to be kind enough to look at this very grave problem and do something which will help to solve the problem.

**Rajkumari Amrit Kaur:** I have listened with great interest to all the speakers who have spoken this evening on this very vital issue. I am glad that this opportunity has been given to the House so that I have had an opportunity of hearing on the floor of this House as to how the hon. Members, who are the elected representatives from their areas, feel about this matter. My own view has been expressed on more than one occasion on the floor of this House.

I do not intend to answer this evening from the political point of view so much as from the social point of view, because, after all, this is primarily a social question. I do, therefore, want to say at the outset that this is not a problem of which the Government is unaware, but at the same time I think I am right in saying that perhaps the Government of India is the only Government in the world that is even attempting to tackle it from a governmental level. No other Government in the world has undertaken this problem.

After all, the matter of procreation of children is a natural process and it is a very intimate process between a man and his wife, and no Government can interfere in it. Therefore, I want the protagonists of birth control who talk as if Government could today bring in measures and do things to stop the growth of population, to pause and think for one moment as to what Government can do. There is little really, that Government can do. The problem has to be looked at from every point of view.

I entirely agree with those friends who say that if you raise the standard of life of the people the birth rate goes down. There are the protagonists of birth control methods, and especially methods of mechanical contraception, who say you cannot raise the standard of life of the people because of the growth of population. I disagree with them, and I think that standards of life can be raised. I believe that they are being raised, and I believe that the result of the raising of those standards will be felt in not too great a measure of time.

I also do not take the extremely gloomy picture that has been painted by the Census Commissioner. He would have us believe that by 1981 this country will be at an end, and that there will be nothing but starvation here. I disagree with him. I think that we have all got to put our shoulders to the wheel and see to it that our production increases, and I am quite sure that it will increase and our standard of life will then go up.

Then, there are other ways also of tackling this question. Take our society. It hurts me, it hurts me as a woman, to see women who are mothers before their time is really ripe for being mothers. This is one way in which you can tackle this problem. Why do our Members here always want to resort to the method of mechanical contraceptives, without ever paying any attention to

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other ways, and much better ways, of solving this very vital problem? Raise the age of marriage of our girls, and I would support you in that. I was reading an article only the other day that if the age of marriage of girls is raised—and of boys too—well the incidence of births will at once go down.

**Shri A. M. Thomas (Ernakulam):** Our Census report itself supports that.

**Rajkumari Amrit Kaur:** Exactly.

These are some of the ways in which we have got to proceed. The methods recommended to me invariably are those of mechanical contraceptives. Why can we not raise the age of marriage—the most fertile period is between 20 and 30—and see that in the ages of women from 15 to 20 there are no babies born anywhere? It hurt me only yesterday to read in a paper that there was a student of 24 years—he was not very much more than that—who was the father of eight children! These are things which we have got to stop in this country.

I do not take a gloomy view, and I also feel that it is for us to try and put our own house in order. A propaganda is literally being carried on even outside that India and China have far too many persons living in their countries. I do not think we need worry so much about it. I am far more worried about the increase in the adulteration of food, about the increase in the adulteration of drugs, about the increasing lack of integrity in our people than about the increase of our population.

But having said that, and having said to you that we ought to attack this problem in other ways than by methods of mechanical contraception, I say to you that mechanical contraceptives have not been the blessing or the boon that those who advocate them imagine that they

have been in the countries where they have been used. And I would be the last person in the world to recommend to my country and my people to follow wholesale the West in this matter. There are countries where contraceptives have been misused to such an extent that now women are barren and when they want to produce children they are unable to produce them. Then, they lead to immorality also which is what I do not want for my country. Then, the financial burden that would be cast on our country with the use of mechanical contraceptives absolutely rules the method out. Further, there is the ignorance of our people and lack of medical personnel.

But having said all this, I do wish to say to you and to the Mover of the Resolution, that the Government of India has taken up the question in right earnest and the paper that I placed on the Table of the House the other day, and from which the hon. Member I believe quoted also, gives a very fair picture of what the Government is trying to do. But please remember that any attempts at birth-control will not show any results for at least a generation, and this is not a thing into which we can absolutely rush without weighing the pros and cons. Many things are being done in this country for birth control by our ignorant people which are an absolute menace to health. We have got to stop them. We have got to have a survey to see what is the best way of doing things, and I would beg the House to give me a chance of giving you results after a couple of years from the three centres—and I hope there may be more—of the rhythm method which is the traditional method, which is absolutely in consonance with our spirit and our tradition, which I feel will give results.

