

Government services in various sectors. They have not the freedom to agitate during the election, including their families.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Do you want Government servants also to agitate during the election ?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Will you allow the Army to set up their own candidates and conduct election campaign ? No. In the Central Government services that thing is going on. They cannot put up candidates. They cannot do electioneering campaign. They are prohibited. If they do that on behalf of the Congress, the eyes of the administration are closed. If they ever do it on behalf* of any other party, then their services are dispensed with. So I say that in a way you have disenfranchised four crores of people including their families. That is how these things are not being taken account of in this Bill.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

3 P.M.

So, I say that the election expenses by the political parties should be fully banned. No political party should be allowed. Only the candidates will incur the expenditure and they will submit their returns. And to some extent, a minimum degree of fairness may be maintained.

As regards conveyances, we have the experience that everywhere we have seen the Congress Party hiring all the conveyances* We know, all facts . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Niren Ghosh. You will finish your speech tomorrow. At 3.00 P.M. we have the on of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and Mr. Chordia.

Two hours are allotted for this motion.

MOTION *RE* THE STATEMENT ON GOLD CONTROL

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : Madam Deputy Chairman, I move the following motion :

"That the statement on Gold Control made in the Rajya Sabha on the 2nd

September, 1966, be taken into consideration."

THE MINISTER OF LAW (SHRI G. S. PATHAK): That Bill will be taken up tomorrow ?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Yes'.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I must pay my tribute to the thousands of goldsmiths in the country who have been fighting for the redressal of their grievances and whose unity and courage and struggle have resulted in the modification of the Gold Control Order. I say 'in the modification of the Gold Control Order' because I feel that this modification has been, by and large, in the right direction although we would like the Gold Control Order to be altered.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar) : May I know if this hon. Member is now pleading for the jewellers ? Very good.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh) : And for those who can own gold.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : If your Prime Minister had not only pleaded for but acted for the goldsmiths, I can do a little more.

Therefore, I say this thing. Their demand has been a just demand. The Gold Control Order stands condemned on all hands by the experience of 3½ years of the working of this misconceived, arbitrary and certainly inhuman Order that was passed under the Defence of India Rules in 1967. Therefore I pay my tribute to them and I do hope that immediately all those who have been arrested, all those goldsmiths and others connected with that movement, would be released. I am a little surprised that they are not yet released. In fact, the announcement should have been accompanied by their simultaneous release. They should have been all out by today. Anyhow, I would ask the Government not to delay their release and also . . .

AN HON. MEMBER : They have been released.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : ... order a general amnesty to all those arrested in connection with the movement against it

SUWAKBAR ALI KHAN : I think they have already been released.

SRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Not all of them. If it is so, tell us. I would like to hear. I have seen today's papers.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : All of them have been released—that is what he has said.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Not yet. Anyhow, now that you have said that they would be released, I only ask that it should be expedited and I think it would be expedited. If you have done it by now, this afternoon, it is good.

Now, let me come to my main thesis here. My thesis, demand, is that the Government and my connection in this connection—the impact of the movement, the Government is that the statement made by the Prime Minister in this House on the 2nd September does not go far enough. Under the impact of the movement, the Government has yielded but it does not go far enough to fulfil what, in our view, is the just demand not only of the goldsmiths but of large sections of public opinion on the country.

Madam Deputy Chairman, we have before us the Interim Report of the informal Committee on Gold Control which was headed by Mr. L. P. Singh who was the Chairman of this and there were two other members. This Report is wholly unsatisfactory. This Report does not give an idea of what the problem is. This Report is lacking altogether in humanity. It is no wonder that in this Report it was contended that there was no need for the modification of the Gold Control Order. Even the Government could not accept the recommendation of this Report. Not here the Prime Minister need not have said this. She said :

"While Government agree with this conclusion of the Committee, they recognise—that a measure of socio-economic

reform which is aimed at changing centuries old traditions and customs cannot be expected to become fully effective within a few years."

I am reading from the synopsis given by the Rajya Sabha of our speeches. Now, there was no need for making a statement of this kind. This Report should have been rejected because it does not show any understanding of the problem; it is not self-critical enough to understand and tell us what was happening in the course of 31 years and certainly it does not make any good, healthy suggestion whatsoever. It is a conservative Report written by some people who live in the ivory tower of their high offices and who do not know what is going on in life. The Government should have straightway rejected this Report and taken a line entirely opposed to what has been suggested about some vital matters in the so-called interim Report. When the Gold Control Order was passed under the DIR in 1963, the Opposition was against it. We expressed our doubts about it. But the discussion could not take place due to the impact of the border conflict at that time and the situation following the border conflict, shall we say. Now, Mr. Morarji Desai, in a number of speeches in 1963, made certain tall claims. He was the Finance Minister of the country at that time and speaking in Bombay, I think, on the 10th of June, 1963, he said that as a result of the Gold Control Order smuggling was considerably down. That was what he said. And he certified that gold control was something which would be very beneficial to the country. And here, even according to this interim Report, we are told after three years or so:

regards smuggling, no evidence is or is likely to be available to establish beyond doubt either that smuggling has increased or that it has decreased after the introduction of the Gold Control Order."

while Mr. Morarji Desai three years ago said that the smuggling had declined. This is the position that the Government has maintained all through. Now, even according to this faulty Report, we are told that there is no evidence to show that either it increased or declined. This is a very strange Report. Why was this Committee

appointed ? It should have told us what has happened to smuggling after the gold control. This kind of prevarication on the pari of the Committee shows that it is not a competent Committee, it was utterly incompetent, it did not even have the courage to look into the problem being faced and tell us what exactly is the position. We do not need a Committee to tell us that it neither increased nor decreased, that it has no evidence to show that. No wonder. I do not know why Mr. L. P. Singh was appointed as the Chairman of this Committee. What are his qualifications, I would like to know. Is he an economist ? Is he a man who is conversant with business and so on. Or is he a man who has got any idea or any experience of the trade, etc.? Or is he a big smuggler ? No, nothing of the kind. I am not calling him a smuggler. Surely, he is not a smuggler. I could have understood a smuggler being appointed because he could have given some practical idea about it. But he gives nothing. So, I say that Mr. Morarji Desai has been completely belied. I tell you, hon. Members opposite—note it—it was Mr. Morarji Desai's work that brought about the Gold Control Order. When the entire country was opposing it, when the Opposition was opposing it, when many Members seemingly from the other side of the House were expressing themselves against the Gold Control Order, that dictator from Gujarat, said, 'No, it is good, it must remain', that like the Compulsory Deposit Scheme—which had gone by the board earlier—the Gold Control Order must remain. And he was propagating all over the country that it had reduced smuggling, that people were giving up all kinds of malpractices and that much gold would come from out of the hoards and secret stocks. Not one of his promises have been fulfilled. Yet hon'ble Members Opposite got up to support Mr. Morarji Desai at that time. We were shouted down just as we are shouted down whenever we raise a voice against the Government. I am sure the hon'ble Members opposite will support Shrimati Indira Gandhi now in doing this thing. Their position is, support whatever comes from the Government, whether that be a good thing or whether that be a bad thing. I would expect some independent and intelligent thinking from the Benches opposite. They need not hold on to the coat tails

of the ruling Treasury Benches. They are Members here in their independent capacity also. As far as their head and heart are concerned, why can they not give their opinion instead of dittoing what the Government said?

Now, Madam, they have mined the goldsmiths. This Government should be indie. handicraft industry in our country by its arbitrary Gold Control Order. It has ruined hundreds and thousands of families of our goldsmiths, poor men who lived by their skill and labour. For generations these families had excelled in the particular art of our civilisation which, shall we say, this Government, by the stroke of pen under the D.I.R., has ruined. It has ruined many of them. It is a pity. It hurts us, it pains us to see that those people who were running that particular industry as skilled workers, handicraft industrial workers in Rajasthan and other places, are now pulling rickshaws or doing some work or carrying on certain other avocations where no skill is required. Some of them are engaged in pulling cycle rickshaws and so on. You have done that.

Not only that, this Government is responsible for the suicide of many goldsmiths in the country. This Government is morally responsible for the suicide of 50 or more goldsmiths in the country and they should have apologised. I expected the Prime Minister to get up here and say, "Well, whatever may have happened in the past, I apologise to the country, to the goldsmiths and their families." She could have paid some respect for those who committed suicide and put an end to their life, being unable to bear the agony and sorrow created as a result of a misconceived Gold Control Order by the Government. Even that has not been done. Therefore, morally and materially this Government is responsible for ruining one of the finest handicraft industries which generations of India have produced in our country. Morally they are responsible for the death of all those goldsmiths who, driven to hunger and poverty, put an end to their life, politically they are responsible for disregarding the country's public opinion in general and the Opposition in particular in promulgating the Gold Control Order and in appoint-

[Shri Phupesh Gupta.]

ing the so-called Gold Control Board which was invested day after day with arbitrary powers. The whole bunch of them should be tried before the bar of Indian opinion. That alone will avenge death of those who put an end to their life. But that will not be done. Even now they are not prepared to scrap this blessed Order.

Madam Deputy Chairman, now take some of the arguments of Mr. Morarji Desai. Price** will go down. Have they gone down? Even Mr. Sachindra Chau-dhuri said that prices have gone down. No, not prices of primary gold. The price per tola of primary gold on 31st March 1964 Rs. 130.61. On the 31st March, 1966 it was Rs. 161.03, and in the last five months the average has come to Rs. 167.90. Therefore, the prices did not come down. Has smuggling declined? No. How much gold have they seized? They have given the figure here. The figure is about 2,197 Kg. of gold seized between 1963 and 1965. That by no means is a big amount at all. It is a very small amount. If you look into the figures of the smuggled gold, you will find that only one-fourth of it goes for the making of ornaments and the rest goes into the black market, bullion and other things. There they do not strike. On the contrary, it is the middle class consumers who are struck, people, who in ornaments above 14 cts purity had some savings for the rainy day. It is these middle class people who make some presents to their near and dear ones, who are very poor, it is they who are hit. Those flourishing in bullion trade, those who are big jewellers, they were not hit at all. They have benefited from the Gold Control Order whereas others have suffered. Therefore, I say that the middle class has been hurt.

Mr. Morarji Desai once said. "After all, people do not look beautiful by wearing ornaments and so on". It is a fantastic statement. I remember that statement which he made in this House.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Do you think they look beautiful by wearing ornaments?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I do not know how your children wearing gold ornaments look in your house. The question is that our people are not extravagant. Our daughters and mothers and the working class people are not extravagant.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Do working class people possess gold?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : He lives the Nizam's house. He cannot think in terms of the working class people possessing some gold. Nizam's harem may possess but how can the working class people?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI B. R. BHAGAT) : That is what he is saying.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I know he may have excursion into these places. But if the Nizam's harem is consisting of working classes, certainly they do possess gold, I agree.

SHRI OM MEHTA (Jammu and Kashmir) : What about your experience?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Please do not disturb me. Do not say this thing. Our middle class people cannot afford to accumulate gold. They may have a little more or a little less of ornaments but they do not live by gold. They mortgage those ornaments in times of distress, when there is illness in the family, when there is difficulty in the family, *apatlikat*.

Now, smuggling has gone on. Monopolists are the real source of smuggling in this country. Under cover of the so-called external trade they indulge in under-invoicing and over-invoicing, and the money they accumulate through illegal means in foreign markets, they utilise it for importing gold into India and then they transfer that black money, illegal money into open money. This is what is happening. Had there been proper investigation into how smuggling went on, had they really wanted to catch the real culprit, they would have really found out that it is this big people who by under-invoicing and over-invoicing accumulate funds in England and other countries, and with that fund they send smuggled gold.

into this country of which a big part goes. > into the bullion market for all kinds of | speculation and so on. Therefore, it is these people who are responsible. They have done nothing to find them out. Even secret gold they have not discovered.

We were told that under the Gold Control Order, orders would be issued to the big people to declare their gold. How \ many Princes and multi-millionaires in this country have declared the gold in their possession at that time in 1963 ? Time and again we have raised this question in this House. Never we got anything. I should like to know whether any declaration has been filed by the Nizam of Hyderabad or the Maharani of Jaipur or the Maharaja of Bikaner as to the quantity of gold that is in their possession. The)' have not done so. I should like to know how much gold the family of Birlas has¹ declared or the family of Thapar or Goenka has declared. There is nothing of the kind. The whole thing has been ruth- ■ lessly directed to crush our goldsmiths, to ruin their industry and to bring about suffering on the middle classes' homes and to take away whatever they were having. Therefore, I say, now that you have realised the folly of your measure, now that you have understood that such a measure | cannot pass at this time, I still tell the Prime Minister and others, even at this late hour, that this is the time to scrap the Gold Control Order. It has been condemned by the country that it should be thrown into the scrap heap of our public life as a result of the experience and the suffering it has brought about. To-day what we demand is the scrapping of the Gold Control Order. In that connection the rehabilitation they gave to some of these people was very inadequate. The Government has now to spend a lot of money from the public exchequer to restore the trade to its normal situation, to see that everyone gets a fair deal, to see that those who have been advanced loans are not subjected to all kinds of oppression, for the recovery of these loans. There should be generosity on the part of the Government in regard to those to whom loans have been advanced. That is how the Government should proceed in this matter and the chapter should be closed but to close this chapter the Gold Control Order should be scrapped. We should

really do that realising at this hour that we did a very great injustice to the goldsmiths and the public at large, and the time has come how to admit the mistake and to retrace the steps completely without any equivocation and see that everything is restored to normalcy.

