

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is—

2. "That at page 2, line 7, *after* the word "establishment" the words "including those who are working as part-time employees or through contractors" be inserted".

The motion was negatived.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is—

4. "That at page 2, *after* line 14, the following proviso be inserted, namely :—

"Provided that his total monthly emoluments do not exceed Rs. 750 per month".

The motion was negatived.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is—

"That Clause 3 stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clause 3 was added to the Bill.

Clause 4 was added to the Bill.

Clauses 5 and 6 were added to the Bill.

Clause 1 the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI K. V. RAGHUNATHA REDDY: Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill be passed".

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 176, GOVERNMENT'S POLICY ON POPULATION CONTROL

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We are now taking up the discussion under Rule 176. Shri Subramanian Swamy.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): You said, Sir, the sentiments expressed with regard to the teachers be conveyed to the Government. We would like to know whether any statement would be made.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Well, if any statement is to be made, you would know about it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I just wanted to know whether there would be any statement.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Subramanian Swamy.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I wish to draw your attention and the attention of the Hon'ble Members to some rather rapid developments in the field of population control policy of the Government of India. In Bucharest, Dr. Karan Singh, in his speech, said the following:—

".....we are quite clear that fertility levels can be effectively lowered only if family planning becomes an integral part of a broader strategy to deal with the problems of poverty and under-development. Our experience has conclusively shown that purely clinical approaches are not enough to effectively influence the general fertility levels".

He also said:

"It has truly been said that the best contraceptive is development".

Sir, I wish to compare these statements with what has been said earlier by the President of India, Mr. V. V. Giri, speaking before Parliament in 1970. This is perhaps the most authoritative statement made by a Head of a Government, not only because he himself has 14 children, but because he said it before Parliament. He said in 1970, "The rising rate of population erodes the gains of development". So the World Bank on which the Government of India relies—unhappily relies too much—said in 1974, "Of over-riding significance for India's long-run economic well-being

[Shri Subramanian Swamy]

is the effectiveness of population control". Now, Robert Cassell, who was employed by the Health Ministry as foreign expert said, "... the rapid rate of population growth in India is one of the greatest threats. . . if not the greatest. . . to her hopes of prosperity".

Now, Sir, there is a lot of difference between what Dr. Karan Singh said in Bucharest and what these people, including the former President of India, said a little earlier. The question arises because it is clear that the Government has switched its attitude from regarding population as a block to economic development to a position where it regards economic development as a block to population control. In both the situations, population control is considered desirable. In one case, population control is considered desirable because this way they can step up the economic development. In the other case, the instrumentality is completely changed. They felt that whatever be the objectives, ecological or others, if you want to control population, economic development is the best way of doing it. And this is what Dr. Karan Singh means by saying that development is the best contraceptive that there is. Now, why has this switch taken place? I have raised a discussion to see whether there is something fundamental that has gone on, fundamental change that has taken place, that has brought about this switch.

Sir, why has this switch taken place? Let me, with your permission, give some facts in this House. In 1964-65, the family planning budget annually was Rs. 2.2 crores and this kept on rising till 1973-74 when the family planning budget annually went up to 76.2 crores. Now, Sir, in the Fourth Plan, 1.7 per cent of the total outlay was kept for family planning; in the Fifth Plan, this has been reduced to 1.4 per cent and in the Annual Plan of 1974-75, this has been further reduced to 1.1 per cent. It is clear even from the investment figures that there has been a change in the

attitude towards family planning and population control. Now I wonder why this Switch—and this is precisely what I am getting at—has taken place. Partly it may be ministerial. We have now got a very able Minister. We had some really bad Ministers before and Dr. Chandrasekhar was one of them who, I think, was some kind of a maniac as far as population control is concerned, and then Umashankar Dikshit—I do not know whether he went to the office ever. Now we have Dr. Karan Singh and the change has taken place. It is perhaps there is change in the Ministers. Now this is only a part of the reason. Part of the reason may be that there may have been change in the Prime Minister's attitude. Apparently, the Japanese Premier Mr. Sato—when he was the Premier there—once spoke to the Prime Minister about being careful about family planning because they felt, in Japan, they had gone too far in family planning. The Prime Minister herself recently told an Italian newspaper Correspondent Oriana Fallaci that she would have liked to have 11 children but her husband was not in favour of it at all. Now, Sir, of course, the former President of India has 14 children and I have already mentioned this. This might be that there is also further change in the attitude about the frequency and desirability of having lots of children. I think bulk of the reason why there has been a change in the Government's attitude as reflected in the deliberations of Bucharest is because the family planning programme as practised in the past has flopped and flopped quite badly. Even the World Bank which has all along had a vested interest in seeing that India controls its population, has begun to bemoan that India's family planning programme has lost its momentum.

Last year, sterilization was down by 60 per cent; the I.U.C.D.—Intra Uterine Contraceptive Device—was down by 18 per cent; programme acceptance everywhere was down even by the Health Ministry's own accounts. There was, however, one disturbing trend. I find that the Ni-rodh sale in the country has gone up by 17

per cent. I was wondering why sterilization has come down, the I.U.C.D. should come down, the programme acceptance of that should come down, the programme acceptance should come down but the Nirodh sale should go up.

On a deeper investigation, I found something even more strange. Although the total Nirodh sale went up by 17 per cent, the free distribution of Nirodh went down by 7 per cent and it was the commercially sold Nirodhs that went up by 58 per cent. This does mean that in the case of those family planning sake, obviously their acceptance programme has gone down. Nirodh commercially sold is used for other purposes also. We know that recently in a youth rally—I need not mention which party's rally it was—Nirodh was found in the train and I remember a couple of years ago. . .

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Tamil Nadu): It was the Congress Youth Rally.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Yes, of course. I remember, a couple of years ago I had an appointment with the Secretary of Health and Family Planning and that day's appointment coincided with the very day when he was taking over charge. He had been in another Ministry and he was moving in the Ministry of Health and Family Planning. He was cleaning up his predecessor's room and I can establish this with certainty—I am not throwing mud but it does reflect something on the working of the Ministry the Health Secretary's room was an enormous room; there was a double bed in it and the drawers were full with Nirodh. I do not know whether he was doing Nirodh selling in his room or doing something else.

Let us now go into the figures and see what the Plan targets have been.

In the Fourth Plan the target for sterilisation was 15 million and the actual achievement was 9 million. For IUCD the target was 6.6 million and the actual achievement was 2.2 million. There was a 33

per cent achievement and 67 per cent was off. In the case of conventional contraceptive users, the target was 10 million and the actual achievement was 2.5 million. The number of couples protected cumulatively, the target was 28 million and the actual achievement 16.1 million. The targeted birthrate was 32 per thousand and the actual achievement was 35.6. The birthrate did not come down as much as the Health Ministry had targeted for. At the same time, the expenditure on family planning was not really flattering. I do not know really how much of this achievement itself is a reality. For instance in 1972 the Health Ministry decided to introduce what you call the mass vasectomy camp. Now, Sir, in the case of the mass vasectomy camps, the Health Ministry transferred the power of administering those camps from the local health officer to the District Collector. I remember in UP the District Collector had a quota that so many choppings or sorry operations may be done. He went around catching anybody and everybody on whom he could lay his hands. Whether he is an old man of seventy or eighty, it did not matter. Once an old man of eighty went to a District Collector and wanted to have his land dispute settled. The Collector told him that he would solve the land dispute, but the old man would have to come to the vasectomy camp. He got vasectomy done but the land dispute was not settled. Unfortunately in most cases though the vasectomy was done, the land dispute was not settled. I do not know what these achievements are. More hair-raising things have taken place and many deaths have taken place. These have appeared in the papers. I could go into it, but I do not like to go too much into details. So much so two thirds of sterilisation done in 1973-74 in these mass vasectomy camps were done by the District Collectors at various places. Now, Sir, the transfer of these mass vasectomy camps has had a very negative effect. The latest position is this. In the Health Ministry's annual plan for 1974-75 they had put the target at 3.3 million sterilisations, but recently they have revised it and brought it down to 2.0 million. It is down

[Shri Subramanian Swamy]

by 40 per cent. The target for ICUD insertions was 0.9 million originally and they have brought it down to 0.6 million. Before the Plan started, in 1974-75 they put down a certain target. Within a few months they cut it down by 33 per cent. It was targeted for 1974-75 that 4.9 million people would be conventional users of contraceptives, but within a few months the Health Ministry decided that they could not do more than 3.5 million. It was cut down by 28 per cent. Besides the failure of targets, a new Health Minister came along who did not have the onerous responsibility of taking up the work. The question that I want to ask here is: Was this investment that you made on family planning worth the cost? Here I would like once and for all to explode the Health Ministry's claim that they have averted so many million births due to the Health Ministry's family planning programme. For example, they say that they have averted 2.5 million births last year. Now, if one looks into Indian history for the last fifty years, one will find that the birthrate has been declining autonomously. If you take the overall autonomous decline into account, you will note that even on a trend basis 2.2 million births would be fewer-every year. This the Health Ministry should know by its own calculations. If there had been no family planning programme, the annual decline that has been taking place year by year since 1911 would in itself have resulted in 2.2 million fewer births. It is not because of massive investments that it has averted 2.2 million births.

Here itself I would say that it is a myth that they have created; the programme of averting births, in my opinion, is utterly false. Let us any way take the Ministry at its face value and say that they have averted all these births. Since 1952 what has been the investment? A sum of Rs. 17.14 crores has been sunk into the family planning programme. How many births has the Ministry averted? According to the Ministry's own calculations, 14.9 million births have been aver-

ted. That means they have spent roughly Rs. 500 per birth averted. This amount of Rs. 500 is far above the per capita investment in the Fifth Plan itself. I think in the Fifth Plan, the per capita investment per person is only Rs. 167. That is, the Government of India thinks that it can do wonderful things for its population by just spending Rs. 167 per capita. In a total investment of Rs. 51,000 crores, they just spend Rs. 167 per capita and they say they can do wonderful things. And yet, what does the Health Ministry say? It says, we have spent Rs. 500 to prevent a birth. That means, they in fact have spent much more than what they need to, if they wanted to provide food, clothing, shelter, etc. for the population. If that is their argument that they want to control the population—because if a baby is born they have to provide it with food, clothing, shelter, employment, etc—then I would say that it is much cheaper to provide them with these things than to have such a programme of averting births. Of course, I do not accept the Health Ministry's calculation of 14.9 million births averted through the family planning programme. But even if we take it to be the correct figure, then the ratio between the per capita investment during the Fifth Plan period and the amount that they have spent towards per birth averted would be enormously large. Actually, I have given these figures after I have done a much more refined cost analysis into the subject and it turns out to be that, if the object is to prevent births, then the family planning approach of the Government of India is not what is technically called cost effectiveness; in fact, it is cheaper, according to Government's own calculations, to provide food, etc. for the population than to try and prevent a birth.

What is the off-shot of all this? I would here like the Minister to ponder over this. To give it a pun, the family planning programme as conceived by the Government has led to a miscarriage, and now the Government will have to replan the whole thing again. Some changes have occurred for the better in Bucharest as represented

by Dr. Karan Singh's statement here. I do not know how seriously he is going to stick to it and how long he is going to be the Family Planning Minister also. But in any case, this is a step in the right direction.