I agree with the Member who said that education is what is needed. And he was twitted and asked:

"Does he mean religious education?" No. But do our people realise what the birth of so many children means? Women do. I agree with the woman Member who said that there are lots of women who are anxious to have a certain amount of control because they have borne too many children. Well, as I have said, the God-given means of birth-control are within the reach of each one of us. Why don't we use them? I have to admit that to say: "We recognise Gandhiji as our political leader, but we do not recognise him in other matters" makes me bow my head in shame. I do recognise him in every way, and I say to you that the longer I live and the older I grow the more I am convinced that he laid his finger always on the right spot, and he was right when he spoke against mechanical contraceptives. I do not want this country to go away from his advice in this matter whatever the wishes of the House are, that is another matter,—but I personally do not favour it. But the Government have, as I said, established for the present three experimental family-planning centres. Also in some States voluntary organisations are working, and we are asking all of them to see what education can be carried out. We are trying to give education in its widest sense in all health centres wherever we can give it. We have actually issued literature, and we are going to issue more literature. Only last May, the Government of India appointed a Family Planning Research and Programme Committee, and action is being taken to implement the recommendations made by them which have been accepted. We have even gone so far as to see that research programmes will be put through, a centre has also been established for the testing out of contraceptives that are being used today. I say to you that many of them are most injurious to health. We cannot recommend them. There must be some authority that will recommend what is good and what is bad. Nothing of that kind has been

done upto today. That also has to be taken on hand. We have set up one such centre at the Cancer Research Institute in Bombay. It is not as if one did not recognise the vital necessity of planning—as Shrimati Uma Nehru said—with a view to stopping the suffering amongst women, and with a view to seeing that the children that are brought into this world are the best that we are able to give to the country. We do want to see to it that we do not ignore the science of eugenics, that we bring into this world, children that are wanted, not children that are not wanted, but then the great responsibility rests more on the man really than on the woman. One hon. Member quite rightly said that it is man who is aggressive, but we have gone away from the fact—and we do not even wish to recognise—that there is such a thing as self-restraint. It is not so difficult as it may be said to be. I feel that if we have proper educational centres, if we have these proper surveys done, if we try our our rhythm method. I believe that we shall be able, within the course of time, and going ahead with our food planning giving more nutrition to the people, and raising their standards of life in every possible way, to make quite good headway.

It was rightly suggested that the people should be taught. But who is going to teach them? Very few people know what to say or how to teach. So, Government have also got a centre for the training of personnel who will be trained, and who will be able to reach out to both women and men, and who will be able to advise and guide. It is not a thing that can be done in a hurry.

I would beg of the Members of this House not to be over-pessimistic, not to lay all their emphasis as if all the ills of India today were due to the fact that we were overpopulated. Nothing of the kind. A great many of the ills of this country are due to poverty; it can be

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removed, and it will be removed. Similarly, ignorance is there, that also has got to be removed. If that is done, everything will go all right, and therefore there is no need for a Resolution like this, because as I have said Government have taken up the question in right earnest and are doing more than what the hon. Mover has said.

We are thinking of creating a post of special officer for organising these training programmes, and we are in constant communication with the States, asking them what they are doing, and we meet fairly frequently. I feel, therefore, that Government are tackling this problem on a practical basis, in consonance with the traditions of this country, and without feeling that this country is just going to wreck and ruin, simply because the population is increasing at a very fast rate. One hon. Member even said that our population is increasing at a much higher rate than in other countries. I want to contradict that statement and say that it is not increasing any more than—in fact, it is even less than that—in America, and our death-rate is much higher. Therefore, I would beg of the hon. Members not to feel over-depressed on this matter. We should stand up to the problem and face it and we should do all that is in our power to see that the women, the mothers of the race, have not too great a burden put on them, and that they should be helped and guided in every way.

I would ask the Members of this House, when they go back to their constituencies, and here in Delhi too, to ask the people themselves to exercise self-restraint and to see to it that they bring about those social reforms which will help us to combat this problem in the natural way without much expenditure, and propagate the gospel of raising the age of marriage of girls, and taking pledges from every young man not to marry until he is a wage-earner.

With these words, I would ask the Mover of the Resolution to withdraw it, in view of the assurances that I have given to him as to what Government are doing in this connection.

**Sardar A. S. Saigal (Bilaspur):** On a point of clarification. A committee was set up by Government to go into the question of contraceptives. May I know whether that committee has completed its deliberations and made its recommendations to Government?