One word more. About the non-holding by big families beyond a certain quantity, v,o are in support of it. The rich families should not be allowed to hold gold ornaments of large quantity. There should be restrictions but then the restrictions should be such that it is not possible to circumvent them by family arrangements. Secondly, on pain of rigorous imprisonment, the capitalists and the Princes, the big landlords and the hoarders should be immediately asked to declare the gold ornaments in their stocks and after that there should be searches, wherever necessary, of their houses in order to unearth the secret ornaments undeclared by the big people—not the middle-class people but the big ones—the big Princes and so on. After that they should be prosecuted and whatever is found after that should be forfeited. The bullion market and other things should be stopped and the drive should go on for unearthing the hidden gold which is a concrete expression of the black-money in our country and for that again the effort should be directed primarily against the monopolists, big business and also some Princes in the country.

Once again I demand the scrapping of the Gold Control Order before this Parliament Session is over and full support for the restoration of those who have suffered as a result of the mischievous Gold Control Order and, of course, I demand the release of all those who still may be in prison in connection with the movement.

The question was proposed.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Ten minutes for each. The Minister will be called at 4.45 to answer. Shrimati Raja-gopalan.

SHRIMATI LALITHA (RAJAGOPALAN) (Madras): At the outset I should like to say that I agree with the sentiments I expressed by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta regarding the plight of the goldsmiths in thi

[Shrii! ha (Rajagopalan]

ation that is created for them, leading to j such unhappy incidents but I do not agree with him when he says that it should be .scrapped. I think if he goes back and sees he will understand. He is rather sympathetic towards our Prime Minister. J bat is very surprising! He has welcomed the modifications regarding the Gold Control Order but he seems to be more in an attacking manner and he is really attacking Mr. Morarji Desai. I do agree that when a Government lays down the policy, unless they see that the policy is carried out and the policy gives some results and when they find, that it is really giving some results it U not proper for any Government to do anything—I do not ihink even his Government will do anything—to scrap up anything, but when they find that there are loopholes and so on. and certain things have to be modified, then the Government comes forward and modifies that thing. He should appreciate it from that point of view and should not criticise.

Another thing he said was that we all obeyed the leader. Every party has got its own leader and every party obeys its j leader. When a decision is made by the Government, it is the duty of the ruling party Members to support the policy and also stick to that policy. I think the same thing applies to his Communist Party also. , When there was Khrushchev his policy was appreciated Now Khrushchev is not there and Kosygin is there; his policy is appreciated. I think it was absolutely baseless when he said this.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You have understood something about the A.I.C.C, but not about Khrushchev.

SHRIMATI LALITHA (RAIAGOPALAN): At the outset I welcome this modi- I Jication by the statement made by the ; Prime Minister regarding relaxation of the Gold Control Order in making ornaments and at the same time retaining the other conditions that are needed for preventing smuggling. My view is that this scarcity of gold would not have happened if only the Government had in the past thought of having a certain percentage of gold reserves from the foreign exchange earnings.

Of course, we did not think of it seriously and it has led to gold scarcity and we had to enforce the Gold Control Act, Secondly the Prime Minister in the statement has pointed out that this is a socio-economic reform and I very much appreciate and congratulate the Prime Minister for taking into consideration the feelings of the people and the opinions of the parties—of the different parties, I do not say only of the ruling party but even of the Opposition parties—regarding the Gold Control Order and the way she has brought out the statement they should appreciate it more than the ruling parly. It is really a socio-economic reform in the sense that gold is a thing that is considered, I should say, more as a security for the womenfolk than, one should say, for ornaments. In those days gold was given in marriages and other occasions because it acted as a security for the women for their protection. Then the women were not literate, they were illiterate and even now only a certain percentage of the women are literate and most of them are still illiterate in India. They need gold. When some calamity happen or some other thing happens, the onty security they haye for money is gold. So, in that context the Prime Minister realised it and has really modified the Gold Control Order, according to that. At the same time the relaxation of the limit from 14 carat to 22 carat is a very welcome *move* because the plight of the goldsmiths is really bad. Some of them who had been making gold ornaments of 22 carat were unable to make anything with 14 carat. They were used only to that gold and there are certain ornaments which can be made only out of 22 carat gold and not of 14 carat gold. So these goldsmiths were agitating and fhej were thrown out of their employment. Some people say that relief measures have been taken for them I am sorry in that aspect nothing had been done and they were dissatisfied. The Prime Minister has at the rijilu moment realised the situation and brought this relaxation on 14 carat gold.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat) : What is the right moment, just before ihe elections ?

SHRI OM MEHTA : Every a right moment.

SHRIMATI LALITHA (RAJAGOPA-LAN): As regards the measures to be taken to make this policy successful, there the Government should give consideration to the Gold Control Order issued under the D.I.R. 1962 and the Act passed in 1965 regarding so many measures. They should be taken note of. In enacting legislation regarding licensing of dealers and refineries and sale of goods, the Prime Minister has stated that it should be State-controlled. There are private refineries also and I think these should be conducted under the supervision of the State or the Centre, as the case may be. There should also be certified goldsmiths to assure new customers as to what they buy is of 22 carat and not of 14 carat. It is better to stamp the carat content of gold in every ornament. That would enable the customers who are just going and buying their ornaments to know about the content. There are traditionally some goldsmiths who are family goldsmiths and they make the ornaments but supposing a stranger goes into a shop and buys something, he should know whether he buys ornament of 14 carat, or of 22 carat because 14 carat is also in existence now and 22 carat is also there. He will not have time to sit there and find out whether it is of 14 carat or 22 carat. Stamping should be there to enable them to know whether the ornament is of 14 or 22 carat. And some measures I would like to suggest myself to the Government. One is that the free trade in bullion should be rooted out. The Reserve Bank or the State Bank should take complete control of the bullion trade, and I think this will definitely bring down the price of gold in the open market. The other is to completely stop the smuggling in gold. I would like to say that this is a very important thing, because smuggling has been there all the time. Whether there is the Gold Control Order or whether there is not, smuggling in gold has been going on. There is primary gold underground even now, there is no doubt about it and our duty is to see how we are to find it out, to find out also as stated by Shri Bhupesh Gupta which Maharaja or Mahavani has got primary gold. Now that is a measure which we are going to undertake, and the Prime Minister has specifically stated that these things should be taken into consideration and suitable legislation brought forward and enacted. I think the

opposition parties should wait for some time and see what legislative measure the Government is going to bring forward, when they will have an ample opportunity to criticise it where criticism was warranted.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V PATEL: We have waited for eighteen years. Is it not enough?

SHRIMATI LALITHA (RAJAGOPA-LAN): Now to put an end to the act of smuggling in gold I would like to make a suggestion and, if implemented, it would be very effective in my opinion. The suggestion is that the C.I.D. and the C.B.I. should have a network all over the State and they should try to get the information relating to smuggling secretly and confidentially—I think that is a most important thing—and where satisfied, they should conduct simultaneous raids all over the country. I think this will not only give a shock treatment but also, at the same time, bring down the smuggling in gold.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The trouble is that the C.B.T. will be working in Calcutta but Jit Paul of Aintnband Payarefal will be having an interview with Mr. Subramaniam here. That is the difficulty there also.

SHRIMATI LALITHA (RAJAGOPA-LAN) : I am sure our personnel working in the field are capable of dealing with this matter. That they are capable of.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Jit Paul and Mundhra are equally capable of—I have no doubt about it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN . I think that Mr. Bhupesh Gupta should let her continue. She has got only ten minutes*. Continue. Mrs. Rajagopalan.

SHRIMATI LALITHA (RAJAGOPALAN): Lastly, Madam, I would like to say that although all the time they have been asking for scrapping the Gold Control Order, I think that is a demand which really one cannot accept, and at the same time the Government has done some good to the country by relaxing it. Definitely it will not be wise for the Government, whichever Government may be in power, to withdraw the Gold Control Act. The

[Shrimati Lalitba (Rajagopalal).]

only thing is that there are some loopholes which have not been plugged properly and I think the Government will come with steps to modify the provisions in that regard, and if that fails, then the Government will find some other way to fill in the gaps. I think it is absolutely wrong on the part of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta to say like this, but I agree with Mr. Bhupesh Gupta that the penalty should be very strict in this matter. It may be rigorous imprisonment and even life imprisonment, I do not mind; I agree with him entirely there, but I entirely disagree with him when he says that we should scrap the Gold Control Ordor.

Thank you, Madam.

श्री रमेशचन्द्र शंकरराव खांडेकर (मध्य प्रदेश) : उपसभापति महोदया, इस शासन ने स्वर्ण नियन्त्रण कानून के साथ आज तक जितना खिलवाड़ किया है उससे ज्यादा खिलवाड़ शायद किसी भी कानून से नहीं हुआ है। 1963 में जब यह विधेयक भारत संरक्षण कानून के अन्तर्गत लाया गया तब उसके बारे में काफी बड़ी बड़ी बातें कही गईं। एक बात यह कही गई कि इस देश को फारेन एक्सचेंज की बहुत आवश्यकता है और यहां पर जो स्मगलिंग होती है उसकी वजह से काफी ड्रेन फारेन एक्सचेंज पर पड़ता है और उसको रोकने के लिये यह कानून बनाना आवश्यक है। यह भी बात कही गई कि स्वर्ण का मूल्य यहां पर और देशों की अपेक्षा काफी है और उसको कम करना बहुत आवश्यक है। उसी प्रकार भारतवासियों में स्वर्ण के लिये जो एक अभिलाषा है उसको इस प्रकार के नियन्त्रण के द्वारा हमें कम करना होगा। सभी विरोधी दलों ने इस कानून का उस वक्त विरोध किया था और कहा था, और मुझे भी सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ था कुछ शब्द कहने के लिये, तो हमने कहा था कि सरकार ने यह जो उद्देश्य बनाया है वे काफी अच्छे हैं लेकिन शासन जिस प्रकार चलता आ रहा है, शासन की जो मशीनरी इस वक्त है और शासन की जो

क्षमता इस वक्त है उसको देखते हुए वह उन उद्देश्यों को प्राप्त करने में कभी सफल नहीं होगा और अन्ततोगत्वा यही हुआ। 1963 के बाद ही कुछ ही दिनों में वित्त मंत्री ने उस में एक संशोधन कर दिया 14 कैंस्ट के सम्बन्ध में, एक सहूलियत दे दी कि वे अपने जो पुराने आभूषण हैं वे बना सकते हैं। इस संशोधन से जो पूरा मतलब था उस विधेयक का वह समाप्त हो गया। लेकिन पूरा कानून उस वक्त भी उन्होंने वापस नहीं लिया। सरकार एक प्रकार के प्रेस्टिज इश्यू पर बैठी और जैसा कि अभी बताया गया सरकार में उस वक्त जो कुछ बड़े व्यक्ति थे जिन्होंने उसको अपना एक मान बिंदु बनाया और किसी भी प्रकार वे उसे वापस लेने को तैयार नहीं हुए। सभी विरोधी पार्टियों ने उस वक्त बनाया था कि इस विधेयक का वही हथ्र होगा जो हथ्र अभी कुछ राज्यों में शराबबंदी का हो रहा है। शराबबंदी अच्छी है, इसमें कोई दो मत नहीं हो सकते हैं, लेकिन सरकार को यह देखना होगा कि कौन सा प्रायरिटी का विषय है, देश के सामने कौन से प्रश्न हैं, किस को कितनी प्राथमिकता देनी चाहिये। क्या यह सम्भव है कि जो सरकारी पैसा है उनको इस प्रकार बर्बाद किया जाय, कि शराबबंदी करके सरकारी रुपये का नुकसान हो और लोगों को सहूलियत मिले कि इल्लिसिट शराब का निर्माण जारी रहे। इसी प्रकार गोल्ड कंट्रोल के बारे में कहा गया। उसके उद्देश्य बहुत अच्छे हैं लेकिन आज उसकी क्या वास्तविक आवश्यकता सरकार के सामने है? सरकार के सामने काफी बड़े बड़े प्रश्न हैं : भुखमरी से लड़ना, खाद्य समस्या, बाह्य आक्रमण का सामना करना। ये सब बातें करना सरकार का प्रथम कर्त्तव्य है और उसके बाद ऐसा विधेयक लाये जिस से लोगों में स्वर्ण के प्रति अभिलाषा कम हो और इस प्रकार के सोशल कानून कहिये या मारल कानून कहिये, उसको लाना आवश्यक है। लेकिन सरकार में बैठे हुए कुछ लोगो ने उसे अपना मान बिंदु, प्रेस्टिज इश्यू, बना लिया था कि हम शराबबंदी ठीक करेंगे और स्वर्ण कानून