Now, I would like to conclude by saying a few things which I think are of relevance in this discussion. First of all, let us be very clear and understand why births take place in India. In my opinion, there is hardly on the average a single case where births do not take place because they don't know how to prevent the births. A couple gets together and has a baby; because they do not know how to prevent it, they have a baby. (*Interruptions*) People from Gujrat are more experienced in these matters. Two people get together and have a baby because they do not know how to stop having a baby. This itself is patent when one-third of the world's abortions take place in India through crude methods. It is obvious. If one wants to stop a baby from being born, these techniques are unknown in India. Sometimes, it is argued that over population is due to lack of electricity or lack of TV and because people have nothing else to do, therefore they have sex and so babies are born. This is utter nonsense. It has no relevance whatsoever. I know, for instance—in the United States where there is a lot of electricity and a lot of TV, if you go to the beaches there, you will find none of the activities that are alleged to take place in the rural areas of India where electricity is in short supply. Voluminous studies on the Indian situation have been carried out by Indians as well as some impartial foreign groups like the Harvard University Public Health Study. Another voluminous study is known as the Khanna Studies where they have collected impressive mass of evidence to show that people do not have children more than their requirement. If you take into account the relevant factors such as death rate, especially infant mortality, there is a tendency for the families to hedge against the risk of death. I feel that decline in birth rate is taking place in

India automatically. Now people are realising that infant mortality is coming down. The Government must have mass propaganda to see that infant mortality comes down. Even with that in view people would automatically adjust the number of children to a smaller level.

Secondly, what is needed is social security for children in India. What is the other alternative for the parents? They have got to look after them. This is a factor that has to be taken into account. If you look at some of the United Nations documentation on the subject they point out that social security is a very important factor. Unemployment compensation and old age pension are a protection against inflation. If the Government could draw up a programme which would provide effective social security, automatically the birth rate would come down.

Third is the question of family labour. Go to the rural areas where family labour is a very important factor. The Harvard University Public Health party interviewed a large number of Chamars. The Chamars are having 9-10 children. They are proud of the number of the children they have. They say that till the age of five they feed the child and feed them minimum. And after the age of five they start working for the family and brings in income. This is another factor which is to be taken into account.

The fourth thing is the emancipation of women which I think is an extremely important thing. A United Nations document on this subject, reference of which I will give to the Minister later, has pointed out on a calculation that if you raise the marriage age by one year, then the birth rate comes down by 1.75 per thousand. Here is another social reformation that may be introduced in the country to bring down birth rate.

Sir, I would say that the Government appears to have shifted away from the clinical-cum-coercion technique. This coercion technique of "Do ya Tin Bas" has led to a mockery of family planning and it

[Shri Subramanian Swamy]

has had a negative effect. The fourth child carries a psychological feeling that she should not have been born in the first place because everywhere she finds this "Do Ya Tin Bas". This acts as a coercion technique. Do you not think that this campaign has already failed? In fact it has a large number of negative effects. In fact the Government is shifting away from this clinical-cum-coercion technique.

Finally, I would say that the Government should take three new factors into account in formulating a strategy. Firstly, they ought to develop a cadre of multi-purpose paramedicos who take a "community centred" approach to health and family planning. Now when family workers go to a village the villagers either close the door or take stones and sticks and start beating them up. Therefore, most of the statistics on family planning are cooked up in the urban centres. They do not go to the rural areas at all. I have seen in some cases the vans are parked in the city and the workers fill up their form and collect T.A. and D.A. that goes along with it. Therefore, instead of sending a team with knife and a pair of scissors let us develop a cadre of paramedicos with a community-centred approach. That is not very difficult. In the country we know there are about 75 diseases. All you have to do is to educate them on 75 diseases. Tell them how to cure them. Do not tell them how to cure cancer because that is hardly necessary. If you can list 75 most frequent diseases and their standard cure and teach the cadre their cure, then the cadre would integrate health and family planning which the Ministry is supposed to have done.

The second is, I would urge the Minister to consider a major socio-economic restructuring in the country, specially in regard to social security and emancipation of women. Here I would urge the Minister not to shy away from certain communities. There are varieties of communities and there should be varieties of approaches for emancipation of women. Let him take an even-handed approach to all

communities in the country. Thirdly, I would urge the Minister to take one piece of advice very seriously, that is, this programme of family planning should be completely self-reliant because the bane of health and family planning in this country in the last 25 years has been the involvement of foreigners, large numbers of foreigners, especially Americans, who have got this complex or phobia of brown men and yellow men swarming the earth and completely swallowing it. This phobia is basically at the back of their minds whenever they descend on this country to advocate family planning. And they have distorted our priorities completely. This whole nonsense of mass vasectomy, sterilisation, IUCD, etc., which are not at all used in the United States or are used with a great deal of caution, should be stopped. The IUCD is not used in the United States. In fact, it has now been banned in the United States. Those things they wanted to experiment here and so they came here and distorted our priorities. I would say that if you see some of the speeches made by the European and American delegates in the Bucharest Conference, you would see how panick-stricken they were when they heard Dr. Karan Singh. I have seen editorial comments on his speech where they have felt highly upset and flustered by the change in the Government's policy. I would say, in conclusion, that to Dr. Karan Singh's speech I have no objection. I would only ask him to spell out the details and also assure this House that he would sincerely proceed in this direction and not be deviated either by foreign pressure or by other kinds of lobbies in this area. Thank you.

SHRIMATI LEELA DAMODARA MENON (Kerala) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir. I am very happy that Mr. Subramanian Swamy has given this House an opportunity to discuss this subject, though I do not agree or rather I do not see eye to eye with him with regard to the purpose for which he raised the issue. Sir, the Bucharest Conference has really come at a very critical point of the world's history when humanity itself is in

a predicament with regard to the growing numbers. It is not even the numbers that matter to-day, but we realise that the rate of growth, even if it is on par with economic development, will create a lot of problems for humanity as a whole. Therefore, at the Bucharest Conference, world experts got together to discuss the population explosion, I feel that we have really reason to be proud that so far as our Government is concerned, we had realised this problem long ago. I think India can be proud that it is the first country where the Government made family planning a national policy and drew the attention of the Indian people to the fact that they have really to pay attention to the population explosion at some point or the other as it will deter them from development and progress. Mr. Swamy referred to some of the decisions of the Bucharest Conference. But we can find that it has really brought out certain very complex problems of population explosion, and it has not asked for production of population at every level. For instance, in countries like Brazil, Chile and Senegal, the population increase is only seven to eight per thousand. I do not think demographic politics would be brought there; their development will really require increasing population and not decreasing population. But so far as countries like India are concerned, we do have a problem because it is really linked with our development. Mr. Swamy raised the point as to what the hon. Minister said with regard to linking the population with poverty.

Sir, it is a fact that development does have a role to play in population control. Speaking about the hon. Minister's speech, what the Minister said was that the headlong flight to excessive consumerism by developed countries should be stayed. That is the problem now. Certain developed countries consume more than 80 per cent of the world resources and therefore we are at a loss because whatever plans are made, there is dissipation of resources. On the one hand development does have an impact on population and on another

poverty also does have an impact on population. There is no doubt that whatever survey may be conducted and wherever it may be conducted will show that education, better standards of living and better housing facilities do have an impact on population. That is why Government of India, after twenty years of intensive family planning propaganda and programmes in this country, have realised that better standards of living do have an effect on population growth. I think Shri Subramanian Swamy should not feel so angry about it. The decisions taken at the Bucharest Conference have left the entire responsibility of dealing with population programmes at the national level so far as the details of the programmes are concerned. The Indian representative has made it clear that world cannot overlook the responsibility of looking after the weaker sections of the people. That is why India brought forward the resolution on food at the Bucharest Conference. So far as plans and programmes are concerned, we have the national sovereignty in matters of population is recognised. We have our own programmes to improve the quality and level of life and standards here. We have a feeling that development is impossible without national independence and independence of action. Interdependence of development on population cannot be denied. These are some of the basic decisions that have been taken at the Bucharest Conference. Respect of human life and right of each individual and couples to decide the number of children and equality of women are some other decisions taken. I am very glad to see that Shri Subramanian Swamy has touched upon the subject of equality of women which is very important because very often when we plan programmes for family planning we forget the woman who produces children and only think of the numbers that are produced. Distribution of resources and finally the recognition of the problems of different countries as far as population is concerned were some other decisions. With regard to India, I am not quite sure about the statistics that Shri Subramanian Swamy has cited. But I know that from 37 we have definitely

[Smt. Leela Damodara Menon]

come down to, I think, 35 now and by the end of the Fifth Plan I think we will be at 32 per thousand. I do not agree that there is no impact of family planning programmes on population in this country because Kerala itself is an example. But as far as I know, the birth rate there has been reduced now from 37 to 27 and Kerala is a good example. It is the most literate State in this country and therefore whatever happens there has an impact elsewhere in India. These facts and figures do show that there has been some impact and effect. But I do feel that the programmes have not had their full effect. Therefore, what we must do today is to see that these programmes are better organised in the next Fifth Plan. Shri Subramanian Swamy said that the programme has flopped.

But I must disagree with this connection that whatever is done is a flop. It cannot be said that whatever is done is a failure had its effect. It is a two-way development. The effect is not felt immediately, but only at a later stage. So, what has been done ten years ago, we find the results of it only today and what is being done today, we can hope to see the results of it ten years hence. But the main problem, so far as we are concerned, is to find out whether we are going in the right direction and, in this respect, Sir, I wish to point that there are some new programmes that can be taken up in order to make the family planning programmes more effective. One question is with regard to the status of women.

Sir, it has been found that where women are educated, the number of children they get decreases. In a survey conducted, it has been found that illiterate women beget more children to women upto age of 47, the number of children the illiterate get is 6.6. In the case of education up to matriculation, 5.0 in the case of education up to high school level, 4.6 and 2.0 in the case of university education. This only shows that the society's behavioural pattern is dependent on the attitude of women and

if they have the proper status and if they have employment, they can really make up their minds whether or not to bring forth more children into their families whom they may not be able to look after. Therefore, if we think that the family planning programmes in this country are to be effectively implemented, I think the status of women and their education have great role to play. If women are employed and if men are also employed, then there will be less number of children. I think we should not laugh at the point made by Shri Subramanian Swamy with regard to lack of recreation and lack of employment leading to birth of more children...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: That is not what I said. I said that there was no lack of these things and even if there was, there was no bar to procreation.

SHRIMATI LEELA DAMODARA MENON: I stand corrected. But then I do not agree with him and I maintain that if the people have employment, if the people have recreation facilities and if the people have proper education, these things will have a greater reaction on the birth rate in this country.

Sir, death rate is decreasing and birth rate is not decreasing simultaneously.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: It is not so. Birth rate since 1921 has been going down. In 1921, it was 49 or so and today, it is 36. Therefore, birth rate is going down.

THE MINISTER OF HEALTH AND FAMILY PLANNING (DR. KARAN SINGH): Probably she means that the growth rate is increasing.

SHRIMATI LEELA DAMODARA MENON: I am speaking of the growth ratio. There is a difference between the two. Because you interrupted me, I could not make myself clear.