**Rajkumari Amrit Kaur:** If hon. Members would remember the questions that are put and the answers given, they would know that the report of the committee was laid on the Table of the House. The hon. Mover of the Resolution has quoted from that report. Further if the hon. Member will come to me, I can give him a copy of the report, and he will have all the information that he wants. If hon. Members will come to me at any time, and see me about this question, I can explain to them in more details, what is being done.

**Shri Gidwani:** While I find that all sections of the House, particularly our women Members, have wholeheartedly supported the Resolution...

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** But no young man has supported. We have heard only the older Members.

**Shri Gidwani:** Excepting one or two Members, and particularly our communist friends, others have supported it. It is only they who have talked of this as if it were a problem of capitalism *versus* labour, or the proletariat *versus* capitalism. All this has no bearing on this question.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** It has.

**Shri Gidwani:** It may be.

If you look to the history of this problem you will find that it has been supported by humanitarians of all countries, and it has nothing to do with politics.



**Shri V. P. Nayar:** Of the type of Mathews.

**Shri Gidwani:** In India, it was supported years back by Mr. Karve, the son of the well-known professor Karve, who went on carrying propaganda for this method, and ultimately the country has accepted it. So, this has nothing to do with communism or capitalism. I am surprised to find everywhere these arguments being brought in with a view to cloud the real issue. I would say that they have tried to cloud the the issue so that people may not understand it properly.

I can understand their position that if in the world the population were so distributed that people could go anywhere, from one place to the other, and we had enough food, then the problem would not have assumed such serious proportions as it has done in India today. But today, the position is different, and we are importing foodgrains from outside the country. I was absolutely ashamed, and I had to put down my head, when the Mayor of Bombay, Mr. Patil went to a ship which had brought foodgrains from America, with two bags in his hand, and a photograph was taken on that occasion, as if we were beggars at the door of America. It is better to die rather than to beg of others.

**Shri Achuthan** (Cranganur): They are the 'haves', and we are the 'have-nots'.

**Shri Gidwani:** Therefore, I say that this problem is one, which we have to solve immediately.

In my opinion, the hon. Minister was rather hesitant regarding the use of contraceptives, and she virtually opposed it. I would like to know then what is meant when it is stated in the First Five Year Plan that this programme of the Planning Commission includes the provision in Government hospitals and health centres of advice and methods of family planning for married persons, who require such advice. Is the

advice to be given on self-control methods?

**Mr. Chairman:** Order, order.

**Rajkumari Amrit Kaur:** May I explain to the hon. Member? So many methods are used here, which are wrong. And there are methods which are all right. We are going to have a survey of all of them, and there is no ban on anybody buying contraceptives. If they wish to know about them, they will be given advice. But Government are not providing mechanical contraceptives. That is the main point.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** How is it possible to say that some methods are wrong, and some others are right, when the world authorities on this matter are divided in their opinions?

**Shri K. K. Basu** (Diamond Harbour): It is for individuals to decide themselves.

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Minister has explained the whole thing, and this is the view held by her. No hon. Member has a right to say anything, so far as personal opinions are concerned.

**Shri Gidwani:** The question is not of any particular method, but whether this programme of family planning includes the use of contraceptives. We cannot solve the problem merely by self-control methods or raising the marriageable age. In fact, we have already raised the marriageable age, and I think many young people are now marrying very late. But that has not solved the problem of rapid increase in the population. Therefore, self-control may not achieve the object which we have in view. Here is a definite plan which has been adopted by Government, which relates to family planning, and in a way aims at putting a stop at the increase of the population.

What are the methods? The method of self-control really cannot be the effective method. It may be good in a way. The raising of the

[Shri Gidwani.]

marriageable age may be of some help. What is wanted is opening of clinics which will give people information regarding all methods including the use of contraceptives. Let us carry out that programme. My experience is also similar to that of Kale. (*Interruptions*) Not my own experience because I am not married (*Interruptions*). That is not the question.

**Shri K. K. Basu:** Your opinion will not be taken into consideration. (*Interruptions*).

**An Hon. Member:** Why did you not marry?

**Mr. Chairman:** Order, order. Let him proceed.

**Shri Gidwani:** It is, again, personal. This neck of mine was intended for the gallows of the Britisher. Therefore, I did not like to take any responsibility. That is a personal matter. That was in 1907. I may also add that I was under some religious influences which have been contained in a poem of Swami Vivekananda.

"No man who thinks of a woman as his wife can ever perfect be

Nor he who owns however little can ever pass through Maya's gates.