को भी अमल में लायेंगे। परिणाम जो होना था वही हुआ। लोगों में उस कानून के प्रति काफी असन्तोष पैदा हुआ। तीन साल का इतिहास सामने है, उसको दोहराना आवश्यक नहीं है। अन्ततोगत्वा जब उसका उद्देश्य सफल नहीं हुआ, लोगों में असन्तोष बढ़ने लगा और मालूम पड़ा कि स्वर्ण कानून से हो सकता है कि शासन का जो डिलमिल डोंचा है वह और हिल सकता है, तब सरकार को बाध्य होकर उसको ढीला करना पड़ा। चौदह कैरट को हटाकर प्योर सोने की, 22 कैरट की, जो सुविधा दी गई है वह ठीक है, लेकिन मैं इस बात से सहमत हूँ कि जो स्वर्ण नियन्त्रण कानून का उद्देश्य है कि जितना इस देश में सारी दुनिया के मुकाबले में स्वर्ण के प्रति लोभ है, जितनी अभिलाषा है, वह किसी और देश में नहीं है और उसको दूर होना चाहिये। लेकिन यह बात कानून से नहीं हो सकती। उसके लिये प्रशिक्षण की आवश्यकता है, लोगों को समझाने की आवश्यकता है, उसके लिये एक आन्दोलन का रूप देने की आवश्यकता है। उसी प्रकार यह भी सही है कि हमारे देश का जो बाडर है वहां से काफी मात्रा में सोने का आयात गलत तरीके से और गैरकानूनी ढंग से होता है, उसको भी रोकना आवश्यक है। लेकिन क्या ऐसा कानून बनाकर, जिस मशीनरी के मातहत ऐसे कानून को अमल में लाया जाता है, क्या वह उतना सक्षम है? कितने ही अच्छे अच्छे कानून इस शासन की मशीनरी ने बिगाड़ कर रख दिये हैं और कानूनों को बदनाम किया है। उसी प्रकार आज भी यह कानून अभी जिस मात्रा में रखा गया उससे मुझे बड़ी आशंका होती है कि इस कानून से जो सरकार चाहती है कि जो हमारा सोना है उसके ऊपर नियन्त्रण होगा, उससे स्मगलिंग बन्द होगी, मैं नहीं समझता इसमें सरकार कामयाब होगी। कहा यह जाता है कि इस देश में करीब तीन हजार करोड़ रुपये का सोना दबा हुआ है। सरकार ने जो यह कमेटी बिठलाई थी, जिस का अभी जिक्र हुआ था, उस कमेटी ने

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अपनी रिपोर्ट में इस तरह के सोने का अन्दाजा करीब 50 करोड़ रुपये का लगाया है। हालांकि इस कमेटी की रिपोर्ट मानने लायक नहीं है क्योंकि वह एयर कंडिशनड रूम में बनाई गई है, अपनी थ्रिप्टिकल नालेज कहिये, किताबों से कहिये या फिर सरकारी आंकड़ों के आधार पर यह रिपोर्ट बनाई गई है। लेकिन इस कमेटी ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में यह बात मानी है कि जो स्वर्ण कानून है उसको सरकार को सीरियसली लेना चाहिये था लेकिन ऐसा नहीं किया गया। यह जो रिपोर्ट है उसको रद्दी की टोकरी में डाल देना चाहिये, लेकिन इसमें भी एक दो बातें हैं, जिनकी तरफ मैं आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ।

उन्होंने पहली बात यह लिखी है कि इन साढ़े तीन वर्षों में सरकार को इस कानून के ऊपर जितना ध्यान देना चाहिये था, उतना ध्यान उसने नहीं दिया जिसकी वजह से यह कानून फेल हो गया और सरकार भी अपने उद्देश्य में सफल नहीं हो सकी।

दूसरी बात उसने यह लिखी है कि सरकार के पास जो मशीनरी है उसका उसने कोई खास कारगर कदम नहीं उठाया। उसमें यह लिखा है कि सरकार की जो मौजूदा मशीनरी थी उसी को यह स्वर्ण नियन्त्रण का काम सौंप दिया गया। होना यह चाहिये था कि इसके लिए कोई खास मशीनरी होती और उसके मारफत ही यह कानून उपयोग में लाया जाता ताकि उसमें सफलता मिलती। जैसा मैंने कहा कि सरकार ने अपनी मौजूदा मशीनरी से इस कानून को खराब किया और मेरा चार्ज है कि सरकार इस सम्बन्ध में सीरियस नहीं थी। सरकार के लिए चूंकि यह एक प्रतिष्ठा का सवाल था इसलिए उसने व्यक्तिगत कारणों से इस तरह का कानून बनाया, लेकिन सरकारी मशीनरी इस कानून को लागू करने के लिए सीरियस नहीं थी और न ही उसके लिए तैयार ही थी। इस कमेटी को चाहिये था कि अपनी रिपोर्ट बनाते वक्त जो बाहर के लोग हैं, जो लोगों के प्रतिनिधि हैं, उन सबको शामिल

[श्री रमेशचन्द्र शंकरराव खांडेकर]

करके इस तरह की रिपोर्ट तैयार करती तो निश्चय ही वह इस तरह की रिपोर्ट तैयार नहीं करती। तो कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि जहां सरकार ने इस तरह की कमेटी बनाई है और उसने जहां सरकार की मशीनरी के ऊपर जो आरोप लगाये हैं, अगर विरोधी पार्टी के लोग लगाते तो वह नाराज हो जाती।

(Time bell rings)

अन्त में मुझे यह कहना है कि यह तो अच्छी बात हुई कि अब गोल्ड कंट्रोल काफी ढीला हो गया है, लेकिन मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि इस कानून में अब जो चीज बाकी रह गई है उसके बारे में क्या सरकार सीरियस है और उसको चाहिये कि देश में जो सोना गड़ा हुआ है उसको ऊपर लाये। जिन लोगों ने सोने को छिपा रखा है उन्हें कड़ी से कड़ी सजा दी जाय। मैं तो चाहूंगा कि हरेक आदमी जो सोना चाहता है उसको शुद्ध सोना मिले। मैंने पिछले मर्तबे भी कहा था कि सोने का राष्ट्रीयकरण होना चाहिये और किसी को व्यक्तिगत व्यापार करने का अधिकार नहीं होना चाहिये। हर एक को थोड़ीसी मात्रा में सोने को रखने की इजाजत होनी चाहिये, अगर उससे अधिक कोई सोना रखता है तो सरकार को अपने कब्जे में ले लेना चाहिये। सरकार को इस तरह का कानून बनाना चाहिये कि इतनी मात्रा से अधिक सोना किसी के पास नहीं होना चाहिये और हर एक को यह डिक्लियर करना चाहिये कि उसके पास कितना सोना है। लेकिन सरकार का काम जिस तरह से आजकल हो रहा है उसी तरह से उसने इस गोल्ड कंट्रोल आर्डर के ऊपर भी अमल किया जिससे न कुछ देश का फायदा ही हुआ, देश की न भलाई ही हुई और स्मगलिंग और फारेन एक्सचेंज की जो दिक्कत थी वह भी कम नहीं हुई। मेरा कहना यह है कि अब भी जो कानून है उसके सम्बन्ध में सरकार सख्ती के साथ कदम उठायेगी तो काफी फायदा हो सकता है।

मेरा कहना यह भी है कि हमारे देश में जो पूंजीपति और राजा महाराजे हैं, उन्होंने काफी मात्रा में सोना छिपा रखा है। उन्होंने कितना सोना डिक्लियर किया जब कि इसके बारे में सरकार की ओर से हुक्म हुआ था? मुझे आश्चर्य लगा यह मालूम करके कि थोड़े से राजा महाराजा हैं, जिन्होंने अपना सोना डिक्लियर किया है। यह बात सही भी हो सकती है, लेकिन उनके पास काफी मात्रा में सोना गड़ा हुआ है और शासन में इतनी हिम्मत नहीं है कि वह उनको तलब करे या उनसे निकाले।

एक बात का आश्चर्य मुझे यह होता है कि जो हमारे पब्लिक के लोग हैं, उन्हें गोल्ड कंट्रोल आर्डर के अन्तर्गत यह सहूलियत दी गई थी कि उन्होंने जितना गोल्ड डिक्लियर नहीं किया है उसके बदले में वे गोल्ड बान्ड खरीद सकते हैं। मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि जिन पब्लिक लाइफ के अच्छे अच्छे लोगों ने इस तरह के गोल्ड बान्ड्स खरीदे थे, उस समय सरकार ने उनसे क्यों नहीं पूछा कि तुम यह सोना कहां से लाये? उस समय इन्कम टैक्स और दूसरे अधिकारियों ने नहीं पूछा कि यह सोना कहां से आया। कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि अगर सरकार यह चाहती है कि स्वर्ण कानून कामयाब बने, तो पहला कदम यह उठाना चाहिये कि जितना गढ़ा सोना है, बड़े बड़े पूंजीपतियों और राजा महाराजाओं के पास है, उसको बाहर निकाले। सारे सोने के व्यापार का राष्ट्रीयकरण करे और निश्चित मात्रा से अधिक सोना जिस के पास हो उसको जब्त कर ले और इसके सम्बन्ध में एक कानून बनाये।

Miss MARY NAIDU (Andhra Pradesh) : Madam Deputy Chairman, before I start speaking on this motion, I would like to say just one thing. Shri Bhupesh Gupta instead of asking the Prime Minister to apologise, should really have asked the House to thank the lady Prime Minister, for having handled the issue so wisely, to have handled the issue so courageously and also so efficiently. It

took a lady, Madam, to bring about this change. Although Shri Bhupesh Gupta was not eager to acknowledge that, it is a bit too late even now and Mr. Gupta can thank the Prime Minister even now and ask the House to thank her for doing this, because what men failed to do she has so courageously done.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I will do it after the reply is given, because it is an eight carat government really. It will remain an eight carat government.

Miss MARY NAIDU: When the Gold Control Order was first introduced, it was opposed not only by Members of the Opposition but as Mr. Bhupesh Gupta himself has acknowledged, Congress Members also had opposed it. Yet we are disciplined soldiers and as disciplined soldiers we obey our leaders. *(Interruptions.)* We are disciplined soldiers and we did obey the leaders. At the same time we have been over and over again and at different times asking, for a revision.

^sSURI BHUPESH GUPTA f Who prevented you from going on hunger strike ?

Miss MARY NAIDU : That we leave to Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. What else can he do if we go on hunger strike? If we do that, what will be left for the Opposition ?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : But im the Select Committee all the Congress lady Members ' strongly supported the Gold Control measure. I hope the lady Member has now corrected herself.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is giving information. You go on. I hope the lady Member will be allowed to continue.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The lady Members supported it then. Now they must say they were mistaken.

Miss MARY NAIDU : As disciplined soldiers and as an act of discipline we supported it. But as individuals we opposed it. In our party meetings also we were opposing it. The Opposition need not take all the credit to themselves. Congress

Members have been always bringing it to the notice of the Government that the Gold Control Order should be modified. Anyway, Madam, it was with the best of intentions that the Government brought that order. Gold control was introduced in order to stop smuggling, to wean the people away from their greed of hoarding gold, to keep them away from the unwholesome interest they take in gold and also to make the prices go down. All those were laudable objectives. In any case, without doubt, the goldsmiths suffered but their suffering is not entirely the fault of the Government.

DR. B. N. ANTANI (Gujarat) : Of course, it was.

Miss MARY NAIDU : When the Government passed that order, it must be remembered that they also took the trouble of sanctioning Rs. 35 crores to rehabilitate the goldsmiths.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: But how many got it ?

Miss MARY NAIDU : Who prevented them from getting it ?

DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : Your corrupt machinery.

DR. B. N. ANTANI: After burning down their houses they were given a cottage.

(Interruptions)

Miss MARY NAIDU : All sorts of people began to take advantage. People who were not goldsmiths applied for that money and they got the money. The actual sufferers did not get the money. I am not siding the Government on that point.

DR. B. N. ANTANI: God save the Congress.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal) : Even God will not save the Congress.

Miss MARY NAIDU : God will save the Congress because whatever it does, it does with the best of aims. It does not do anything to make the people suffer. *(Laughter.)*

[Miss Mary Naidu.]

You may laugh but the day the Congress Government does not exist, that day, I am sorry, that laughter will not be (here any more).

Of course the Government also took steps to arrange for the education of the goldsmiths' children.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: By the touch of your Government the 22 ct. gold will become 10 ct. gold, the moment your Government touches it.