Then, Sir, children are the people who suffer the most if they cannot be properly looked after. With regard to the employment of children also, the people speak of

family security and for this purpose they want to have more children because if there are more children in the family, it means more people are there available for work. This also adds to the problem of increasing births. But, if we have proper legislation in the country under which the children are not allowed to work till they reach a particular age and until they can legally or lawfully be sent for work, this cry for more children for security purposes will not be there. While speaking about legislation children, I think we have also to consider some other aspects of legislation. We cannot allow in this country children to be borne by irresponsible parents who may have communicable diseases because it is the children who will suffer ultimately. But this happens because nobody not even the law prevents such people from having children who will be a burden to themselves and to the family and to the country also. Such aspects of legislation also will have to be considered when we think of a comprehensive programme for family planning.

Sir, with regard to economic development and birth rate I feel there is a vicious circle. But we must accept the idea that when we are planning for economic development in this country by a system of a very detailed planning, then, I think, we should not also overlook the fact that population also should be planned, and the idea should be accepted not only by the Government but by the people of this country. The people have accepted the system of planning in this country. Therefore, in order to make that successful, we must also accept family planning and involve more and more popular organizations along with the Government for the implementation.

Sir, in this connection, I wish to point out one fact that so far as the Government is concerned, in recent years they have become so isolated with regard to their programmes of family planning that the role of voluntary organizations in this country has gradually diminished. It is a very dangerous trend, because if the role of family planning voluntary organization

decreases, its impact on the people will, if not today but tomorrow, be much less; and we will have to start all over again.

The Bucharest Conference has really highlighted certain problems, world problems, and we in India have to make our own programme so that family planning is made an effective method to reduce not only population but also to give better and higher standards of life to people.

Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Mariswamy.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Sir, in the beginning I had no mind to participate in the debate. But after having heard my good friend, Mr. Swamy, and the hon. lady Member, Mrs. Menon, I thought I could also speak a little.

First of all, I must say that Mr. Swamy was a little partial when he said that Dr. Chandrashekhar was a maniac and he said nothing about his successor, Mr. Umashankar Dikshit. I think he should have said the same thing about him also. I think both of them are sailing in the same boat.

Whatever may be said, the family planning programme has not reached the poor sections of the country. There is absolutely no doubt about it. We may come and discuss the problem in Parliament, we may give interviews on television and radio, we can write beautiful articles in papers but it has never reached the villages, hamlets and other places, because the propagandists who have gone there have not sold the idea and made it acceptable to the common people.

Secondly, there is a feeling among the poor sections of the country that the more the children the greater the income of the family, because they do not have enough income or any assured job for them, they say, let us have more children. The

[Shri S. S. Mariswamy]

Government of India and State Governments have miserably failed in this respect. They have not made any serious efforts to see that the message reaches the villages and hamlets.

So far as the richer sections are concerned, Mr. Swamy has said that in America they have gone too far. Many of the baby powder, baby food, and other such industries have been closed, and hospitals, maternity hospitals, are being converted into bakeries. I read an article in "Times" or "News Week" to this effect. Now the question about under-developed countries, where there are large numbers of illiterate people who have not been given the opportunity to come up in life. Such people are predominantly found in backward countries. Therefore, before we start this family planning, the Government should launch upon another scheme to provide jobs for the people who are living in villages. Then only, this idea will be accepted by them. If they have a notion that they can survive if they have a large number of people in the house, then you cannot propagate family planning. Dr. Karan Singh is a very able Minister. He should try to impress this thing upon the Planning Commission which is almost dead. I hope we give a decent burial to it as early as possible. I am told that Mr. Dhar is going to Moscow as Ambassador and the Planning Commission will be closed after him. The country should congratulate him for having brought about this state of affairs because he has successfully sabotaged the planning. But if there is any remnant alive, then Dr. Karan Singh should see that they accept this idea. They should first try to give employment in the rural areas and then only this plan would become effective.

Somebody was talking about America. Americans don't believe in sterilization or vasectomy. They take to the pills. I am told—I do not know; I stand to be corrected if I am wrong—that the people who are addicted to the pills in America are the victims of breast cancer. India

has not taken to the pill. Mr. Swamy said that the sale of Nirodh has increased. It is a good thing that our people are using Nirodh. So, this is the position, Sir.

Another important thing is this. So far as I am concerned, I come from Tamil Nadu. According to the figures given by the Government of India, the growth rate was 11.85 per cent in 1951-61. It was 22.30 per cent in 1961-71. If you compare it with other States like Maharashtra, Tripura, West Bengal and U.P., our percentage is low. In other words, we are very seriously implementing the family planning programmes. What is the reward that we have got for implementing this plan with all seriousness? We had 41 seats in the Lok Sabha previously. Now, the number is reduced to 39. The Lok Sabha seats are fixed on the basis of population. We adopted this family planning with all seriousness and reduced our population growth and the result is that we have lost two seats in Lok Sabha. Is it the reward that the Government of India is giving us? Dr. Karan Singh should use his good offices and impress upon the Government as well as the Election Commission that the seats must not be disturbed. He must give us two more seats as a bonus. We have controlled our population growth. He should try to increase our seats and give us the bonus of two seats. So long as you don't apply your mind in a very impartial manner, you cannot achieve anything. So far as the idea of family planning is concerned, everybody accepts the principle. Some orthodox people in the countryside may object to it. But their number is negligible. Most of the people are for the programme. As I said earlier, in order to make it effective, the hon. Minister should take it to the villages. Every villager, either male or female, must be assured of a full time employment and they should be assured of some resources to live upon.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY (West Bengal) : Sir, I support the family planning programme and

I think it is a way of life. Family planning, if it is ever suggested only for the poor people, then I am not in agreement with that suggestion. Family planning must be for population control. It is not the poor man's programme only. It should be a programme for universal acceptances, for the rich also. The nations which are rich have also their family planning programmes because it is a scientific way of living. In our country, some criticism is there about the payment of incentive. I do not accept that it is an incentive. I think it is only some monetary help that after some operation or after some vasectomy or tubectomy the patient needs for some nourishment. To help him in that nourishment in some monetary form cannot be taken as an incentive. There is criticism in the newspapers also about the payment of money for this kind of vasectomy operations or any kind of surgical treatment. This is nothing but helping them financially. And only the very poor people accept this money and others do not. But, Sir, there should be some system by which even the employers of private firms in different industries give a compulsory leave to the person who adopts family planning and goes to the vasectomy camp and undergoes that operation. This is not a very serious operation for a man, but, for a woman it is, and that is why, the medical practitioners always recommend this kind of operation to a woman after the birth of the child and not in any other period of her life. So, it needs some nourishment, some medicine and some rest. And for that rest, the employers must give them leave so that they can recoup whatever they lost in health.

Then, Sir, the point raised by Mr. Subramanian Swamy about the Bucharest Conference. The venue is at Bucharest and it has got nothing to do with that Government's programme or that Government's ideology or any party's ideology. Bucharest is just avenue. And, Sir, there is serious criticism in some places that it is only one particular community which is accepting family planning as a way of life or as a method. Now, in this country,

there are so many superstitions and so much of social backwardness. It is for the Government and for the non-official organisations to give a new reorientation in educating the people against all kinds of social evils, injustices and superstitions. In our election pledge and also in our Constitution, there is an assurance that we will not force anything on the minorities if they do not wish for it. It is not a compulsory programme for anybody, whether they belong to a majority community or a minority community. The minority communities will have to accept this programme voluntarily and it is no use forcing anybody to adopt this. Then there is the question of legalizing abortion—surgical interference on medical grounds. Sir, even in our traditional system, if the person is invalid or mentally retarded, he loses many of his legal rights that any other normal individual enjoys.

So, in our Parliament and in different Legislative Assemblies we brought this Bill for termination of pregnancy on medical grounds or on grounds which are legally tenable. So, there is no compulsion anywhere on anybody to adopt family planning.

It is not a poor man's programme; it is a programme for everybody. In our country, educated couples have already adopted it. Because they are educated, they know. It is mainly for the child welfare, for the health of the mother, for the health of the children that we would ask all the mothers to space out their children and, after three, to have some kind of surgical operation so that they do not get more. This is the programme that the Government has adopted; this is the programme in which the non-official organisations are also helping. It is not correct to say that the Government is not getting non-official agencies to work in the programme. The Indian family Planning Association and other social welfare boards, through their non-official organisations, are helping.

India being a very vast country, in all the blocks we do not still have one primary health centre and two subsidiary health

[Smt. Purabi Mukhopadhyay]

centres. That is why, if anything goes wrong it becomes very difficult for any couple to get medical facilities in the rural areas. I would request the Minister to look into the facilities prevailing in the rural pockets in India so that they get adequate medical facilities and medical advice for this. Nobody in this country now will criticise family planning as a method. Nobody will discourage any couple from adopting family planning as a system. Even for a newly married couple we would ask them to space out their children and after the birth of the third child they should go in for the operation.

I support the steps that the Government has taken and the programme of family planning. They have our wholehearted support for this.

श्री महादेव प्रसाद वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उप-सभापति महोदय, माननीय डा० कर्ण सिंह और सरकार की सारी कोशिशों के बावजूद 2010 तक आबादी 1 अरब के लगभग होने जा रही है, यह समस्या है। यह उनका दोष नहीं है।

[The Vice-Chairman (Shrimati Purabi Mukhopadhyay) in the Chair]

आजादी के बाद से जैसे सारे प्रश्नों की अवहेलना हमारे नेताओं और रूलिंग पार्टी की तरफ से की गई वैसे ही इस प्रश्न की ओर भी किसी ने ध्यान नहीं दिया। यह तो तय है कि या तो कोई यत्न आप करेंगे या माल्यम की थ्योरी लागू होगी, या तो बढ़ती हुई आबादी को आप साइंटिफिक ढंग से कंट्रोल करेंगे या फिर, अकाल, भुखमरी और युद्ध इसको कंट्रोल करेंगे। दूसरा कोई रास्ता नहीं है। आज तक इन सारे बुनियादी सवालों पर डिपार्टमेंट बने जरूर, आपके अहलकार भी लगे, लेकिन जो बिना-बाद, जो स्ट्रान एंडोयूड किसी मानने में

होना चाहिए या वह किसी भी बुनियादी सवाल पर सरकार की तरफ से नहीं लिया गया। मैं एक मिसाल बना दूँ माननीय कर्ण सिंह जी की जानकारी के लिए। शायद सन 1949 था, बुलन्दशहर में प्रांतीय कांग्रेस कमेटी की कांफ्रेंस थी—मैं उस समय सूबा कमेटी का मेम्बर था मैंने एक पैम्फलेट लिखा था। उसमें यह दिया हुआ था कि हमारे बुनियादी सवाल अकेले हल नहीं हो सकते। आप आबादी की समस्या को अकेले हल नहीं कर सकते, यह जुड़ी हुई है दूसरे सवालों से, जैसे गरीबी है, जाति-पाति की समस्या है, कम्युनिज्म है, प्रांतीयता है, तालीम है, दूसरे और इससे जुड़े हुए प्रश्न हैं ये सब एक दूसरे से ऐसे नक्की हैं कि अगर इनमें से एक को निकालकर हल करना चाहें तो यह मुमकिन नहीं।