So give these up Sanyasin boldly say Om Tat Sat Om."

That is a different matter. Therefore, when I say 'my experience,' it is not my personal experience. You know I have been working for the displaced persons. There was a person, a journalist, in Karachi who was residing near my house. He was very prolific and used to produce a child every 14 months. When he came to Bombay, I tried to get him a job as a journalist. He got some job for six months, ten months and so on. Still he went on procreating. He is living in a Chembur camp, Bombay where he has got one room with 11 or 12 children with no regular in-

come to support them. Then he came to me in 1952 after he had one more child. I told him "You wretched man, why are you procreating like this. I will give you money? Go and get yourself sterilised". He went to the doctor, got himself sterilised. It is a very simple operation. I am talking of the men. There is no reason why the whole burden should be thrown on the women. Sterilisation takes only 15 minutes; it is a simple operation.

Another gentleman, a friend of mine, who was an MLA had an income of Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 30,000 a year in Sind. When he came here, there was no income. He was also very prolific—every year one more child and he went on multiplying. Then I told him to get himself operated. After operation, both he and his wife are very happy; only the doctor advised him not to ride on a cycle for some days.

Therefore, I do advocate birth control methods and I say our Government should provide facilities that beyond a certain number of children—I do not say that it should be compulsory—people should not procreate. Now housing conditions have also changed. I remember we had a small house where the mother, the father and the children used to live. I do not want to go into details. Now, conditions have changed. Therefore, facts must be faced. I consider it a very humane problem, a more humane problem than opening hospitals or opening T.B. sanatoria, because on the one side, if you go on opening these institutions and on the other side, you go on increasing and multiplying like flies, there is no solution to the problem. I am very serious about it. I am not supporting it in a spirit of levity or lightheartedness. I have seen people in very very miserable conditions and therefore, I feel that our duty must be to impart knowledge, to give them education. I

would say in India we should find out the cheapest method and the most healthy method which does not affect the health adversely. It is a thing which must be done. Let us not be complacent about this issue.

My friends, the Communists, are interested because more population means more discontent, more food marches, more strikes, and more fights with Government. They are interested in a political move. I am not interested in that.

**Sardar A. S. Saigal:** They have got slogans.

**Shri Gidwani:** Let us be realistic. I tell you they are not afraid of the misery of the people; sometimes they intensify misery (*Interruptions*). I tell you I cannot bear the miseries of the people. Therefore, I do honestly appeal to our Health Minister not to consider it from personal viewpoint or personal prejudices. She quoted Gandhiji's name. I can also quote Gandhiji's name. But we have violated many things which Gandhiji said. We have forgotten so many things that he said. So let us not invoke his name. I would, therefore, urge that a committee of this House should be appointed to go into this matter, give advice and select suitable methods. These methods must be propagated so that the knowledge regarding them may be brought to the door of the poor people, particularly in the rural areas.

7 P.M.

**Mr. Chairman:** Is the hon. Member withdrawing his Resolution?

**Shri Gidwani:** Is there any difficulty to accept my Resolution?

**Rajkumari Amrit Kaur:** In view of the assurance I have given that the Government is doing everything that it can and since the problem is not one that can be solved overnight, I do not think the hon. Member will want to pursue his motion.

**Shri Gidwani:** In the light of the assurances given, I have no objection to withdraw my Resolution.

*The Resolution was, by leave, withdrawn.*

**Mr. Chairman:** There is no question about the amendments as the Resolution itself is withdrawn by the hon. Member. Let us now proceed to the next Resolution.

#### RESOLUTION RE SECOND CHAMBER AT THE CENTRE

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy** (*My-sore*): I beg to move:

"This House is of opinion that the existence of the Second Chamber at the Centre is quite unnecessary and steps may be taken to make the necessary amendments in the Constitution."

**Mr. Chairman:** How much time will the hon. Member need for his speech? The total time allotted for this Resolution is 2½ hours.

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy:** Half an hour.

**Shri K. K. Basu** (*Diamond Harbour*): On a point of order. The Law Minister ought to be present here when this Resolution is discussed.

**The Deputy Minister of Home Affairs** (**Shri Datar**): I am here to represent the Government.

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy:** Sir, each age has its pet political superstition. Feudalism was the favourite superstition of the Middle Ages. The divine right of kingship was the dominant superstition of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the same way, bicameralism is the dominant superstition of the modern age. When I say this, some Members of this august House may become annoyed, and the Members who belong to the other august House may equally be shocked. Bicameralism, in fact, has assumed almost the position