SHRI K. SUNDARAM (Madras) : Golden touch.

Miss MARY NAIDU: Madam Deputy Chairman, the Government has always been kind-hearted and tender-hearted and they are aware of the people's difficulties. But there are defects in the administration and the Government must take care of those defects and rectify them. Unless they rectify them they will not be able to answer the Opposition members. They have to be wide awake and always be ready to acknowledge and rectify the defects in the administration.

Then, Madam, the Opposition members need not always take credit

DR. B. N. ANTANI: Thank you for the advice.

Miss MARY NAIDU : It is not advice. They think that they are the only people who were fighting against it. In the last A.I.C.C. meeting member after member brought it to the notice of our very distinguished President, Mr. Kamaraj, that gold control was not successful, that it was failing in achieving the objectives. Then, he said openly that he had taken note of the wishes of the members and he would look into it. The Opposition members caught hold of that point, made it a point for their own advertisement, made it a point to excite the goldsmiths to go on hunger strike. Otherwise for 3½ years they did not go on hunger strike. Because they knew that in any case the Congress Government would be lessening the rigours of the gold control order, they took this step and that is a step . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I wish you were called to the Bar.

Miss MARY NAIDU : Thank you, I am not a lawyer. I do not wish to be a lawyer because lawyers always tell lies.

(Interruptions)

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh) : I object to this. She should not say that . . .

Miss MARY NAIDU : I am sorry; not always but in any case.....

DR. B. N. ANTANI: I happen to be one and

(Interruptions)

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT (Delhi) : The Deputy Chairman is also a lawyer.

Miss MARY NAIDU : They do not tell lies but they try to twist the fact* and

(Interruptions)

SHRI P. N. SAPRU : No, no.

Miss MARY NAIDU : . . . make their cases win somehow or other.

SHRI DEBABRATA MOOKERJEE (West Bengal) : They only make the worse appear the better.

Miss MARY NAIDU: A Committee was appointed, Madam, to look into the difficulties of the people but we know about the official committees. They can only look at the papers and go on saying that this is an economic problem, that is an economic problem and so on. They did not see the demands of the people and they delayed. That was why the Government took so much time to amend the Gold Control Order giving an opportunity to the Opposition to make much of it. In any case, Madam, I would just like to say that it is for the good of the people. With due regard to the economic situation in the country the international situation and the human situation the Government did not hesitate, and never hesitates, to change its policies.

Once again I should say that we are really thankful to our beloved Prime Minister for this courageous step. We have to agree that she has handled the issue wisely and efficiently and her decision

has made the people very happy. Madam, we should not consider this matter of gold as ended, it has only just begun because according to some information that I have, the advanced countries of the world are engaged in a discussion as to what form of international currency is necessary now to meet the demands of the time. Even our Government must set up a committee of the people concerned to examine the problem of gold afresh, its place in our country, its relationship to the currency and so on.

Madam, now that people are allowed to keep gold freely I have every hope that if ever the Government happens to be in trouble, as Mr. Bhupesh Gupta said, the middle class will always be ready to part with their gold as they did part with it once when the call came, and once again it will be they who will part with their gold whenever any real difficulty comes. Meanwhile I agree with everybody that they must see that the rich people part with their gold in order that the Government may be able to tide over its difficulties and we may be able to earn enough foreign exchange and have no more trouble.

Thank you.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Madam, I am glad that the Government has at last begun retracing its wrong steps. Fantastic ideas were advanced before and after the Select Committee and in the Select Committee and I would suggest to the hon. Lady Member who spoke just now—very well-intentioned but very ill-informed—to go through the proceedings of the Select Committee and she will find that what I am telling is correct. Every one of the Lady Members in the Committee supported the measure.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: And that broke his heart.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: It did and I am surprised that your heart is not broken with all the harm you have done to the economy of this country, that your heart is not broken when so many hearths and homes have been broken up, when so many of the self-employed poor people have lost their livelihood. You have rained this country's economy by your

wrong notions; you have forsaken the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi. Let me remind the Finance Minister—J do not know where he was at the time of the struggle for freedom—that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram, Member of this House, and the late Prof. K. T. Shah, were appointed by the Working Committee of the Congress some time in 1934 or 1936 . . .

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Madam, whom did he mean when he said 'I do not know where he was at the time of the freedom movement' ?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I am talking of you.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: That is the point. The hon. Member may be older in age but he cannot cast reflections like that I was very much in the freedom movement I protest against this; it is a bad reflection.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I am quite willing to accept the correction of the hon. Minister when he says that he was very much in the freedom movement, but like many well-intentioned Congressmen, he is also ill-informed. This whole measure was ill-informed.

4 P.M.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU : You must remember that he had a most brilliant university career, apart from having been to prison and so on. He had a most brilliant university career. He was a student of economics.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please carry on. Nothing wrong.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : I was pointing out that in the old days the Congress Working Committee appointed a committee consisting of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram, a Member of this House, and Prof. K. T. Shah and these people were asked to report to the Congress Working Committee. They passed a strong resolution about the exodus of gold from this country which was being taken away by the British for their own purposes. That was the importance that the Congress attached to gold. It

[Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel.]

is only after the Congress Party's thinking became dominated by socialist ideas and communist ideas that this new thinking started and they tried their hands on all sorts of things. They forgot and they are still forgetting it in other directions, that prices cannot be controlled merely by laws and particularly in a democracy. If we are going to remain a democracy, the normal law of supply and demand will operate, whether you like it or not. The Government took the advice of many officers when they introduced gold control. Mr. Pande, I think he was the Gold Controller, misquoted Mahatma Gandhi in the Select Committee and I had to ask him where he was when Gandhiji did several things and I had to correct him in the Select Committee itself. Similarly, they have continued to take the advice of such officers, but ultimately water will find its level and truth will come out. The gold control measure has proved a dismal failure. So many families have been broken up. So many people have died. It is no use saying that this is a futile agitation by a few people. It seems that the Congress Government does not care to listen to anything, except when there is an agitation outside Parliament House. Why was this long agitation outside Parliament House at all necessary? Everybody knew, all the Opposition Parties told the Government that they were ill-advised in regard to the gold control measure. They would not listen. In this country traditionally in the olden days, even during the British regime and even after independence, at the time of crisis, the people of this country not only come forward to give their life, to give their youngmen, but also to give their wealth and gold, when the country needs it. When the people of this country are such, why do we need such measures? I remember, when this Bill was being dis- or at some other time, my neighbour, who is rather allergic to the laipur family particularly ...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : No, no.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : ... because he is a supporter of our Party, raised it. And I had to point out that, apart from gold, the Maharaja and Maharani of Jaipur had given their two sons who were in

Army when the aggression came. Let us not forget this and go on saying it again and again. There are people who are patriotic and who will always be patriotic. Unfortunately there are some people who fail always. There have been Aminchands and others in the history of not only this country but also in other countries. It is a fact of life to which we must get ourselves reconciled. Basically, rich or poor, the people of this country are patriotic and patriotism is stimulated by trust, not by distrust. If you go on breaking open the hearths and homes of people, respect for the Government diminishes. Trust begets trust. And that is what we have been asking this Government to do all these years. Now that the Government has realised the dismal failure of gold control let us know what they propose to do about the folly of their gold bond scheme and what not. How much money has been wasted in all this, which has ended up in smoke? Therefore, the Government would be well-advised not to rush into policies of this type. Madam, there is a simple saying, people rush in where angels fear to tread. Did not this Government rush into this gold control measure in this manner?

श्री निरंजन वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश) :

माननीया उपसभापति महोदया इस सदन के सामने गोल्ड कंट्रोल आर्डर पहले भी आया और उसके पश्चात् उसकी जो दुर्गति हुई वह भी सदन के सामने है। इसी जवान से हमारे कांग्रेस की तरफ के मित्रों ने इसके बारे में तरह तरह की चर्चाएँ कीं। बहुत से मित्रों ने पकराशु बहाए, मगर के आंसुओं की तरह प्रगट करके स्वर्णकारों की बस्ताओं को इस सदन में जाहिर किया कि कैसे वे बेचारे निराश्रित हो गए। महोदया, यह सब कुछ किया इन्हीं कांग्रेस महाप्रभुओं ने और अब एक आदमी के मत्थे मढ़ कर स्वयं दोषमुक्त होना चाहते हैं, मोरारजी देसाई को बलि का बकरा बना कर। हम कहते हैं कि यह प्रजातन्त्र है और इस प्रजातन्त्र में किसी एक आदमी के ऊपर जिम्मेदारी नहीं डाली जा सकती, सारे पार्लियामेंट की जिम्मेदारी थी और हर एक कांग्रेसी की जो यहां पर बैठता है—चाहे

लोकसभा में हो या यहां पर—सबकी जिम्मे-
वारी थी और एक मत से उन्होंने पास किया
था। चारों तरफ जनता में इसका विरोध
हुआ, लेकिन एक मामूली पान बेचने वाले
कांग्रेसी से लेकर करोड़पति कांग्रेसी तक ने कहा
था कि यह बहुत अच्छा है। इसलिए उस
जिम्मेदारी से ये बच नहीं सकते। इसके
पश्चात् रिट्रैट किया। आखिरकार जो कुछ
नहीं करना चाहिए था उसे किया और उसके
बाद पछतावा हुआ। कितने प्रदर्शन हुए,
कितनी अस्थियां जलाई गईं और कितने
आदमी भूखे मर गए? इस तरह से यह काला
कानून पास किया और पास करने के बाद
प्रधान मंत्री जी ने दवे शब्दों में पुरानी चीजों
की दुहाई दी। उन्होंने एक स्थान पर कहा—
जब उन्होंने गोल्ड कंट्रोल आर्डर को वापस
लेने की बात की—उन्होंने फरमाया कि
आखिर हमें इस देश की पुरानी कस्टम्स,
रीति-रिवाजों को भी देखना है और धीरे-
धीरे उस ओर आना है। ये पुरानी बातें उसी
दिन क्यों याद नहीं आईं, इस वक्त क्यों याद
आईं? श्रीमतीजी, जिस तरह से रावण सीता
को हरने के लिए एक अच्छा स्वरूप बना
कर गया था, मैं याद दिला दूं अपने
मित्रों को, कि अब दूसरी बार इसी तरह
आप बहनों के पास जाकर उनके पांवों को
नमस्कार करना चाहते हैं, लेकिन दिल में खोट
होने की वजह से उस महिला के गले का हार,
उसके कानों की बालियां और उसके पांवों
के जो जेवर हैं उसे देख कर लूटना चाहते हैं।
अब इस कानून को हटाने के द्वारा एक नया
पाप ला दिया है। श्रीमती जी, मैं निवेदन
करूंगा अपने कांग्रेसी मित्रों से कि यह गोल्ड
कंट्रोल आर्डर पूरी तरह से असफल हो गया
है। वह पूरी तरह से फेल हो गया है।

एक हजार वर्षों तक हमारे देश को बाहर के
लुटेरों ने लूटा और उसके कारण इस देश में
यह प्रवृत्ति हो गई कि सोने को जमीन के
अन्दर दबा कर रखा जाता था। वही प्रवृत्ति
अब भी आती चली जा रही है हमारे समाज।

एक हजार वर्षों के काल में तीन बार हमारे
सोने के ऊपर आक्रमण हुआ। एक समय
अलाउद्दीन खिलजी ने सोने पर आक्रमण
किया, किसी भी आदमी को सोना रखने की
मुमानियत थी, कोई आदमी रख नहीं सकता
था। और दूसरा समय था कि यहां पर दिल्ली
में एक मुहम्मद तुगलक नाम का बादशाह हुआ
और सम्भवतः कांग्रेस उसी बादशाह का अन्धा-
नुकरण कर रही है, और तीसरे हेस्टिंग्स
के जमाने में, जब विलियम हेस्टिंग्स लार्ड
हेस्टिंग्स बन कर आये तो उन्होंने अवध की
रानियों पर और चेतसिंह पर डाका डाला और
जो सोना उन्होंने रखा था उसको ले लिया।
हमारे कांग्रेसी मित्र भी यहां के नागरिकों
के अधिकारों पर, हकों पर डाका डालना
चाहते हैं और हम समझते हैं कि यह बिल्कुल
निश्चित बात है कि जिस तरह से आपकी
योजनायें पहले असफल हो चुकी हैं, आपकी
शराबबन्दी की योजना असफल हो गई,
आपकी खादी की योजना असफल हो गई,
उसी तरह से आपकी यह योजना भी असफल
हो गई है। अब आप चाहते हैं कि दुनिया को
इस नाम पर यह बतलायें कि हम किस तरह से
सोने को यहां पर रखना चाहते हैं और सोने
के जरिये हम इस देश में उन्नति करना चाहते
हैं। सोना इस तरह से आप नहीं निकाल सकते
यह निश्चित बात है, सोने के लिये जो ढंग
आपने अख्तियार किया वह बिल्कुल गलत
था और उसी के कारण सोने पर तो आपने
बार किया नहीं लेकिन सोने को पहिनने
वाले लोगों के ऊपर आपने बड़ा भारी दांव
फेंका और उसका परिणाम आप लोगों के
सामने आया, प्रदर्शन हुये और प्रदर्शन होने
के बाद आपने घीमे से, चुपके से एक अमेंडमेंट
सरीखी चीज ला कर अपने आप यह स्वीकार
कर लिया। जो भाषा प्रधान मंत्री ने पढ़ कर
सुनाई उससे यह मालूम पड़ता है कि
तीन वर्ष तक कांग्रेस के कैंप में एक
अन्तर्द्वंद्व मचा रहा, इन लोगों में कोई
स्पाई मत नहीं था, कुछ आदमी समझते थे
कि यह कानून गलत है लेकिन डर के मारे,