अभी आपने देखा कि आबादी के प्रश्न को हल करने पर कितने प्रश्न उठे। माननीय स्वामी तथा और सदस्यों ने कितने प्रश्न उठाये। एफंटे इससे नहीं हुआ कि सारी नेशनल प्राबलम को एक रूप में लेकर उसके विभिन्न अंगों पर प्रयास किया जाता। ऐसा नहीं किया गया। इसीलिए आपका फैमिली प्लानिंग भी लेखपालों और छोटे मोटे अलाकारों के पास पहुँच कर जनता के सामने एक मखौल बन गया। उसके लिए कोई भावना नहीं पैदा हुई। आज भी हमारे राष्ट्र के सम्मुख इस प्रश्न की गरिमा, इसकी गुरुता, इसके हल न होने पर इसके परिणाम को अगर हम लोगों को समझा सकते तो जिन लोगों को आज 50 रुपये या सौ रुपये देकर रजिस्टर पूरा किया जाता है फैमिली प्लानिंग का, वह न होता। जनता अपने आप पूछ पढ़ती कि बताओ किस रास्ते से हम इस समस्या को हल करें। लेकिन ऐसा नहीं हुआ। यही नहीं किसी पार्टी ने इस की तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया क्योंकि फैमिली जनता के अन्दर अनपपुलर मा हो गया। कुछ इस ढंग से कम हो गया कि लोगों ने इसमें सहायता देने का विरोध करना शुरू कर दिया। इसलिए उसकी बात करना बोट मांगने वालों के लिए फायदेमन्द नहीं रहा। इसलिए न कांग्रेस पार्टी ने न दूसरी ने इस राष्ट्रीय महत्व के प्रश्न को जनता के अन्दर उठाया। अगर वह जनता के अन्दर

सिसियरली उठाया होता तो हमारा ख्याल है कि हमारे बहुत से मसले हल हो गये होते, जहा तक आबादी की बढ़ोतरी का सवाल है।

तो मैं यह कह रहा था कि सन् 1948 या 49 की बात है। मैंने वह पम्पलेट लिखा था जिसमें सारे सवालों को लिखा था कि ये सारे सवाल अकेले हल नहीं हो सकते। नतीजा यह हुआ कि उस कांफ्रेंस में मैंने आबादी के ऊपर एक प्रस्ताव पेश किया। बहुस के वाद हमारे उस समय के प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री, सुनामधन्य थे, बहुत ऊँचे, प्रतिष्ठित और बहुत जिम्मेदार व्यक्ति, पत जी थे। उनका जो जवाब मिला रेकार्ड तो नहीं है, लेकिन मैं आपकी जानकारी के लिए बता दूँ कि कितनी उदासीनता बरती गई। उन्होंने जो जवाब दिया, उन्होंने कहा—महादेवजी क्या यह फिजूल की चीजें कह रहे हो। यह भी कोई देश का मामला है? गरीबी उसका प्राबलम है। मैंने कहा पंडित जी, क्षमा कीजिए, गरीबी वह रावण है कि जिसका सबसे बड़ा कुम्भकरण यह बढ़ती हुई आबादी है। क्या आप बगैर कुम्भकरण को मारे हुए, रावण को मार लेंगे? क्या यह समभव है? क्या गरीबी से इस बढ़ती हुई आबादी का कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है? कोई जवाब नहीं। तो मेरा कहना यह है कि इतने जिम्मेदार लोगों ने उस समय इस मूलभूत प्रश्नों की अवहेलना की। जब उसी सवाल को लेकर हमारा घर डूबने लग गया तब आपको होश आया, फिर भी पूरा होश नहीं आया। क्यों? इसलिए कि आपने इसको एक अलग सा प्रश्न रख छोड़ा है।

अभी अल्पमत वालों का सवाल हमारे सामने आया कि वह सोचते हैं कि अगर हमने आबादी का कंट्रोल किया तो थोड़े दिनों में कहीं के नहीं रहेंगे। कुछ हिन्दू जो इस विचारधारा के हैं वह भी सोचते हैं कि यह अगुआ रहा कि मुसलमान बर्ध कंट्रोल न करें और खाली हिन्दुओं को कहो तो 50 साल के अन्दर जैसे पंजाब गया, बंगाल गया वैसे ही सारा हिन्दुस्तान चला जाएगा। क्या आप सोचते हैं कि आबादी के मसले के साथ या नहीं जुड़ा हुआ है? जब तक यह फीलिंग उसके अन्दर बनी हुई है यह दूर नहीं होती और विशेष भावना

की तरफ नहीं मुड़ती है और हिन्दू, मुसलमान, सिख, इनसे परे न होकर नहीं समझते हैं तब तक क्या आप यह समझते हैं कि आपका प्रचार काम करेगा? इसके लिए मैं एक मिसाल देता हूँ कि कोई भी वह प्रश्न जो आप हल करना चाहते हैं वह दूसरे प्रश्नों से जुड़ा होता है इसलिए आप उस प्रश्न को अकेले हल नहीं कर सकते। जब कभी आप अकेले को हल करने चलेगे तो आप को दिखाई देगा कि पहाड़ की तरह से दूसरे सवाल भी, खड़े हैं।

माननीय डा० कर्ण सिंह जी से मुझे कहना है कि हमारा कोई सवाल छोटा नहीं है। सवाल सिर्फ इस बात का है कि उंगली सिर्फ छोटी सी है और जब सवाल सामने आ जाता है आंख के ठीक सामने आता है तो बहुत बड़ा सवाल भी उसके पीछे छिप जाता है। सवाल इस बात का है कि जो प्रश्न आपके सामने किसी दिन, किसी भी समय दिमाग में आ गया वह महान है लेकिन आप भूल जाते हैं कि उसके पीछे उससे भी बड़ा प्रश्न छिपा हुआ है। जब कभी आबादी का सवाल सोचेंगे तो देखेंगे यह बहुत बड़ा प्रश्न है और यह हल नहीं हुआ तो देश कहीं का नहीं रहेगा। इसी प्रकार जब दृष्टाचार का प्रश्न सोचेंगे तो आपको यह मालूम होगा कि अगर यह सवाल हल नहीं हुआ तो देश तबाह हो जाएगा जब कभी प्रांतीयता के बटवारे का सवाल सोचेंगे तो जातिवाद के बारे में सोचेंगे, समाजवाद की तरफ नजर डालेंगे तब भी आपको यही लगेगा कि अगर यह हल नहीं हुआ तो देश कहीं का नहीं रहेगा। शिक्षित बेरोजगार की तरफ अगर आपका ध्यान जाता है तो आप यही सोचेंगे कि ये अकेले ही देश को तबाह कर देंगे मेरा कहना यह है कि किस किस को आप देखेंगे। मेरा कहना यह है कि जब तक देश के अन्दर पूर्ण विश्वास नहीं पैदा होता है कि आप उनके सवालों को हल करने जा रहे हैं तब तक आप यह नहीं सोच सकते कि इन सवालों को हल कर सकेंगे। जब तक आप जनता को यह विश्वास नहीं दिलाते कि उनके सवालों को आप हल करने जा रहे हैं तब तक आबादी का हल करना उनकी समझ में नहीं आ सकता। यह मूल चीज है। आप अगर

[श्री महादेव प्रसाद वर्मा]

अकेले एक प्रश्न को लेकर चलेंगे हल करने के लिए तो वह हल नहीं हो सकता। हां, यह बात जरूर है कि आप का डिपार्टमेंट है और वह कुछ काम करना चाहता है क्योंकि आपको कुछ करना है तो मैं समझता हूँ कि यह प्रश्न बनता है हलकारों, ब्लाकों और उनके कर्मचारियों के बीच में। प्रैक्टिकल सवाल यह है कि वे बेचारे गांव में जाते हैं, उनसे कहा जाता है कि यह तुमको करना है और ऐसा करने के लिये प्रैस किया जाता है। जो बूढ़े होते हैं उनका नाम रजिस्टर में लिख लिया जाता है और रुपया लेकर आपस में बांट लेते हैं। इससे देश का कोई सवाल हल नहीं हो सकता। यह सब मजाक होता है। मेरा कहना है आपका विभाग यह मजाक दूर करे। अपने प्रचार के द्वारा उनको यह महसूस करा सके कि यह सवाल जो है यह हमारी जिन्दगी से ताल्लुक रखता है तभी कोई हल हो सकता है। गांव वाले यह कहते हैं कि सरकार ने डाक्टर भेज दिए हैं। हम को एक ही चीज रखी है बधिया। जैसे बैल की बधिया होती है उसी तरह से रख दी है। उसको कोई पसन्द नहीं करता है। सबसे ज्यादा औरतें इससे नाराज हुई हैं। मैं क्या बताऊँ? अगर मैं कहानी बताने लगूंगा तो आपको सुनकर हंसी आएगी। औरतें डंडा लेकर दौड़ती हैं मर्दों से पहले। जब इस वक्त एटमोस्फियर का सवाल है तब कागज की खाना पूर्ति करने से यह कैसे हल हो सकता है।

4 P.M. इसलिए आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि सबसे पहले उसके लिए एटमोस्फियर क्लियर हो। इसके लिए अगर कोई मांग होगी तो साधनों का भी उपयोग होगा। लेकिन आज स्थिति यह है कि आप जबरदस्ती इसको ऊपर से लादते जा रहे हैं और आपका प्रयत्न बेकार हो रहा है और इस पर खर्चा भी बेकार हो रहा है और यही कारण है कि आपको इसमें कामयाबी भी नहीं मिल रही है। ऐसी हालत में इसके लिए अगर आप एक एटमोस्फियर पैदा करेंगे तो लोग स्वयं ही सोच-विचार करके आप के पास आएंगे, आपके सामान का उपयोग करेंगे और आपकी सहायता का भी उपयोग कर सकेंगे और उस हद तक आप इस काम में कामयाब भी हो सकेंगे।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि परिवार नियोजन का प्रश्न एक ऐसा सवाल है जिसको कोई पार्टी नहीं उठाती है। इसका कारण यह है कि जो पार्टी इस सवाल को उठाती है उसको बोट मिलने में दिक्कत होती है। इसलिए आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि हमें ऐसा प्रयत्न करना चाहिए कि जिससे हम इस एटमोस्फियर को बदल सकें और परिवार नियोजन के संबंध में देश में इस प्रकार का वातावरण बन जाय कि सभी पार्टियां भूत की तरह से इस पर दूट पड़ें। इसलिए परिवार नियोजन के सवाल को एक पोपुलर प्रश्न बनाया जाना चाहिए। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि जब हम इसको पोपुलर प्रश्न बनायेंगे तो इससे हम कामयाब भी हो सकते हैं। इसलिए अन्त में मैं सिर्फ यही कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप इस विषय में जनता को शिक्षित करने की ओर अधिक ध्यान दें।

श्री रणदीर सिंह (हरियाणा) : उपसभाध्यक्षा जी, परिवार नियोजन भारत के लिए कोई नई चीज नहीं है क्योंकि आज सिर्फ तरीके बदले हैं। पुराने भारत में जहां आबादी थोड़ी थी और जमीन काफी थी, उस वक्त भी परिवार नियोजन अपने तरीके से चलता था। हमारे पुराने समाज के अन्दर ऐसा माना जाता था कि 25 साल से पहले बच्चे की शादी नहीं होती थी। वह ब्रह्मचर्य आश्रम में रहता था और 25 साल के बाद ही गृहस्थाश्रम में प्रवेश करता था। 25 साल तक गृहस्थाश्रम में रहने के बाद 50 वर्ष की उम्र के बाद वानप्रस्थी बन जाता था और 75 साल के बाद सन्यासी बन जाता था। इस प्रकार की हमारे पुराने समाज की स्थिति थी। केवल 25 साल की अवधि तक ही लोग गृहस्थाश्रम में रहते थे। लेकिन धीरे धीरे ऐसा जमाना आया कि यह अवधि बढ़ती गई। इसी बात को महसूस करते हुए सन् 1930 में अजमेर के श्री शारदा ने जो उस वक्त मेम्बर थे, उन्होंने एक नान-आफिशियल कानून पेश किया था जिसका नाम शारदा एक्ट था। इस एक्ट के जरिए उन्होंने चाहा था कि शादी की उम्र ऊंची हो जाय और उस वक्त उन्होंने यह भी चाहा था कि जो आदमी इस कानून को तोड़े, सरकार उसको

गिरफ्तार कर ले यानी जर्म दखल अन्दाजे पुलिस हो। आज हम परिवार नियोजन के काम में करोड़ों रुपया खर्च कर रहे हैं, लेकिन आज तक उस कानून को कगनिजेबल ओफेन्स (जुर्म) नहीं बनाया और अभी तक इस बारे में पुलिस किसी के मामले में दखल नहीं दे सकती है (Interruption) हरियाणा तो आपके मिर के ऊपर बैठ गया है। आप हर वक्त हरियाणा की ही बात करते हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं यह निवेदन कर रहा था कि आज तक इस मामले में पुलिस को दखल-अन्दाजी करने का अधिकार नहीं है। आज हम देखते हैं कि देहातों के अन्दर छोटे-छोटे बच्चों की शादी हो जाती है और यहां तक कि 13, 14 और 15 साल के छोटे बच्चों की शादी हो जाती है। मैं समझता हूं आज हमें इस प्रकार के कानूनों की सख्त जरूरत है और यह जरूरत इसलिए भी है कि जब हिन्दुस्तान आजाद हुआ तो उस वक्त हिन्दुस्तान की आबादी लगभग 35-36 करोड़ थी और आज 54 करोड़ है। उस वक्त हमारे देश में अनाज की पैदावार 52 मिलियन टन थी और आज वह 98 और 104 मिलियन टन हो गई है, लेकिन इसके बावजूद भी हमारे देश में अनाज की दिक्कत है। मैं इस बात को मानता हूं कि जैसा पन्त जी के बारे में प्रिंसिपल साहब ने इस बात का जिक्र किया कि साइंस ने तरक्की की है, इसमें तथ्य है। कि देश की तरक्की अगर हो, इंग्लैंड में फी वर्ग मील में कितने आदमी बसते हैं और भारत में कितने बसते हैं, उसका अगर मुकाबला किया जाए, तो उसका जबाब सिर्फ पन्त जी वाला ही जबाब है कि देश के अन्दर गुरवत हटे, देश की तरक्की हो तो आबादी कुछ ज्यादा भी हो तो उसकी गुजर हो सकती है। लेकिन एक समय आ गया और क्यों आया - सुब्रह्मण्यम स्वामी जी ने यह प्रस्ताव रखा लेकिन उस प्रस्ताव के पीछे उनकी सद्भावना नहीं है, उनकी बात से जाहिर होता है सद्भावना नहीं है! उनको पता है। जैसा प्रिंसिपल साहब ने कहा चूंकि उनकी जो राजनैतिक पार्टी है वह तो धर्म की बिना पर सोचते हैं - कोन से धर्म की कब ज्यादा गिनती हो जाएगी और कब किसकी ज्यादा हो जाएगी।

श्री सुब्रह्मण्यम स्वामी : यह गलत है।

श्री रणबीर सिंह : गलत नहीं, यह आपकी स्पीच का सार है। आपने कहा दो या तीन बच्चे यह भी दबाव की चीज है। यह लिखना कि 2 और 3, ज्यादा नहीं, यह भी दबाव हो गया। आप जानते नहीं हैं हिन्दुस्तान एक विशाल देश है, इसकी क्या क्या प्रथाएं थी। हमारे माननीय मंत्री महोदय मुझे क्षमा करेंगे, जिस जाति के ये आते हैं क्षत्रिय हैं। हमारे देश के अन्दर राजपूत अपनी लड़कियों को मार देते थे और उसमें भावना कोई परिवार नियोजन की नहीं थी; भावना यह थी कि हमारा कोई दामाद बन कर न आए। तो यह देश है जिस देश के अन्दर लड़कियों को मार देते थे। वह 2 या 3 बच्चों के लिए कहने लगे दबाव की चीज है। आप कौन से देश में बात करते हैं? इस देश की जनता ने यहां पर स्त्री जाति को कितना ऊंचा दर्जा दिया है। आप दुनिया में कोई देश बता सकते हैं जिस देश की प्रधान मंत्री कोई बहिन हो? दुनिया के अन्दर अगर किसी देश की बहिन यू० एन० ओ० की प्रधान बनीं तो वह हिन्दुस्तान की ही एक बहिन थी - हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी की वह बुआ बों, विजयलक्ष्मी पण्डित। आप यह मान लें हमारे देश में स्त्री जाति के आदर में कमी नहीं है और यह भी मान लें कि यहां सोलह आना उतनी ही कदर होती है जितनी पढ़े-लिखे समाज में पाश्चात्य देशों में होती है तो वह कुछ गलत नहीं होगा हां हो सकता है, उसमें कुछ देशों के हिस्सों में फर्क हो सकता है, क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान के अंदर रहन-सहन का तरीका हर हिस्से का भी मुक्तलिफ और शहरी हिस्से और देहाती हिस्से में भी मुक्तलिफ है। पढ़े-लिखे और कम पढ़े-लिखे में भी सोच में फर्क है। तो इसलिए हिन्दुस्तान के लिए जब भी हम सोचें तो बड़ी सोच, बड़ी समझ चाहिए। यह बात सच है कि आज कुछ जातियां, जैसा प्रिंसिपल साहब ने कहा है और खासतौर पर गरीब आदिमियों में से जिनको संरक्षण मिला हुआ है सीटों का, वे महसूस करते हैं कि अगर हमारी तादाद ज्यादा रहे तो हमको पालियाभेट में और असेम्बलियों में ज्यादा सीटें मिलेंगी। जैसा मरिस्वामी साहब ने गिला

श्री रघबीर सिंह

किया, वह भी बात सही है, जिस प्रदेश के अंदर परिवार नियोजन का प्रोग्राम ज्यादा चला तो वहां पर सीटे घटी, तो इसके लिए भी सोचना चाहिए। मैं समझता हूं, शायद एक वक्त आ जाए देश के अंदर कि जो 2 शादी करता है या कुछ बच्चे जिसके ज्यादा हों तो उसकी तरक्की कम हो, उसको आगे बढ़ने का मौका नहीं दिया जाए। इसी तरह से एक वक्त आ सकता है देश के अंदर जब हम यह भी फैसला करने को मजबूर हों, जिसके 3 से ज्यादा या 2 से ज्यादा बच्चे होंगे, उससे ज्यादा जो बच्चे पैदा होंगे उनको राजनैतिक अधिकार, मत का अधिकार, न हो। तो फिर मरिस्वामी जी ने जो आपत्ति जाहिर की, या जैसा कि मुद्रमण्यम् स्वामी की बात से जो डर जाहिर होता था उस सबका इलाज हो जाता—न किसी को डर रहेगा हिन्दू की आबादी घट जाएगी बढ़ जाएगी, मुसलमान की आबादी घट जाएगी बढ़ जाएगी, हरिजन की आबादी घट जाएगी बढ़ जाएगी। लेकिन यह आज के लिए उसको हम अपनी सोच में नहीं ला सकते, क्योंकि हमको आगे जाना है। जहां तक इस बात का सम्बन्ध है कि लोगों के मन में इस परिवार नियोजन के सम्बन्ध में क्या धारणा है और जैसा अभी प्रिंसिपल साहब ने जिक्र किया कि देहातों में बधिया शब्द जो है उसमें देहाती औरतों के मन में एक तरह का डर फैला हुआ है। जिस तरह से बैल बधिया किया जाता है उसी तरह का मतलब यह लोग भी लगाते हैं और इसी वजह से औरतें इस चीज से घबराती हैं। यही कारण है कि परिवार नियोजन का कार्यक्रम गांवों में ज्यादा नहीं फैला है इसलिए यह जो डर है उस डर को हमें लोगों के मनों से दूर करना होगा और उन्हें समझाना होगा कि इंसान का जो बधिया किया जाता है वह बैल के बधिया से फर्क है, उसके नतीजे में फर्क है। जब तक हम यह चीज उन लोगों को नहीं समझावेंगे तब तक उनके मन में इस प्रकार का जो डर है वह दूर नहीं होगा।

इसी तरह से परिवार नियोजन के सम्बन्ध में जो नियम बनाये गये हैं, वे ऐसे हैं कि झूठे आंकड़े

कागज पर भर दिये जाते हैं और यह दिखला दिया जाता है कि हमने इतना काम किया है। लेकिन मैं मंत्री महोदय जी से एक बात कहना चाहता हूं और जैसा अभी प्रिंसिपल साहब ने भी कहा कि लोगों के मन में यह डर भी है कि राजनैतिक आधार पर हम फैमिली प्लानिंग की बात करेंगे तो हम घाटे में रहेंगे। इस डर को भी निकालने की जरूरत है। हिन्दुस्तान की जो औरतें हैं उनसे यह पूछा जाना चाहिये कि वे परिवार नियोजन चाहती हैं या नहीं क्योंकि सबसे ज्यादा जिम्मेदारी तो देश के बहिनों को ही उठानी पड़ती है। अगर परिवार नियोजन का प्रोग्राम आगे नहीं बढ़ता है तो मैं मानता हूँ और मुझे तो याद है कि एक दफा एक आध जगह जहां देहात में इस बारे में मालूम किया गया तो तकरीबन 100 फीसदी बहिनों ने कहा कि ज्यादा बच्चे पैदा करने की बात के खिलाफ राय दी। वे नहीं चाहती कि ज्यादा बच्चे पैदा हों। मुझे याद है और प्रिंसिपल साहब ने भी एक वाक्य का जिक्र किया। 1954 में पंजाब में पेप्सू में आम चुनाव हो रहे थे क्योंकि यह पेप्सू पहिले पंजाब का हिस्सा बाद में बना था। उस समय इनके नेता श्री चरण सिंह जी जो उस समय कांग्रेस में थे वे अपने साथ बहिन चन्द्रावती एम० एल० ए० को चुनाव आन्दोलन का प्रचार करने के लिए ले गये थे। उन्होंने वहां पर बहिनों से वोट देने के लिए कहा। उस समय वहां पर सड़कें नहीं थी, बिजली नहीं थी और पीने के पानी की समस्या थी जबकि आज ये समस्याएं वहां पर दूर हो गई हैं। उस समय वहां की बहिनों ने कहा कि हमारे लिए कोई फर्क नहीं है कि बहिन मेम्बर बनती है या भाई बनता है क्योंकि हमारी जो समस्या है अगर कोई उसको दूर कर सकता है तो हम उसको ही वोट देंगे। हमारे कंधे पर एक बच्चा है, एक गोद में है, एक अंगुली पकड़े हुए है और एक पेट में। उस बहिन ने बतलाया कि जो हमारा इस चीज का इलाज कर सकता है, तो हम उसी को अपनी राय देंगे। हमारी बहिन ने कहा कि हम इस चीज का इलाज कर सकते हैं। तो कहने का मतलब यह है कि आज से 20 साल