[श्री निरंजन वर्मा]

जबान पर लगाम होने के कारण सार्वजनिक रूप से कहने में घबड़ाते थे लेकिन दिल ही दिल में इस बात को जानते थे। जब कांग्रेस की कोई बड़ी कमेटी होती थी तो इस प्रश्न पर झगड़ा होता था कि गोल्ड कंट्रोल आर्डर को समाप्त कर दिया जाय और कुछ कहते कि समाप्त नहीं किया जाय, अन्त में एक आदमी के सिर पर इसको डाल कर इस अमेंडमेंट को लाये। पिछले समय में गोल्ड कंट्रोल आर्डर की जो दुर्दशा हुई—हम समझते हैं कि हम जो कहते हैं पूरी गम्भीरता के साथ कहते हैं, न तो किसी पर दोषारोपण है और न दोषारोपण करने की हमारी इच्छा है, इस सदन के सभी माननीय महानुभाव बहुत जिम्मेवारी के साथ बोलने वाले हैं और कांग्रेस की वेंच के सज्जन भी ऐसे हैं जिन के ऊपर अगोजीशन की अपेक्षा अधिक मात्रा में जिम्मेदारी है क्योंकि वे देश की सत्ता को सम्हाले हुये हैं, कृपा कर के इस देश की सत्ता को और इस घर को अजायबघर मत बनाइये, एक्सपेरिमेंटल हाउस मत बनाइये। आप जो चाहे करते रहे और इस प्रकार की गलतियों के लिये आप मीठी बात कर के या किसी के प्रति दया दिखा कर के अपनी गलतियों को अपने आप स्वीकार कर लें, यह ठीक नहीं। पिछले समय में आपको कितना लाम हुआ, गोल्ड आपने घरों से निकालने की बात कही और 21 सौ या 22 सौ किलो ग्राम आपके पास आया तो इससे क्या परिवर्तन हो गया लेकिन सर्राफों की दुकानें समाप्त हो गई, गरीब सुनारों का धंधा समाप्त हो गया और जो गरीब किसान और मजदूर एक आधा तोला लेना चाहते थे उनको आधा तोला भी, सोना नहीं मिला। किसी समय हमारे देश में मुद्रा और निष्क नाम के सोने के सिक्के चलते थे, मुसलमान बादशाहों के जमाने में अशरफियाँ और दीनारें चलती थीं, अंग्रेजों के समय में भी गिनी-नोल्ड चलता था लेकिन आपकी सरकार के जमाने में सोने के दर्शन दुर्लभ हो गये, किसी दुकान पर सोना दिखने में नहीं आता

और हमारी श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी, प्रधान मन्त्री ने कहा कि हम तो ओल्ड ट्रेडिंशंस की भी बात करते हैं। इस देश में यह ओल्ड ट्रेडिंशंस था कि आदमी जीवन-काल में तो गोल्ड पहिनता ही था लेकिन मरने के बाद भी उसके मुख में, मृत्यु के समय, सोने का पानी डाला जाता था लेकिन इस सरकार ने उस पर भी प्रतिबन्ध लगा दिया। लोगों को सोना मिल नहीं सकता था। उसका परिणाम क्या हुआ, सोना बाजार में नहीं था और लोग आपका कागज लेना नहीं चाहते थे तो उसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि लोगों ने और दूसरी जायदादों में रुपया लगाना प्रारम्भ कर दिया, इस तरह से देश में एक असामान्य स्थिति उत्पन्न हो गई और अब भी जो आप सुधार के नाम पर यत्न कर रहे हैं, जो कह रहे हैं कि गोल्ड कंट्रोल आर्डर में हम सुधार कर रहे हैं, यह तो लोगों के जेवरों की तरफ आपकी ललचाई हुई आंखें हैं, आप विश्वास करें—मैं भगत साहब से विशेष रूप से निवेदन करूंगा—कि इसमें आप बिल्कुल असफल होने वाले हैं, जेवर आपके हाथ लगेंगे नहीं। आपने यह कानून बनाया, यह रेगुलेशन बनायेंगे कि सौ या दो सौ तोले से ऊपर के सोने को ले लेंगे तो यह कभी हो नहीं सकता और कहीं ऐसा कानून बना दिया कि सौ या दो सौ तोले से ऊपर सोने को रखने वाले सब लोगों को अपना अपना जेवर लिखाना पड़ेगा तो लिखाने वाले बहुत कम आयेंगे और हमें डर है कि अगर आपने यह सोना देख लिया तो वह सोना आप बाहर विदेशों को भेज देंगे जहां से एक एक लाख और दो दो लाख रुपये की आपकी कार्रवाई होगी, हमारे देश का सोना चला जायगा और आप असफल हो जायेंगे और जनता मारी मारी फिरेगी। इसलिये आपने जो कुछ किया उसके लिये आप पछतायें, बहुत से कानूनों में जो गलतियाँ कीं उनको लज्जा संकोच, लाज और बड़ेपन को निभाने की वजह से छिपाते हैं, आप अपनी गलतियों को कहने में शर्मति हैं लेकिन आपने देख लिया कि इस मामले में आप असफल हुये हैं। इसलिये पूरे आर्डर को वापस लिया जाये।

श्री वी० एन० मंडल (बिहार) : मैडेम, प्रधान मन्त्री के द्वारा जो सुधार गोल्ड कंट्रोल आर्डर में लाया गया है उसको मैं अच्छा समझता हूँ। मैं यह भी चाहता हूँ कि जो बातें अभी तक गोल्ड कंट्रोल आर्डर में बाकी हैं वे बातें भी खत्म हो जायें।

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair]

मगर ऐसा न हो सके तो कम से कम इतना जरूर चाहता हूँ कि प्राइवेट ट्रेडर्स को थोड़ा सा गोल्ड अपने पास में रखने दिया जाय और बेचने के लिये थोड़ा गोल्ड उनके पास रहे जिसका हिसाब किताब सरकार रखे क्योंकि जो मामूली जेवर बनाने या बनवाने वाला आदमी होगा वह गवर्नमेंट के यहां जा कर उसे परचेज कर के जेवर बना सके ऐसा हम समझते हैं कि सम्भव नहीं होगा। इसलिये जो लाइसेंस प्राइवेट ट्रेडर्स हों उनको कुछ सोना रखने का अधिकार हो और कुछ दूसरे आदमी जो अपनी बचत से थोड़ा बहुत सोना अपने यहां रखना चाहें उनको भी अधिकार हो। हम समझते हैं कि इस तरह का सुधार कम से कम हो जाय तब तो गोल्ड कंट्रोल कानून के मुताबिक चल सकेगा नहीं तो नहीं चल सकेगा वैसी हालत में समूचे गोल्ड कंट्रोल आर्डर खत्म हो जाय।

जिस समय यह कानून बना था उस समय एक असाधारण स्थिति थी, देश के ऊपर चीन की चढ़ाई हुई थी, देश में डालर की कमी थी, डिफेंस के लिये खर्च की जरूरत थी, डेवलपमेंट के लिये भी खर्च की जरूरत थी, इस खयाल से यह गोल्ड कंट्रोल आर्डर बना था। कानून बनाने वाले को सबसे पहले इस बात का भी विचार कर लेना चाहिये कि इस कानून को हम अच्छी तरह अमल में भी ला सकेंगे या नहीं। अगर नहीं सम्हाल सकेंगे तो वैसा कानून नहीं बनाना चाहिये खासतौर पर ऐसा जिसका प्रभाव लोगों के जीवन पर गहरे तरीके से पड़ सकता है और

लोग उसकी वजह से भूखे मर जा सकते हैं। वैसे तो कोई भी कानून ऐसा नहीं बनाना चाहिये जिस कानून को सरकार इम्प्लीमेंट नहीं कर सकती है लेकिन जिस कानून के ऊपर लाखों का जीवन निर्भर करता है और उसका इम्प्लीमेंटेशन ठीक से नहीं हो सके तो ऐसा कानून हर्गिज नहीं बनाना चाहिये। इस कानून के नतीजे में हमको देखने को मिला कि कितने सुनारों को आत्महत्या करनी पड़ी, कितनों को कितनी तकलीफ उठानी पड़ी लेकिन इस कानून के पीछे जो इरादा था कि स्मगलिंग को रोकना, सोने के दाम को कम करना या जो लोगों के पास में सोना है खास कर बड़े बड़े लोगों के पास में जो सोना है उस सोने का लेना, लेकिन एक भी इरादे में, एक भी काम में सरकार सफल नहीं हुई। इसका क्या कारण है, ऐसी कौन सी कमजोरी सरकार में है कि कानून बनता है और उसका इम्प्लीमेंटेशन नहीं कर पाती है उसकी जड़ में सरकार को जाना चाहिये।

एक और बात के बारे में सरकार का ध्यान में खींचना चाहता हूँ आजकल भी स्मगलिंग हो रही है। पता लगाना चाहिये कि स्मगलिंग के सिलसिले में कौन सी ऐसी चीज है जिसका हिन्दुस्तान के बाहर निर्यात किया जाता है, जिस निर्यात के बदले में सोना आता है। इस तरह का प्रोब सरकार क्यों नहीं करती है। जो कमेटी बनी थी उस कमेटी के जिम्मे यह काम नहीं दिया गया कि वह इसको खोजे कि स्मगलिंग जो हो रही है उसका क्या कारण है। हम समझते हैं कि हाफ-हाटेंब तरीके से वह कमेटी कायम हुई। यह एक जरूरी चीज थी। आज भी जब सरकार इस कानून को रखना चाहती है तो हम कहते हैं कि सरकार इस बात का प्रोब करे कि इस देश की ऐसी कौन सी चीज है जो कि विदेश जाता है और उसके बदले में सोना वहां से आता है। जो सब चैनल हो सकते हैं वह तो सरकार को मालूम ही होंगे। अगर मालूम नहीं हैं तो इसके बारे में अगर कोई पता लगा सकता है तो वह

[श्री बी० एन० मंडल]

सरकार ही पता लगा सकती है, क्योंकि सरकार के पास ही सारे यह साधन हैं इसके लिये हो सकते हैं। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि इसकी तरफ भी सरकार का ध्यान जाय। चूंकि सरकार अपने आप में सफल नहीं हो पा रही है इसलिये हम समझते हैं कि इस समूचे कानून को बिड़ड़ा कर लेना चाहिये क्योंकि हम देखते हैं कि लड़ाई के जमाने में हमारे देश के आदमी में इतनी देवभक्ति उभरती है कि जब देश के ऊपर कोई बिपत्ति आती है तो उस समय वह सिर्फ अपना जान और माल ही नहीं बल्कि हर चीज का त्याग करने के लिये तैयार हो जाता है। ऐसी हालत में इस देश के लोग अपनी कमाई से कुछ सोना अगर रखना चाहते हैं अपने घर में, तो उनको रखने दिया जाय; यह हम अच्छा समझते हैं हाँ, एक हद के बाहर वह सोना नहीं रखें। यह काम करना चाहिये, मगर सरकार नहीं कर पा रही है, नहीं कर रही है। हम चाहते हैं कि अगर यह सरकार सचमुच में इस देश की सरकार है, इस देश की गरीब जनता की सरकार है, इस देश की रक्षा करनेवाली सरकार है तो ऐसे लोग जिनके पास इफरात से सोना है, उनसे जबदस्ती ले ले, उसमें डेमोक्रेसी, नान-डेमोक्रेसी, आटोक्रेसी की कोई बात नहीं देखे। सारे देश की साधारण जनता सरकार के पीछे रहेगी। जितने राजे महाराजे हैं, निजाम है, वड़े बड़े पूंजीपति हैं, जिनके पास वह सोना जमा है, उनका सोना सरकार जबदस्ती ले ले, चाहे इसमें सरकार को जो कुछ भी करना पड़े। वह मैं चाहता हूँ। लेकिन अगर इसके लिये सरकार तैयार न हो तो समूचे का समूचा गोल्ड कंट्रोल आर्डर सरकार को बिड़ड़ा कर लेना चाहिये, ऐसा मैं चाहता हूँ।

Sim NIREN GHOSH : Mr. Vice-Chairman, my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, asked the Prime Minister to come and apologise. Why did she not apologise? I think it is of no use. What is the use of

demanding an apology from the Government? Will mere apology atone for the iufilterings of the thousands of families all over India? I do not think so. The matter is not so easy that a mere apology will suffice.