पहिले भी हमारे बहिनो के दिल में परिवार नियोजन के सम्बन्ध में भावना थी।

इसलिए मैं मंत्री जी से यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वे देश के अन्दर इस बात की गिनती कराये बहिनों से कि कितनी बहिनें परिवार नियोजन के हक में हैं।

जो दूसरा निवेदन मैं करना चाहता हूँ कि शादी की उम्र ज्यादा बढ़ाई जानी चाहिये। तीसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि पुलिस से कोई शिकायत करे, तब उसके ऊपर कार्यवाही हो, यह चीज बन्द होनी चाहिये और कानून में तबदीली करनी चाहिये कि जो छोटी उम्र में शादी करता है उनके खिलाफ पुलिस कार्यवाही होनी चाहिये तथा इसको कार्मिजेलिब आर्केन्स बनाया जाना चाहिये। परिवार नियोजन का कार्यक्रम कार्यान्वित नहीं होने से देश की तरक्की का प्रोग्राम पूरा नहीं होता है। इसलिए हमारा फर्ज है कि हम कानून में इस तरह से तबदीली करे जैसा कि लोग मांग कर रहे हैं। यह मांग 44 साल पहिले से उठाई जा रही है जब कि 1930 में शारदा एक्ट पास हुआ था। अगर उस एक्ट के पास होने के वक्त की तकरीरों को पढ़ें तो मालूम हो जाएगा कि उस समय देश के अन्दर क्या भावना थी? आज भी देश के अन्दर लोगों की बहुत बड़ी तादाद इस भावना के साथ है। हमारे मारिस्वामी जी ने जिम डर की बात कही और सुब्रमण्यम् स्वामी के दिमाग में जो डर है उसको भी दूर करने की तरफ हमें कोई न कोई कदम उठाना चाहिए। इस देश में बदकिस्मती से कुछ पाटियाँ ऐसी हैं जो धर्म को ध्यान में रख कर चलती हैं, जैसे मुस्लिम लीग है, जैसे राष्ट्रीय स्वयं सेवक संघ द्वारा समर्थित पार्टी है, जनसंघ है, उनको फिक्र रहती है कि कहीं किसी और का राज न हो जाये। हिन्दुस्तान में जो बसता है वह हिन्दुस्तानी है और हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर हिन्दुस्तानियों का ही राज होगा। आप फिक्र न कीजिए। इसलिए जो आपके दिमाग में डर है उसको निकालिए।

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN (Kerala):
Madam, Vice-Chairman, in his speech the hon. Minister Dr. Karan Singh at the Bucharest Conference, made a very important statement. I quote:

"Those spectacular achievements in science and technology have greatly increased our capacity to sustain much larger numbers on this globe than was earlier thought possible. The inescapable fact remains that even with the use of the most advance technology, we cannot go on raising the population in a finite world indefinitely."

The Minister has also said many things about development and population and the need for integration of population policy with the entire developmental policy. Today all talks of integration of development and population policy have become a fad and fashion and I am not at the moment objecting to the need for integration of the two. I stand for integration. But I would like to demonstrate that despite the statement of the hon. Minister at the Bucharest Conference, the entire policy in fact does not deviate from the well-established policy which has failed during the last two decades.

India has 14 per cent of the world's population. Despite all the much trumpeted population and family planning programmes, the growth rate has not shown any substantial decline and in fact in many areas it has shown an increase. Huge expenditure has been incurred and foreign aid has been contracted. In the first year of the Fourth Plan, family planning was allotted Rs. 96 crores. After three years of Plan holiday and after hobnobbing with American imperialists and demographic experts on family planning, the expenditure has risen to Rs. 300 crores. At that time various State Governments were asking for pittance of money such as Rs. 15 crores, Rs. 10 crores for revitalising coir scheme in Kerala and for Rs. 5 crores and Rs. 2 crores for immediate programmes of poverty eradication and for creating employment. Then the Central Government had

[Dr. K. Mathew Kurian.]

no money to allocate for such developmental projects whereas they had enough money to allocate Rs. 300 crores for family planning. And what has happened in the last two decades to the so-called family planning programmes? The top-heavy administration in the Ministry of Health has grown in number. If any family planning is today required, it is in the Ministry of Health where the rate of growth of population has gone up.

DR. KARAN SINGH: We have reduced our team from three to two.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: I am not at the moment worried about the experts in the Ministry. Some of them may be good experts. I am on the question of basic policies. Despite the high talk of integrating development with population policy and the Bucharest statement on world population and plan of action, I would like to demonstrate that the Government of India is still perpetuating the age-old policy which is based on the assumption, which again unfortunately for Dr. Karan Singh, appears in his own statement that despite advance in technology, we cannot go on raising the population in a finite world indefinitely. The very assumption that world is finite and resources of the globe are finite is precisely the whole Malthusian principle. And, Sir, it is this that the rate of growth of wealth cannot outstrip the rate at which population increases. In spite of all their phraseology which, I said, is part of their fads and fashion, the real assumption is that we are living in a finite world and that technology might be able to produce results to some extent, but beyond a point technology cannot achieve the results and it cannot deliver the goods and so, and man's capacity to develop new resources in this universe, expanding universe, according to the space scientists, is limited. This assumption is at fault.

Madam, let me go back to the policies of the past so that I can demonstrate that the policies were not realistic. Initially, we had what you may call the clinic approach and we had the clinical approach to the problem of family planning. Family planning clinics were started with much fanfare and this followed the pattern set by the "Planned Parenthood Movement" abroad and very soon the Government of India discovered and their experts also discovered, after a lapse of five years, that the clinic approach did not really work and then the decision makers got inspired by a new approach. And, Madam, what was this new approach? The new approach was the extension approach and, probably, it was inspired by the agricultural extension work, initiated by the Universities in the US and in that extension programme, a very high place was given to human dignity and democratic values. But democratic values are trampled under the foot by the Government with the DIR and the MISA and human dignity was never considered by those in charge of this policy.

Then, Madam, came the third approach, what I might call, the camp approach, involving herding human beings in camps like cattle, herding of the so-called motivated people in camps. People who were motivated were herded together in camps by being offered cash incentives and compensation for undergoing vasectomy and other operations. At first, Madam, there were only the vasectomy camps. But, later on, the IUCD was introduced as the miracle device to control population and a whole army of experts came and went and the UN Evaluation Team also came and went and the IUCD was hailed as the perfect answer to India's prayers for an ideal contraceptive. Initially, people's response also was quite enthusiastic and it also became a great fashion. But, Madam, very soon it was found that this camp approach also had inherent weaknesses and that the basic policies also had inherent weaknesses. Despite the foreign expertise in mass communication, in order to mobilise the support of the people, the camp approach failed.

I would even go to the extent of saying that the population policy, the entire policy based on the IUCD and the vasectomy or the camp approach, crashed in a disastrous manner. Then, Madam, the Government thought of fixing motivation targets for family planning workers and they also decided to mobilise the revenue staff for this purpose. Deputy Commissioners, Collectors and other revenue officials were mobilised to bring more people to the camps. Of course, there was some success also like the success at the Ernakulam camp about which Shrimati Leela Damodara Menon was very enthusiastic. But I have some inside stories to tell about this Ernakulam camp. Spectacular success was achieved in this camp; spectacular increase in the vasectomy targets was achieved in the camp; and the target fixed was exceeded by three hundred per cent. True. Some measures of success was also achieved in Tamil Nadu, Punjab, Gujarat and so on. But the disastrous consequences of such a camp approach came to light in many places like Ernakulam. To this very camp, Madam, unmarried people were brought and youths who should not be there in these camps were also brought there. Cash incentives were given to the people in order to bring people to this camp and many unmarried people also were brought here and all kinds of things were done by the revenue officials to show the targets achieved, to show that spectacular results were achieved. But whatever was achieved was achieved only through the pressure tactics and the influence of the revenue officials. The most disastrous aspect of this came up in the Gorakhpur camp under the leadership of the Deputy Commissioner. Madam, I quote no less an authority than a person like Mr. D. Banerji, Professor of Social Medicine in the Jawaharlal Nehru University. According to an article written by him in 'Social Scientist', No. 1, in August 1972, he says:

"Newspaper reports reveal an outrageous spectacle of a so-called popular government stooping as low as to entice poor illiterate, helpless, exploited people

to accept vasectomy by offering them petty cash as bribe. This is doubly tragic because the same government, with all its oft-proclaimed dedication to democracy, human dignity, social justice and welfare of the poor and the dispossessed, has failed so miserably to do anything worthwhile to improve the lot of these unfortunate people all these twenty five years since independence..."

Madam, the main point that I would like to make is that this camp approach, based on pressure tactics of revenue officials, Deputy Commissioners, tax collectors, all of them combined, has produced the targets, but the growth rate of population continues. The hon. Minister has said at Bucharest—and I appreciate his frankness:

"...the real question is more complex; how should a policy designed to regulate population growth be effectively woven into plans for economic development and social transformation? This has to be recognized as being at the very heart of the problem..."

I admit that this has to be the very heart of the problem. But what is his own Government doing? Irrespective of the pious statements of the hon. Minister in the Yojana Bhavan, the so-called experts finalizing the still dead Fifth Plan, still finalizing, still giving frills to a Plan which is already dead, what are they doing? In that document it is very clearly stated, the approach is a clinical approach. Dr. Karan Singh's approach has not been integrated into the 5th Plan, which is still being finalized in the Yojana Bhawan. The Government moves according to one set of policies, which is anti-people, which is anti-developmental, which serves the interests of certain rich classes. With such planning we cannot dovetail the population policy into general development policies.

Today in this country we have three main obstacles to economic development. The hon. Minister admits that these are the three main obstacles to Indian social and

[Dr. K. Mathew Kurian.]

economic development, namely, monopoly capitalism, landlordism in all forms, and imperialism and its manifestations on the Indian economy. Unless the Government of India is prepared to take strong action against these three structural obstacles to development, there is no question of population control policy being dovetail into development policy. If we try to dovetail population control policy into a policy which supports monopolists, into a policy which supports landlordism, a policy which scuttles wholesale trade take-over, a policy which relies on increasing foreign collaboration and foreign private capital, such policy will only help the rich; by and large, it will not touch the ordinary masses of the people. There will be no development. There will be IUCD camps. Vasectomy targets will be fulfilled on paper. But population cannot be controlled. Development cannot take place. If development is the core of the matter, then the Government should have a serious second look at their policies regarding monopoly capitalism, landlordism and imperialism. Unless there are structural changes, I see no possibility of this developmental approach. Very lucidly, the hon. Minister has also stated at Bucharest—I quote:

“The role and status given to the woman in society, for example, is a key factor in creating a climate for adoption of a small family norm. Accordingly, we have evolved a strategy of integrating the programme of family planning into the larger and more arduous task of dealing with poverty and social transformation at the grass-roots level...”