Now, it has been said that it is a social measure. Is it so? No. There is a method in madness, mere is a method in this Gold Control Order and I say that is the purpose of the Gold Control Order—that is to grab the gold that is spread among crores of families, the trinkets of gold, to get hold of that gold, but not to touch the gold of the big bullion merchants and the Princes and the Maha-rajahs and the hoarders and rich families. That was the real drive. It may appear madness. It is this madness that seized the Government. In practice, it is so. No gold has been unearthed worth the name. Rs. 3,000 crores worth of gold is there/ and it is distributed among the richer families, very rich families. That has not been touched. I know that it will not be touched in future. So, that was precisely the purpose. So they do not care for the sufferings that have been inflicted upon thousands and thousands of people.

Now, from the statement made before the House by the Prime Minister, the question that arises is : How will the goldsmith now get the gold? I have seen a report that he will get gold from the State Bank of India. Now, an ordinary goldsmith or a self-employed goldsmith, if he is asked to keep several accounts and asked to go several times to the State Bank, I think there is a danger of his being harassed. So, I would ask the Government to find some way out so that these thousands and thousands and lakhs and lakhs of goldsmiths can easily get the gold that they need in order to carry on their trade. This thing is not as yet clear from the statement made by the Government that they would not be harassed in their attempt at getting gold.

Then, about this Informal Committee's Report, that Report seems to be very logical, and indeed, it is logical. But it misses a very important thing which it ought to have been pinpointed. That is, about the gold that is smuggled into India, apart from pver-invoicing and under-invoicing,

there is a difference of Rs. 80 crores. The hon. Minister disputed my figure that it was a matter of opinion. It is not a matter of opinion, it is an authoritative statement by an authoritative institution set up by the Government of India that there is a difference of Rs. 80 crores annually in the exports that we make and tie imports that we get.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: The hon. Member referred to the Commerce Mini that he made such a statement. He told me that had not given any such statement and he does not accept that figure.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I think you consult the Reserve Bank Bulletins and the Reserve Bank's statement on foreign trade and you will find it. That is there, apart from under-invoicing and over-invoicing. So, that was a simple remedy. Why not nationalise the export and import trade and do away with these things so that the gold cannot be smuggled and see also the question of black money being transformed into gold is not there? Why don't you adopt that measure? Why don't you call in all the paper money of high denominations ? And in a single day or two, instead of the old notes you give new legal tender money and say that the old ones are not legal tender. Instead of one thousand rupee notes call the 100 rupee notes and that will strike down the ill-gotten incomes.

SHRIMATI TARA RAMCHANDRA SATHE (Maharashtra) : Is it practicable *to* do it in *two* days ?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Yes, it has been done, it has been done in various countries. It is not a fantastic thing. It has been done in various countries. It can be done and then the four thousand crores worth of black money will not get the opportunity *to* get itself transformed into gold. You never do that. I know that there is some limit and that you have to declare. I am in favour of the limit in so far as it goes. But I am also certain that by asking to declare the gold holding, the gold will be kept spread out here and there or will be hidden, and you will not be able to get at it because you are a Government that is very closely and intimately linked with those very circles which

have this black-money. You will never get at it. So far as this measure goes, I will support it, having a declaration of gold at least. But I think you will not get at that.

So, I say now. As regards the Gold Control Order, I think it should be scrapped. What is the use of retaining this ? Its main purpose, its provisions, have been struck down. It is not there. You have admitted that it cannot be implemented. It is bringing untold misery to people. Look here, the crores of families, the ordinary people, those who have gold and silver, why should they surrender it to you ? The value of the rupee is falling, is continuously depreciating. It will again depreciate. But gold or silver will not depreciate in value. If a family can keep a tola of gold, it will fetch some money. Ten years hence it will fetch double the rate. Why should they exchange that gold or silver for this worthless currency that goes on falling and falling and falling ? And you are pursuing a policy that will lead to that. There is no price stabilisation. It can never be there. So, it is madness to ask the people to do so. Really the place where the gold . . .

SHRIMATI TARA RAMCHANDRA SATHE: Will the hon. Member clarify this point ? Who has asked them to surrender the gold and up to what quantity ? Will he clarify this point ? Will he point it out in this statement ?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : In the statement there is a certain limit for gold holdings. Above that a family must declare.

SHRIMATI TARA RAMCHANDRA SATHE: Why do you say that the poor man will be asked to surrender gold? He does not have any primary gold. He has got a little bit of gold in the form of ornaments. Nobody has asked him to surrender it.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Repeat if.

SHRIMATI TARA RAMCHANDRA SATHE : I say, from the statement also nobody has asked a poor man to surrender whatever gold ornaments he has.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : That was the purpose of the Gold Control Order.

SHRIMATI TARA RAMCHANDRA SATHE : He is not asked to surrender it. You point it out please.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : How can they keep gold ? They cannot keep gold. That was the purpose. That was the accusation that I made. So, I say, there is no use wielding the rod at the throats of the people. I think the Gold Control Order should be scrapped.

As regards limitation, let it be there. I would support it but I also say categorically and definitely that you will not get gold because you will not touch the persons who have gold. You will never do that.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal) : Sir, before giving my opinion regarding Gold Control Order itself, I would like to draw the attention of the hon'ble Minister to certain questions which have been brought to the fore after this statement by the Prime Minister in the House. Particularly I refer to certain questions about the self-employed goldsmiths.

Sir, you know after some relaxations were made of the Gold Control Order entitling self-employed goldsmiths to make ornaments, some goldsmiths opted to change their vocation, and on the condition of their willingness to change their vocation they were given some rehabilitation benefit. According to this report it is found that the Government of India allocated about Rs. 11 crores to the different State Governments and Union territories to be spent for the rehabilitation of those goldsmiths who had opted to change their vocation.

Now, Sir, the meagre benefit that they had got, so far as I know, is this. Each goldsmith was given a loan varying from Rs. 100 to Rs. 1,000 and they were given some other rehabilitation benefit also. But so far as my experience goes, I can say with all certainty that that small, meagre benefit could not actually rehabilitate any small goldsmith. Now after the statement has been made here, may I know if the goldsmiths who received the benefit of

loan will be required to repay that money immediately, or what does the Government propose to do with them ? If they were not properly rehabilitated, they might be once more willing to go back to their normal and previous vocation, but I do not know whether the Government will realise the benefit in the shape of loan they had previously received. This is the point which I seek to be clarified.

My second point is this. In this report it is also noted that the Government feels that the active support by Government to the goldsmiths to adopt alternative vocation should continue. That the Government proposes that the lesser the number of goldsmiths that come back to the normal or previous vocation, the better it is for the country and also for the trade. This is what is the purport of this Report. Sir, I do not completely disagree with this idea. Yes, if somebody is willing to change his vocation it should be encouraged because this trade itself cannot provide the millions of goldsmiths today. But the point I want to emphasise is this. The meagre benefit, the method or repayment of loans, the Quantum of loans that are given are not at all adequate for any goldsmith to be attracted to change his vocation of life. If the Government really means to attract or induce the goldsmiths to change their previous vocation, there should be further liberalisation, there should be much more generous attitude so that a considerable number of goldsmiths may find it profitable to change their vocation of life. These two points I want to be clarified.

Then, another point has been raised by my friend, Mr. NirQn Ghosh, namely, the self-employed goldsmiths will be falling easy victims to the bullion merchants if they are to run their own trade, if they are to secure gold to make ornaments. What arrangement Government proposes to make so that these ordinary poor goldsmiths who are self-employed can get gold easily and cheaper so that they may profitably carry on their trade to earn their livelihood ? Regarding this Report I have come to the conclusion that this Report itself condemns the working of the Gold Control Order. I do not like to quote. But it has been admitted that the working of the Gold Control Order has not brought

about any change in the matter of stopping smuggling of gold, in the matter of reduction of internal price of gold. The country's economy needs a bold gold policy. But what I am pained to observe is that this interim Report is not at all an outline of that gold policy which can take our country out of the rut.

Sir, you know about under-invoicing and over-invoicing. You know that the ill-gotten black-money is connected with this smuggling of gold from foreign countries. You also know that big business is involved in these shady affairs. Big business magnates are involved in this. Even it was reported in a certain section of the press that big jute mill-owners and other important industrialists are also engaged in importing smuggled gold. So unless there is a bold gold policy, unless there is a bold policy of unearthing gold, unless there is a bold policy of checking over-invoicing and under-invoicing, unless there is a bold step to confiscate black-money, the objective of preventing the import of smuggled gold cannot be stopped and the internal price cannot be reduced. Therefore, my concrete suggestion in this respect is this. Let the Government be not guided by this interim Report of the Informal Committee on Gold Control because neither it has made any specific and concrete suggestions nor has it made any outline of our future gold policy. Therefore, a fuller committee with Members of Parliament should be constituted so that we may have a scientific and at the same a bold gold policy for our country, so that smuggling in gold can be prevented and the objectives, as envisaged in the Gold Control Order, can be achieved in no time.

شریعتی انیس قدوائی (اتر پردیش) :
مسٹر وائس چیرمین — گولڈ کنٹرول آرڈر کا میں نے سواگت کیا تھا اور مجھے معلوم ہے کہ ملک میں اس کے خلاف کافی ایجیٹیشن ہو رہا تھا اور یہاں بھی جب یہ آرڈر پاس ہو رہا تھا تو ہاؤس میں کافی مخالفت ہوئی تھی۔ لیکن پھر بھی

ایک قانون جب بن جاتا ہے، ایک آرڈر جب پاس کر دیا جاتا ہے تو اس کے اوپر عمل درآمد کرانے کی بھی گورنمنٹ کوشش کرتی ہے۔ میں نہیں سوچتی تھی کہ ایک اچھا قدم اٹھانے کے بعد، ایک صحیح قدم اٹھانے کے بعد گورنمنٹ اس کو واپس لے لیگی یا اس کو بدل دے گی۔

جہاں تک سونا اور سونے کی محبت کا سوال ہے ہندوستان کی یہ کمزوری ہمیشہ سے رہی ہے۔ ایک آنریبل ممبر نے ابھی حوالہ دیا کہ کسی زمانہ میں خلجی نے گولڈ کنٹرول کرنے کی کوشش کی تھی اور کبھی محمد تغلق نے سونے کی محبت دلوں سے نکالنے کی کوشش کی تھی۔ میرا خیال ہے کہ تب بھی اسی طرح کی ضرورت پڑی ہوگی اور ایسی ہی مشکلیں پیدا ہوئی ہونگی جیسی کہ ہم کو چائنیز ایگریشن کے زمانہ میں اٹھانی پڑی۔ جب لوگوں کے پاس سے سونا نکالنے کی اور سونے کو فوج کے کام میں لانے کی ضرورت تھی۔

یہ واقعہ ہے کہ اس گولڈ کنٹرول آرڈر سے سناروں سے زیادہ تکلیف صرافوں کو ہوئی اور عورتوں سے زیادہ تکلیف مردوں کو ہوئی۔ ایک عجیب سی بات ہے کہ عورتیں زیور کی شوقین ہوتی ہیں لیکن ان کے اس شوق کے لئے ہمیشہ مردوں

[شریمتی انیس قدوائی]

نے آواز اٹھائی ہے اور آج برابر یہی کہتے رہے ہیں کہ یہ بڑا ظلم ہے، بڑی زیادتی ہے۔ آج بھی ان کو یہی افسوس ہے کہ عورتوں کے پاس وہ استری دھن نہیں رہا جا رہا ہے۔ اس لئے گولڈ کنٹرول کو ختم ہونا چاہئے۔ ایک صاحب نے ہسٹری کا حوالہ دیا تو میرا خیال ہے کہ یہ ہسٹری بھی آپ کو یاد ہوگی کہ ہندوستان کو لوٹنے کے لئے، ہندوستان کا سونا بٹورنے کے لئے، ہمیشہ ہندوستان پر حملے ہوتے رہے اور جب بھی کبھی باہر کے حملہ آوروں نے ہندوستان کی طرف رخ کیا ہے تو ہمارا سونا مندروں میں جمع رہا، گھروں کے اندر جمع رہا، جو خزانے ہونگے تھے خانے ہونگے ان میں چھپا رہا مگر کام نہیں آسکا۔ جس سے فوج بٹی اور ان لوگوں کا مقابلہ کیا جا سکے۔ (Interruption.) اور دور نہ جائیے۔ یہ دیکھئے کہ محمد غزنوی کتنا سونا یہاں سے لوٹ کر لے گیا اور وہ اس کو مندروں میں ملا، گھروں میں ملا، سب جگہ ملا، لیکن فوجیں اس کا مقابلہ نہیں کر سکیں کیونکہ سونا خرچ نہیں بلکہ جمع ہو رہا تھا۔ اسی طرح ۱۸۵۷ء میں نانا صاحب اور بخت خان کی ماتحتی میں جو فوجیں لڑ رہی تھیں وہ بھوک مر رہی تھیں اور لوگ اپنی سونے کی سلاخیں۔