But what is the fact today? Today, in 1974, we have the highest developed poverty and famine, and as serious or more serious than the 1942-43 famine. Never in the history of independent India, have we witnessed such large-scale famine. And we have had the Foreign Minister, now in charge of Defence, Mr. Swaran Singh, go-

ing to Washington and New York and saying that there is not a single starvation death.

We can produce skeletons of people who died of starvation and the hon. Mr. Jagjivan Ram throws a challenge in Parliament to the Opposition: Can you produce people who have died of starvation? I am surprised at such callous statements of hon. Ministers. Of course, in official records, nobody dies of starvation in this country. If a person is starving for 30 days and on the 31st day he eats a little food, gets gastro-enteritis and dies, the Government declares that he has died of gastro-enteritis because of eating on the 31st day and not because of starvation during the previous 30 days. All these people die of heart attack. This is what the Government says. All people ultimately die of heart attack. The heart fails and the death takes place. Therefore, in the Government records, there is not even a single death due to starvation. Photographs are printed in monopoly Press. Members of Parliament visually see these photographs of stark reality of poverty in this country, and the Minister of Health claims that we have evolved a scheme of dovetailing. Where is the scheme of touching even the fringe of starvation and poverty? Where is the scheme for dovetailing development? Where is the development? During the last year, the agricultural production declined and the industrial growth rate was stagnant. There is serious inflationary crisis unheard of in our history of post Independence. ((*Time bell rings*) Never in the past, did the prices increase by 90 points in two years which is equal to the increase of the previous ten years. Therefore, it is quite clear that under the dispensation of the basic economic policies of development followed by this Government, development is not taking place. There are hyper-inflation, poverty, starvation, and deaths which are as serious as in the British period. This is the reality. Therefore, to talk of dovetailing family planning with the so called development is only to travel in the same boat with fad and fashion. But this will not solve the problem.

Madam, at the Bucharest Conference, the World Population Plan for Action has evolved certain principles. The first principle is that the principal aim of social, economic and cultural development of which population goals and policies are integral parts, is to improve the levels of living and the quality of life of the people. The second principle is that development cannot take place in the absence of national independence and liberation. I have already tried to explain that this Government, through their policies, are increasingly collaborating with foreign capital and threatening the very national Independence and economic Independence of this nation.

The third principle is that population and development are inter-related. Agreed. Where is the physical integration in a plan in a country where the Fifth Plan is dead before it is born? Another principle evolved at the Bucharest Conference is that population policies are constituent elements of socio-economic developmental policies, never substitutes for them. In fact, if you read the Fifth Plan document, you get the clear impression that population policy is the cardinal principle. It is a substitute for development. Unemployment is increasing because of population growth. Poverty is increasing because of population growth. Therefore, as Americans give us aid, we increase our emprise of family planning clinics, the clinical approach continues and the Deputy Commissioners and Collectors desirous of quick promotions get targets fulfilled.

Madam, I will make one more point. In his speech at Bucharest, the hon. Minister Dr. Karan Singh, talked about the role of the development. He referred to the limitless consumerism of the developed countries. He said that this should stop and be reversed if the developed countries honestly believe that this world is one for all.

Does he really think that the developed countries think of the world at large? Those countries and the leadership in those countries work in the interest of multinational cartels. They work in the interest of

the elite in those countries. And today, the developed countries are talking in the name of ecology and zero rate of growth. While the world's resources are increasingly utilised for the benefit of a few in the rich countries, the poor countries and the under-developed countries are stagnating today.

Madam, in conclusion, I would like to say that population growth cannot be reduced through administrative methods, in any case not by the so-called clinical methods adopted with the advice of the Americans and the American lobby. Unless the Government is prepared to reverse their basic economic policies of development and particularly take effective steps against the three obstacles of development, namely, monopoly capitalism, landlordism and imperialism, we have no chance of moving either at the realm of population control or family planning. I am not personally against the individual families using contraceptives or family planning techniques. But, if the Government imposes this on the people, on the vast majority of the people through administrative methods, this will not only be resented to but it is doomed to failure. I am not a party to the policy of the Government in considering population control as a key factor in development. I do not consider it. Development should take place only by abolishing these obstacles of development, by structural changes in the economy, by a reversal of the Government's capitalist and landlord policy. If that is done, then I would say, give facilities to the individual families to limit their families as they chose. And the Government should only give facilities. Unless this approach is accepted, I am afraid, despite the pious statement of the hon. Minister at Bucharest, things will continue as in the past and we will have the cheerful expansion of the Ministry of Health which cannot be controlled. Thank you, Madam.

SHRI D. D. PURI (Haryana) : Madam, I did not have the slightest intention of participating in this debate. I thought I should leave it to the next generation to sort out these problems of family planning. Madam, I was somewhat disagreeably surprised at

[Shri D. D. Puri]

the performance of the mover of the Motion since I expected a very much better, a slightly more non-partisan performance from a man of his academic attainments. I thought he would give a little more objective analysis of this very serious situation that we have before us. Actually I believe that the main obstacles to the success of family planning in this country are firstly, communal and secondly, narrow political considerations. As you very rightly said when you made your speech, Madam, unfortunately, some of the minority groups in this country started the propaganda, that let the family planning be confined to the majority community, the minority community has a lot of leeway to make up in so far as the proportion of population is concerned. And, therefore, Madam, the minority communities take to family planning as a reaction to this. I believe that vast propaganda was let loose that one of these days, the Muslim are going to take over this country. And, therefore, because the minority community propagate this point of view, so should we. And I believe that no less than a person than Shri Shankaracharya has expressed this view. And from the reasoning that Dr. Swamy put forward, I believe that that is the real motivating force of this Motion that is brought before the House. Madam, look at the reasoning. It is amazing. He takes the strongest objection to the slogan that you should not have more than two or three children. He says that it is coercion. This really amazed me. We persuade people, we put on hoardings and we print handbills. All that we say is, 'two or three children and no more'. It is for your good, it is for the good of the next generation. And it is called coercion!

Another piece of reasoning that has amazed me is that he says because of the commercial sale of Nirodh increased and the free distribution decreased, therefore, even this form of contraception or this programme has been a flop. I would only remark that a mechanical contraceptive if paid for prevents a birth just as effectively as one that is given free. That

is all I would say in so far as this argument is concerned. As a matter of fact, I believe that a person who pays for something is more likely to make use of it than a person who receives it free. He collects it out of curiosity and throws it out. I am following the logic because that throws light on the motive of the whole thing being brought before this House. He mentioned some kind of an incident which he believes he witnessed in an office. I would say that such remarks would not be called for from the lips of Mr. Subramanian Swamy. Even if it is true, no mention should have been made. I leave that matter at that.

Now, I was mentioning about the communal outlook. And there is also the political outlook because Mr. Mariswamy said in Tamil Nadu simply because he carried out the family planning programme, he has lost two seats in the Lok Sabha. Now this is really amazing that for a seat or two in the Lok Sabha or elsewhere, we are prepared to mortgage or we are prepared to seriously compromise the nutrition and the health of the next generation. That I would consider as really extremely deplorable, that for these narrow-minded, immediate gains, we do not realise as to what we are risking.

I have a very few observations to make. A lot has been said. The positive suggestion that I make is that the age of consent in this country should be raised by legislation. I will not give the exact figure, but my own feeling is that by gradual stages take the age of consent to 27 for men and 24 for women. My second suggestion is that abortion should be liberalised further. I believe that Japan by the judicious use of these two methods has been able to decrease the rate of increase of population to less than one-third of what it was before this programme was undertaken. My only other suggestion is that we should have a more intensified research on some of the claims made by Ayurvedic medicine in regard to oral contraception. I do not know whether all the claims that are being made can be substantiated or not but I think there is a great deal to be done.

I do not need to waste much time of the House about the peroration delivered by Dr. Kurian. They have their own obsession, whether it is family planning or the budget, whether it is landlordism or the take over of the foodgrains trade. Whether it is one thing or the other, the gramophone record starts playing. But I would have imagined that their concern in regard to starvation deaths and their concern in regard to the grinding poverty into which this country is going, should have enthused them, at least in so far as the family planning programme is concerned, to rise above narrow party slogans and give their unstinted support. I won't waste any more time of the House on that. Having made my three suggestions, I would appeal to all Members of Parliament, from all Parties, from all States to rise above parochial, communal, regional and narrow-minded ways and give their complete and wholehearted support to the family planning programme that the Government has, because that alone will ensure health and happiness for the generations to come.

Thank you very much.

DR. KARAN SINGH: Madam Vice-Chairman, I am grateful to my friend Subramanian Swamy and others who took part in the discussions this afternoon. Unfortunately, this is the first opportunity that I have got since the year that I have taken over this Ministry. And this is World Population Year. It is particularly appropriate that Parliament should be discussing this whole question of family planning at the initiative that has been taken by Shri Subramanian Swamy, and the very keen interest that was taken by other Members of the House, Madam, is really very welcome.

I would like at the outset to place the population problem in the context that we want to view it. A lot has been said about the performance of family planning over the last two decades. Shri Subramanian Swamy said that it has flopped; Dr. Kurian also used the same sort of words. Now I have great deal of figures and a mass of statistics which I do not intend to use. I

would only say this that it is true that the family planning programme over the last two decades has not been able to achieve as much as had been expected of it. The reasons for that are various and I need not go into them at this time. Partly there were problems of resources; partly there were problems of organisation; partly there were problems of education and partly there were problems of technological

are the issues of this country. Madam, I would like to say one thing. Whether the actual targets were achieved or not, the fact remains that family planning programmes over the last two decades have succeeded today in creating a climate in this country where family planning is now broadly acceptable. One of the very encouraging features of the debate this afternoon, Madam, has been that although the speakers have been critical of some of the aspects of the policy, nobody has in fact attacked the policy of family planning. And I would submit that this intangible course of the climate of acceptance of family planning is one of the major factors, we have got to keep in mind. The cost benefit analysis in this country is a very complex and almost an impossible task.

Only one point I would like to make here and that is 40 per cent of the funds spent so far have been spent upon doctors, upon auxiliary nurses, midwives, upon lady health visitors, etc. So it is not that money has been just spent; the money has been spent young people, upon providing them jobs, upon motivating them and bringing them into the countryside and, therefore, all this has succeeded in creating a climate of acceptance. What I have tried to do since I took over this Ministry—and I think fortunately at least for me, I came in just on the threshold of the Fifth Plan—was that I was able, perhaps, to draw together the threads of experience over the last two decades and to try to knit them into a coherent policy. What I have tried to do is to place family planning very clearly in

[Dr. Karan Singh.]

the general context of the economic development. If there has been a major weakness in our policy so far, perhaps, it has been the attempt to organise family planning as a sort of an independent governmental programme, as some kind of a *Kamadhenu* or mass give-away where you distribute vast sums of money to achieve an objective. It is very clear to me that family planning will only succeed, as I said in Bucharest, if it is knit into the very texture and the structure of our developmental programmes and that is what I have really tried to do and that is what, I think, has also been broadly appreciated here. It is true that some of the foreign experts who wanted us to accept the fact that family planning alone is the only problem that India should concentrate upon to the exclusion of everything else, may have been disappointed. I have noticed that after Bucharest. The foreign Press has started attacking me and saying that India has shifted its stand. I think if it is a shift, that is a logical progression, a logical movement forwards. I would not call it a switch; I would not call it a deviation. I would say that this is the logical culmination of the experience gained after two decades of family planning.