سونے کی اینٹیں لئے لئے کونے کونے میں چھپاتے پھرتے تھے۔ لوگوں نے سونا کنویں میں ڈال دیا تہہ خانوں میں بند کر دیا۔ لوگوں نے زمین میں کھود کر دفنا دیا اور فوجیں صرف اس لئے ہاریں کہ ہماری سونے کی محبت ختم نہیں ہوئی تھی۔ تو میں یہ سمجھتی ہوں کہ ایک بڑا اچھا قدم گورنمنٹ نے اٹھایا تھا اور اس کو جاری رہنا تھا۔ عورتوں کو بھی صبر آ گیا تھا کہ ۱۴ کیرٹ کے زیور بھی خوب صورت سے خوب صورت بن سکتے ہیں۔ آنریبل ممبر نے ایسا بھیانک نقشہ کھینچا جیسا معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ سونا یہاں سے اڑ گیا تھا۔ کسی دوکان پر سونا نظر نہیں آ رہا تھا۔ لیکن واقعہ یہ ہے کہ کہیں زیورات کی کمی نہیں ہوئی تھی اور نہ عورتوں کو کوئی مشکل درپیش ہوئی تھی۔ ہاں۔ سونے کا پانی کسی کے منہ میں مرتے وقت نہیں ڈالا گیا ہوگا تو نہ ڈالا گیا ہوگا لیکن سونے کے زیور خوب صورت سے خوب صورت بننے اور ان کو عورتوں نے پہنا۔ اس لئے میں سمجھتی ہوں کہ گورنمنٹ ایک غلط قدم اٹھا رہی ہے۔ یہ ۲۲ کیرٹ کے زیور کا آرڈر پاس کرے۔ کیونکہ یہ ۲۲ کیرٹ کے زیور اب عورتوں کو نہیں ملیں گے۔ جن سورن کاروں کو ۱۴ کیرٹ کا زیور بنانے کی عادت پڑ گئی ہے وہ ۲۲ کیرٹ کا زیور

بنا کر کسی کو نہیں دینگے اور اس طرح سراسر بی ایمانی کا راستہ ہم کھولتے جا رہے ہیں۔ اس سے سونے کی قیمت اور زیادہ بڑھے گی۔ کیونکہ آپ نے کہا کہ جتنا سونا لوگوں کے پاس ہوگا اس کے زیورات بنا دیئے جائیں گے اور پھر سرکار اس کو جائز قرار دے دیگی۔ ایک طرف تو آپ روپے کی قیمت کم کرینگے ہر چیز کی قیمتیں بڑھتی چلی جائیں گی اور ہر طرح کی پریشانی اٹھائیں گے۔ جہاں تک سونے کاروں کی تکلیف اور مشکل کا سوال ہے میں کہتی ہوں کہ زمین داری ابولیشن جب سرکار نے کیا تھا۔ میں بھی زمین دار خاندان میں پیدا ہوئی ہوں اور مجھے پتہ ہے کہ کیا کیا مصیبتیں زمین داروں نے اٹھائی ہیں۔ ۵۰-۵۰ روپے کے مال گذاری کی زمین داری آپ نے ختم کی ہے اور ان کے بچے بھوکے مرے تھے۔ آج ۲۰ سال کے بعد وہ اس قابل ہوئے ہیں کہ پیٹ بھر کر روٹی کیا سکیں۔ تب گورنمنٹ کو خیال نہیں آیا کہ زمین داری ابولیشن کا قانون واپس لے لیں۔ آج سونے کاروں کے لئے آپ یہ کر رہے ہیں۔ جب کہ زمین داری ابولیشن بھی آپ نے پورے ہندوستان میں کیا تھا۔ تو میرے نزدیک گورنمنٹ غلطی کر رہی ہے۔ پھر بھی بہر حال کانگریس پارٹی سے میں تعلق رکھتی ہوں اس لئے اس کو سپورٹ کرنا ہے۔ مگر میرا خیال ہے کہ ایک

قدم اٹھانے کے بعد گورنمنٹ کی یہ کمزوری ہے کہ کسی قانون کو وہ واپس لے لے یا اس طرح سے اس میں امینڈمنٹ کرے جب کہ معلوم ہے کہ ہندوستان کو سونے کی ضرورت ہے۔ ہندوستان کو اپنی فوجوں کے لئے سونے کی ضرورت ہے۔ ہندوستان کو اپنی انڈسٹریز کے لئے سونے کی ضرورت ہے۔ سونا اس کے لئے نہیں ہوتا ہے کہ گھر میں دبا کر رکھا جائے یا عورتوں کے بدن پر لگا رہے یا لوگوں کے گھروں میں سونے کی اینٹیں رکھی رہیں۔ سونا۔ چاندی سرکولیشن کے لئے ہوتا ہے۔ جس ملک میں سونا اور چاندی سرکولیشن میں نہیں ہوگا۔ جس ملک میں اوپر سے نیچے تک اس کا پھیلاؤ نہیں ہوگا جس ملک میں وہ اندر سے اندر ہاتھ میں نہیں جائے گا وہاں بھی تباہی آئے گی جو ہمارے ملک میں آئی ہے۔ آپ ایک طرح سے لوگوں کے اندر پھر سے اس کی ہوس بڑھا رہے ہیں۔ لوگوں کے اندر ایک خواہش پیدا کر رہے ہیں، کو لوگوں کے دلوں سے یہ خیال نکل گیا تھا کہ ۲۲ کیرٹ اور ۱۴ کیرٹ سونے میں کوئی فرق ہے۔ ان چند الفاظ کے ساتھ آپ اگر کہیں تو میں سپورٹ کروں اس ترمیم کو۔

†[श्रीमती अनंता कदवई (उत्तर प्रदेश): मिस्टर वाइस चेयरमैन, गोल्ड कंट्रोल आर्डर का मैंने स्वागत किया था और मुझे मालूम है कि मुल्क में उसके खिलाफ काफी एजीटेशन हुआ था और यहां भी जब यह आर्डर पास हो रहा था, तो हाउस में काफी मुखालफत हुई थी। लेकिन फिर भी एक कानून जब बन जाता है, एक आर्डर जब पास कर दिया जाता है, तो उसके ऊपर अमल दरायद कराने की भी गवर्नमेंट कोशिश करती है। मैं नहीं सोचती थी कि एक अच्छा कदम उठाने के बाद, एक सही कदम उठाने के बाद गवर्नमेंट उसको वापिस ले लेगी या उसको बदल देगी।

जहां तक सोना और सोने की मुहब्बत का सवाल है, हिन्दुस्तान की यह कमजोरी हमेशा से रही है। एक आनरेबल मेम्बर ने अभी हवाला दिया कि किसी जमाने में खिलजी ने गोल्ड कंट्रोल करने की कोशिश की थी और कभी मुहम्मद तुगलक ने सोने की मुहब्बत दिलों से निकालने की कोशिश की थी। मेरा खयाल है कि तब भी इसी तरह की जरूरत पड़ी होगी और ऐसी ही मुश्किलें पैदा हुई होंगी, जैसे कि हमको चायनीज एग्रेशन के जमाने में उठानी पड़ी। जब लोगों के पास से सोना निकालने की और सोने को फौज के काम में लाने की जरूरत थी।

यह वाकिया है कि इस गोल्ड कंट्रोल आर्डर से सुनारों से ज्यादा तकलीफ सराफों को हुई और औरतों से ज्यादा तकलीफ मर्दों को हुई। एक अजीब सी बात है कि औरतें जेवर की शौकीन होती हैं, लेकिन उनके इस शौक के लिए हमेशा मर्दों ने आवाज उठाई है और आज बराबर यही कहते रहे हैं कि यह बड़ा जुल्म है, बड़ी ज्यादाती है। आज भी उनको यही अफसोस है कि औरतों के पास वह स्त्री धन नहीं रखा जा रहा है। इसलिए गोल्ड कंट्रोल को खत्म होना चाहिए। एक साहब ने हिस्ट्री का हवाला दिया, तो मेरा

† [Hindi transliteration,

खयाल है कि यह हिस्ट्री भी आपको याद होगी कि हिन्दुस्तान को लूटने के लिए हिन्दुस्तान का सोना बटोरने के लिए, हमेशा हिन्दुस्तान पर हमले होते रहे और जब भी कभी बाहर के हमलावरों ने हिन्दुस्तान की तरफ रुख किया है, तो हमारा सोना मन्दिरों में जमा रहा, घरों के अंदर जमा रहा, जो खजाने होंगे, तहखाने होंगे, उनमें छिपा रहा, मगर काम नहीं आ सका। जिससे फौज बनती और उन लोगों का मुकाबला किया जा सकता। (Interruption) और दूर न जाइये। यह देखिये कि मुहम्मद गजनवी कितना सोना यहां से लूट कर ले गया और वह उसको मन्दिरों में मिला, घरों में मिला, सब जगह मिला, लेकिन फौजें उसका मुकाबला नहीं कर सकीं; क्योंकि सोना खर्च नहीं बल्कि जमा हो रहा था। इसी तरह 1857 में नाना साहब और वल्ल खां की मातहत में जो फौजें लड़ रही थीं, वह भूखों मर रही थीं और लोग अपनी सोने की सलाखें सोने की ईंटें लिए लिए कोने-कोने में छिपाते फिरते थे। लोगों ने सोना कुओं में डाल दिया, तहखानों में बन्द कर दिया। लोगों ने जमीन में खोद कर दफना दिया और फौजें सिर्फ इसलिए हारीं कि हमारी सोने की मुहब्बत खत्म नहीं हुई थी। तो मैं यह समझती हूँ कि एक बड़ा अच्छा कदम गवर्नमेंट ने उठाया था और उसको जारी रहना था, औरतों को भी सबर आ गया था कि 14 केरट के जेवर भी खूबसूरत से खूबसूरत बन सकते हैं। आनरेबल मेम्बर ने ऐसा भयानक नक्शा खिंचा जैसा मालूम होता है कि सोना यहां से उड़ गया था किसी दुकान पर सोना नजर नहीं आ रहा था। लेकिन वाकिया यह है कि कहीं जेवरात की कमी नहीं हुई थी और न औरतों को कोई मुश्किल दर पेश हुई थी। हां, सोने का पानी किसी के मुंह में मरते वक्त नहीं डाला गया होगा, तो न डाला गया होगा, लेकिन सोने के जेवर खूबसूरत में खूबसूरत बने और उनको औरतों ने पहना। इसलिए मैं समझती हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट एक गलत कदम उठा रही है। यह 22 केरट के जेवर

का आडर पास करके। क्योंकि यह 22 केरट के जेवर अब औरतों को नहीं मिलेंगे। जिन स्वर्णकारों को 14 केरट का जेवर बनाने की आदत पड़ गई है, वे 22 केरट के जेवर बना कर किसी को नहीं देंगे और इस तरह सरासर बेईमानी का रास्ता हम खोलते जा रहे हैं। इससे सोने की कीमत और ज्यादा बढ़ेगी। क्योंकि आपने कहा कि जितना सोना लोगों के पास होगा, उसके जेवरों बना दिए जाएंगे और फिर सरकार उसको वापस करार दे देगी। एक तरफ तो आप रुपये की कीमत कम करेंगे, हर चीज की कीमतें बढ़ती चली जाएंगी और हर तरह की परेशानी उठाएंगे। जहाँ तक स्वर्णकारों की तकलीफ और मुश्किल का सवाल है, मैं कहती हूँ कि जमींदारी अबोलिशन जब सरकार ने किया था—मैं भी जमींदार खानदान में पैदा हुई हूँ और मुझे पता है कि क्या क्या मुसीबतें जमींदारों ने उठाई हैं? 50-50 रुपये के मालगुजारी की जमींदारी आपने खत्म की है और उनके बच्चे भूखे मरे थे। आज 20 साल के बाद वह इस काबिल हुए हैं कि पेट भर कर रोटी खा सकें। तब गवर्नमेंट को खयाल नहीं आया कि जमींदारी अबोलिशन का कानून वापस ले लें। आज स्वर्णकारों के लिए आप यह कर रहे हैं जब कि जमींदारी अबोलिशन भी आपने पूरे हिन्दुस्तान में किया था। तो मेरे नजदीक गवर्नमेंट गलती कर रही है। फिर भी बहरहाल कांग्रेस पार्टी से मैं ताल्लुक रखती हूँ इसलिए इसको सपोर्ट करना है। मेरा खयाल है कि एक कदम उठाने के बाद गवर्नमेंट की यह कमजोरी है कि किसी कानून को वह वापस ले ले या इस तरह से इसमें अमेंडमेंट करे जब कि मालूम है कि हिन्दुस्तान को सोने की जरूरत है, हिन्दुस्तान को अपनी फौजों के लिए सोने की जरूरत है। हिन्दुस्तान को अपनी इण्डस्ट्रीज के लिए सोने की जरूरत है, सोना इसके लिए नहीं होता है कि घर में दबा कर रखा जाए या औरतों के बदन पर लगा रहे या लोगों के घरों में सोने की ईंटें रखी रहें, सोना चांदी