Madam, I do not have much time at my disposal. I would just like to say one thing before I go on to my three points. I do not say the universe is finite. It is a very interesting philosophical problem whether it is steady universe or whether it is an expanding universe. If we go into the realm of astro-physics, what I did say was—and the reality is—that the planet earth is finite. The earth has never been bigger than it is today; it was the same size; it is the same size and with all the ingenuity that we may have, with all the technological developments, that with all the tremendous mysteries that are in the human mind and in the human intellect, I would submit for Dr. Kurian's consideration that it is none the less finite.

If we continue to go on increasing the population on planet earth or spaceship earth indefinitely sooner or later disaster will occur. Now, this is not.

as you may call it, new Malthuism. I do not want to get involved in an ideological debate, but I may say that if in this Chamber, for example, you can seat 300 people, and tomorrow you want to seat 600, it is not simply possible. You can have tier upon tier, but ultimately it will end. This is just one statistics. The population of Australia, as you know, is about 13 million people total population. Australia has two and a half times the land area of India and yet we add to our population the equivalent of the population of Australia every year. This one statistics alone, without going into many figures, is enough to show that we have got to try and control the population.

SHRI ABU ABRAHAM (Nominated) : Most of Australia is desert.

DR. KARAN SINGH : But the desert can be transformed with the help of science and technology.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : Though this planet is finite, it is not finite in terms of resources.

DR. KARAN SINGH : In terms of technology perhaps not, but in terms of resources ultimately it is finite whether it is land, space, water or air. After all, Madam, what are the basic resources ? They are land, water and air. Land is finite water is finite and air is finite around this planet.

SHRI ABU ABRAHAM : Only theoretically finite.

DR. KARAN SINGH : No. Land and water are finite. However, that is an interesting point. Although I have full faith in human technology and human intellect, I do not think I would be justified in saying that there is no problem of population. The point is this. Our real problem is poverty and I look upon population control policies as one of the several weapons in our armoury to attack the basic problem of poverty. It is not my contention that population is the only problem that we face. That would be ridiculous. *Prima facie* it would be absurd. After all we have not been able to give our people yet enough

drinking water, enough electricity, enough medical and health care, enough shelter and enough clothing for me to say that the only problem in this country is population. It would be an insult to the people of India. I have never said so, but I do say that in our armoury in the battle against poverty we have got to try and bring about social transformation. We have to produce more food, provide more clothing, shelter, rural roads, electrification, drinking water and so on. It is essential also to have an important input of population control policy.

Briefly there are three aspects. The red triangle is a well-known symbol. I can illustrate it. My approach to this problem is by taking one side of the triangle to deal with one major facet of our thrust. The first is research. We talk of technology. We have some of the best scientists in the world in India. I have thrown a challenge to our scientists that they should now try and bring about a breakthrough in reproductive biological research. One point well taken was why should we constantly be dependent upon foreign technology for everything? If our scientists can bring about a nuclear explosion for peaceful purposes, we can have a breakthrough in the field of reproductive biological research. This is one aspect to which I am giving strength and stress. We are not talking about it too much. As a people we have sometimes a tendency to talk too soon about so-called achievements and cut a sorry figure later on, but I hope the breakthrough will come in the course of the next twelve or eighteen months.

The second aspect is, how do we integrate health, family planning and nutrition? We have to integrate the family into the structure of a village. I am not going into a discussion on the Fifth Plan with all its weaknesses and problems. That would take me farther a field and it would take too much time. In the minimum needs programme we have integrated family planning, health and nutrition.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : Does it exist?

DR. KARAN SINGH : It does exist.

We are integrating these three in the primary health centre and the sub-centre. As you know, we have one primary health centre for every 100,000 population and one sub-centre for every 10,000 to 12,000 population. It is these centres which we hope will become the focal points for the delivery of package services which will include health services, i.e., immunising every family.

It will now include nutrition for pregnant and lactating mothers and for infants and it will include nutritional programmes like supply of folic acid and iron and vitamin A tablets to prevent blindness. It will also include family planning programme. The point that Mahavir Prasadji made is that we should have a situation in which the people demand family planning? Why should they not? Whenever politicians go to their constituencies; they demand schools, electricity and all other things. Like that why should they not demand family planning? Why is it that always we have to put it before them, family planning? We are, therefore, trying to integrate it into a package of services, to have this approach of integrating health and family planning, breaking down the artificial barriers. In the primary health centre there used to be two doctors, one for health and the other for family planning. The family planning doctor over there suffered from a permanent neurosis. He was not happy, because he said मुझे तो फैमिली प्लानिंग में लगा दिया. And he tried to pull all sorts of strings to get himself transferred from there thinking he is looked upon as an inferior creature. We have done away with that. We said, doctors will do both — हेल्थ भी करेगा और फैमिली प्लानिंग भी करेगा. After all, this is a part of the same programme. So, I am trying to break down this and am trying to make a totally new structure. In this, only one point has got to be remembered. The State Governments have got to be involved. I am starting with the State Governments going right down to the panchayat so that they can help us. Now, you have the resources; you have the integration. The final point is moti-

[Dr. Karan Singh.]

vation. How do you motivate the people through democratic means? This is a very interesting problem. I can expound about it at length because I have now been dealing a lot with this. I would only say this. In a democratic country, long-range motivation certainly has got to ultimately come from better educational standards, from an improvement in the status of women. And there, I am extremely grateful to Members for having made the point about raising the age of marriage. I myself am very much in favour of it. And I hope that this opinion will be created by Members of Parliament generally in the country. In Kerala—Dr. Kurian's State—although economic growth in statistical terms is not high, the very fact that women's education there is very impressive has brought about a dramatic decline in the birth-rate.

So, what I will say is this. About Prof. Subramanian Swamy's theory of the autonomous decline in population growth, I know that he is well known. I have read his article in this book and in various other books. But I would submit that merely to wait for an autonomous decline is not enough; what we have to do is to develop our family planning programme not as an elite-oriented, urban-oriented, *bhadra* log-oriented programme which, unfortunately, to a large extent it has been so far, but really to take it down to the rural areas, to the masses so that the people can understand it. And for that, we will utilise all media, utilise the TV and the satellite technology and the radio and so on.

A number of very important points were made. I wish I had time. I understand that I am supposed to finish by five. I think this is a rather unfair to me . . .

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No, no. Go on.

DR. KARAN SINGH: I think I can take a little more time.

Several important points were made by hon. Members. I would just like to take up a few of them so that I could give my

reactions. About multi-purpose para-medical cadre—Shri Subramanian Swamy suggested it—I have already made a statement to this effect. We have already set up a group. Somebody here behind me mentioned the bare-foot doctor. As you know, the bare-foot doctor of China is neither bare foot nor is he a doctor; he is a para-medical doctor who really goes into the rural area. Today we are turning out doctors; they are good doctors. But their whole training and orientation is urban-biased. What I want is to have a new cadre between the doctor and the village level worker a para-medical cadre who will be recruited as far as possible from the rural areas and who will be trained in the rural areas. A short course of training, and then they will go, men and women, and act as a link between the MB., B.S. who will continue and the village level worker. This we are already working on, and I am hopeful that if I can get this done, it will perhaps be a major contribution towards really strengthening the health care infrastructure in this country.

5 P.M.

Another point that was made by many speakers including lady Members, Shrimati Menon and yourself, Madam, was about the status of women. As you know, 1975 is the International Women's Year and I think this is as good an occasion as any for us to constantly stress this point and to link it, if possible, which raising of the age of marriage which I personally consider to be a very important point.

Another point I would like to make, Madam, is the point that Mr. Mariswamy made and which was also mentioned by Shri Puri. It is the question of representation of population. This, I must admit, is a very, very ticklish matter. On the one hand we go around to every State urging that they should do well for family planning and on the other hand States that are inefficient in family planning if you will excuse me for saying so, they are the ones whose population increases more and more and their representation increases more and more. This is not a problem that I can solve

I would urge this is really a national problem. All parties and all leaders have got to come together to try and understand what can be done. Can anything be done? On the one hand, those States which have a smaller population their economic position is definitely better. In Punjab and Haryana, for example, the moment economic breakthrough took place their birth rate began to decline and their representation ultimately in various aspects of allocation of resources from the Central pool on the basis of population is still there. This is ultimately a double point, Madam. I am not trying to give a solution to it. I am simply accepting the fact that this is a national problem which will one day or the other have to be faced and, perhaps, this forum, Members of Parliament, is the best forum who should start thinking creatively about it. Is it at all possible to peg the representation in certain levels? What will be the legal, political and constitutional implication of doing so? These are all matters which have got to come up.

Madam, it is my policy, my declared policy, to continue to have support from voluntary organisations and I am sure, as you mentioned yourself, Madam, that can be very useful because it will take the edge of the governmental aspect of this problem. Unfortunately, family planning has become a governmental programme. That is what irritates me. It has got to become people's programme. The people have got to realise what we are doing. As for Government's doing that, it is for their benefit immediately as well as long-range. In this age of high prices how can any body look after two or three children?

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY : Age of multiplicity of queues

DR. KARAN SINGH : I remember that cartoon. I am not sure whether it was from Mr. Abu Abraham or somebody else.

Then there is this question of the rural areas. Somebody mentioned this. I have already admitted that our programme has

not really been able to make yet a fully dent in the rural areas. And what I want to do now is to spread it out. But for all this what is required is a political commitment in this country. When I say political commitment I do not mean a party commitment. I would like, Madam, to see the family planning programme becoming like defence, a matter upon which there is no real difference between political parties. They may differ upon the strategy as to what to do. But on the fact that the country should have a strong defence force, I do not think any party is divided. Similarly, if on this question of family planning there is broad consensus it would help us very greatly. We have started in our own party—if I may say, I raised the point at the highest level. The Prime Minister has written a letter to all the Sarpanchas. I would urge that the political leaders and the M.Ps. particularly—after all, the M.Ps. are, par excellence, in a democratic society the leaders of public opinion and the shapers and moulders of public opinion. They have got to get involved from the old elective bodies, from the M.Ps. right down to the village panchayat level. Then and then only will we be able to come out with a logical, comprehensive population control policy, not as a panacea for all ills, not as some kind of substitute for development at all, but as one of the important inputs in a total programme of social transformation and economic uplift.

Finally, Madam, I would just like to say one thing. Although the point was not raised here today some people have said to me, "Why are you against children?" I think it would be a total misreading of the situation to say that we want to plan families because we do not like children. Children are, after all, the future hope of this nation. (*Interruption*). He did not say this. I am saying that this has been said. It is because we love children, because we want them to get the necessary care, that we urge that they should not be brought into the world where in the 21st century our children, your children, our grandchildren might find themselves starving. It is, in fact, because we love them and we

[Dr. Karan Singh.]

love the future citizens of India. that we are propagating this. I hope, Madam, that with the co-operation and goodwill of all sections of the society and of all sides of the House, we will succeed in making some progress in this very important sphere of our activities.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN (Tamil Nadu): You have not touched the social aspect of the problem because people say

that children are the creation of God and so they do not want to stop them.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at six minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 3rd December, 1974.