सकूलेशन के लिए होता है। जिस मुल्क में सोना और चांदी सकूलेशन में नहीं होगा, जिस मुल्क में ऊपर से नीचे तक इसका फैलाव नहीं होगा, जिस मुल्क में वह इधर से उधर हाथों में नहीं आएगा, वहाँ यही तबाही आएगी, जो हमारे मुल्क में आई है। आप एक तरह से लोगों के अंदर फिर से इसकी हवस बढ़ा रहे हैं। लोगों के अंदर एक स्वाहिश पैदा कर रहे हैं, जो लोगों के दिलों से यह खयाल निकल गया था कि 22 केरट और 14 केरट सोने में कोई फर्क है।

इन चन्द इलफाज के साथ आप अगर कहें तो मैं सपोर्ट कर दूँ, इस तरह से।]

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is rather amusing to see the two hon. Members coming on the same platform asking for the scrapping of the Gold Control Order although they represent views which are poles apart.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : On this we have been together.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: While they were speaking I was imagining a picture of these two Members having their brides—two brides—one is a Princess, a Maha-rani, all bedecked with gold, a picture with which we are very familiar in this country but what surprised me was that hon. Member, Shri Gupta, is also having a bride, a girl, a poor peasant girl, a working girl also bedecked with gold and this is a picture with which none in the country is familiar . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Who is the Prime Minister?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : Please listen. This is a picture with which the country is not familiar and the hon. Member interposed that Mr. Gupta may be pleading for certain high-placed people, jeweller* or so but not for the large masses of the working people, large masses of the poor people, who have nothing to do with gold. This is what surprised me. When I heard some other hon. Members pleading for

[Shri B. R. Bhagat.]

the scrapping of the Gold Control Order, I was imagining myself: 'Where have we come to?' Probably because the election is at the door, the Members are looking to that, and not to the national interests.

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङ्गिया :
(मध्य प्रदेश) : इलेक्शन का आप कैसे नाम लेते हैं ? आज से नहीं, तीन साल पहले से हम इसका विरोध कर रहे हैं ?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I can understand the consistency. I know the parties of the Maharajas and Maharanis. Their opposition I can understand.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: They are in the Congress.

SHRI V. M. CHORDIA: Gwalior Maharani?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: But they have been converted into commoners.

SHRI V. M. CHORDIA: The moment they come to the Congress they are converted.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : We never look at the Maharajas as our ideal even for sacrifice. They have said that the Maharaja has sent his two sons and his gold I appreciate it. He is a citizen of this country. I appreciate it but what about those millions of people who have sent their sons too to the battle front and what about the sacrifice of those persons who have only one tola of gold and given it to the Government or the country? Can you appreciate the measure of sacrifice of those poor men and compare it with the sacrifice of the men who may have crores of rupees worth of gold and may have given lakhs of rupees worth of gold? It may be appreciable but you think of the measure of sacrifice. So I say there are certain people. I divide the categories of people in this country representing certain political faiths—one who wants to

perpetuate the picture of the country with Maharajas and big capitalists, the plutocrats and others, another of the working people, the common people and raising their standard of living but I am surprised that the two groups of people are combined in the demand that the Gold Control Order should be abolished. Then the hon. Members who have been consistently opposing the Gold Control Order for three years are those who represented the vested interests in this country.

Therefore, there is nothing wrong when he says that he has been opposing it for twelve years. But I was surprised with the opposition of the Members who represented the progressive elements in the country. Of course, we have to take this with a measure of philosophy namely, this. Well, in a parliamentary system of democracy, when election is at the door, every party tries to play to the gallery and perhaps, in this matter too, it is a misfortune that it has come at such a time and it is involved in the vortex of elections and therefore, well, we are apt to look to the voters and not to the real merits of a measure like this.

With this preliminary remark I would like to plead with the hon. House that the statement modifying the Gold Control Order, which the Prime Minister placed before this House, the spirit behind that was the general opinion prominently expressed in the ruling party, namely the Congress Party, as well as in some of the opposition parties, that it should be modified with a view to helping the poor goldsmiths.

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङ्गिया
चुनाव नजदीक आ रहा है ।

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: The hon. Member asked, "Am I to take it that an agitation was launched outside Parliament House and in the city and then only you were prepared to modify it?" Well, again it is beside the point, and it is not correct to say that, because the agitations took place only the other day or they were there from a few days back.

Well, Sir, I should have said this right at the beginning; I have been informed

that the arrested goldsmiths have been released. This is the information I have gathered.

Now, Sir, this has been right from the beginning, and particularly in the last few months this climate was created. The demand was made in the All India Congress Party and then the Congress Party in Parliament made it, and the Congress Working Committee discussed it. So it is not as if this climate of opinion existed on the other side; this climate of opinion existed on this side also; we had come to a situation where we felt that something should be done so that the plight of the goldsmiths, particularly self-employed goldsmiths should be overcome. Now the question was how to approach this. Well, it is easy to say, "Scrap the Gold Control Order," but there I shall enter a caveat with the hon. Members opposite and ask them, "If you scrap the gold Control Order, what do you do with the smuggling?" A very novel suggestion has come from Mr. Niren Ghosh. While he has mixed up many things, he says¹, well, as on many occasions, he says, "If you lack resources, nationalise this." Well, we will nationalise it when we think that it is necessary. We will not fight shy of things. When we think that a thing is necessary in the economic situation of a particular matter, we will nationalise it, and we will do it, because our aim is progressive social control of the means of production.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Will you please yield? I will ask a question. Before 1963 we did not have the Gold Control order; smuggling was going on. In 1963 we had that; before 1963 we did not have that. Then there have been 31 years with the Gold Control Order being in existence. What did you do with the Gold Control Order as far as smuggling is concerned? Your Report says it has neither increased, nor declined. Well, that is what it says. Therefore, with the Gold Control Order you did not even stop the smuggling. The only thing you did was to hurt the small man, the poor working man, the goldsmith, and the public. That is all.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I am coming to that. The point has been raised and I am coming to that point. My only point is whether we should accept this pheno-

menon that there is a sizeable amount of smuggling resulting in a heavy drain of foreign exchange, or not. The hon. Member who referred about it was Mr. Niren Ghosh. Now he says, "If you want to stop this, if you think that there is this heavy drain, we will make it up by taking over the foreign trade where there is wastage and leakage of foreign exchange to the extent of Rs. 80 crores. You believe it and you take it over." Well, according to me that is not the solution. If it is necessary, we may progressively take it over. We have entered into the foreign trade and we will progressively take it over. If we think that there is no other measure than taking it over to stop the leakage in foreign exchange, we shall do it; that is a separate matter. But the point is: What about this sizeable smuggling? If there is a minus somewhere, and there is a plus by taking it over in the State sector, you do not minimise the fact that there is the leakage in the minus there left untouched. If there are four or five leaks in a tub or in a vessel, you should plug all of them; you cannot leave one leakage flowing in and flowing out. Therefore this question of smuggling in gold is a question which is threatening the very vitals of our economic life. Particularly at this moment we cannot afford even one rupee worth of foreign exchange being drained out—leave aside the Rs. 100 crores or whatever it is. The point has been made that, well, the Gold Control Order has not been able to stop it. Now if you will see the informal committee's Report on that, and even the earlier reports, you will find that immediately after the Gold Control Ord'r, both the price of gold and the smuggling in gold went down; there is concrete evidence about that. But in a matter like this, when there are other forces working to the contrary in the economy, and when a situation comes where even those who were hauled up for smuggling in gold get adjusted to the new situation and then, as a result of various other factors, particularly the factors which I admit are operating in the economy, the inflationary pressures, when all prices are going up, it is natural that the price of gold will also go up; they tend to increase the profit margin and, therefore, it is an added attraction for the smuggling of gold, and then the smuggling goes up. So it is not one factor alone

[Shri B. R. Bhagat.] that accounts for it. You say, "You have brought in the Gold Control Order and, therefore, smuggling must stop." Not that way; we have to work on all the fronts and therefore to judge a measure like this which has been in force for 3 years or 31 years, to ask whether the measure has completely stopped the smuggling in gold, whether it has resulted in the bringing down of the price of gold, whether it has resulted in bringing down the demand for gold, well, it is a difficult thing to answer these questions because of this reason. Gold has been associated with our social life. It has been in the very nature of our social life. It is not because of anything specially inherent in this measure, but because it deals with a situation or a habit of the people or our social life which has been prevalent for thousands of years and, therefore, to strike at it in the interests of the country, well, it cannot achieve the purpose aimed at. If some people think that you can achieve it by a stroke of the pen, or by a stroke of legislation, it is foolhardy to imagine that, but certainly a legislation like that can create a real climate of education, and various other factors coupled with it whereby progressively, in course of time, the situation will improve. And how can the situation improve? It has to be recognised that in our economy we do not produce any gold worth the name. Our total production of gold is 5,000 kilograms, which is an infinitesimally small quantity of supply in regard to our requirements, our annual requirement of gold. We do not produce any gold, so to say. Therefore, a commodity, which is in an absolutely nonexistent condition, or in a very scarce condition, we should not encourage the use of it. This applies not only to gold, which is by no means unimportant—it may be a thing of artistic decoration or of ornamentation, or a symbol of social status—but certainly it is not indispensable like food or clothing or any essential commodity, or even like machine tools and others which are essential for the development of the Indian economy, and when we are trying through import substitution and through encouragement of exports to earn mere foreign exchange, to give a fillip to the economy, there is no sense in increasing the demand for or use of a commodity which we do not produce.

Therefore, from purely this point of view, the essence of the matter is that the demand for gold in this country must go

5 P.M.

down. And when it is mixed up with the life of the people, with the cultural, social and religious of the people, it is foolhardy to expect that this attempt to change their habit, to change their attitude will succeed overnight, or even in a period of two or three years. It is too short a period of time to judge whether it has succeeded or not. Nobody expected it to succeed that way. But the fact is if you take the number of dealers, their number has come down. I am not talking of goldsmiths. The number of the dealers has come down from 27,000 to 12,000. Refiners have come down from 1,000 to 200. So also the total turn-over has come down. There is evidence to show that people's ideas and attitudes have got acclimatised. I think hon. Members will not contradict me when I say that all the younger people, leaving aside the elder people or the older generation, most of the young people, if you take them you find that their lure for gold has come down. They are not going in for ornaments. Therefore, in a situation like this, what is the remedy? The remedy is in the direction in which an attempt has been made in the shape of the modifications introduced as a result of "the statement of the Prime Minister.

What are the modifications? You see there is an integrated picture. On the one side quality control has been abolished and this has met with the satisfaction of goldsmiths. I have met goldsmiths and I have met jewellers. I have met most of the hon. Members who are interested in this matter and I think this step has met with general satisfaction. This will give relief to the goldsmiths who are employed in the trade. In spite of the best of efforts, it is true that we could not do all that we wanted to. I was one of those who said that no pie spent on goldsmiths will be wasted. Every pie spent on them will be well spent. It is the duty of Parliament and it is the duty of the Government which had brought forward this measure to see that those who are hit by it are looked after. That is the first duty. I have declared it many times and I can say

that though everything that was necessary could not be done, the fact is that some seven lakh goldsmiths were rehabilitated. They are now engaged in new vocations. It may be that from being engaged in the hue art of making ornaments they are now plying scooters or doing some other work of a more rough and tough character. But the point is that efforts have been made to employ them. Even so, recognising the fact that there is the demand in all the parties that something should be done to see that in the transition period of ten or twelve or twenty years they may have enough gold ornaments to work upon, so that at least—those who are above the middle age, the older people, those who cannot switch over to some other trade, may continue to work without much hardship, so that their hardship may be lessened, in that spirit this restriction on gold ornaments has been withdrawn.

Now, let us take the other aspects. We have to continue to tighten the anti-smuggling measures. What are they? We have to go forward in that direction. So in keeping with the demand of the whole House quality control has been abolished. On the other side we have gone forward about primary gold and said that nobody should hold primary gold. This declaration we are going to implement. That is because gold is smuggled in the shape of primary gold. Even in the advanced countries—leave aside the Soviet Union where gold is nationalised and it is all held by the Government—even in a capitalist country like the United States of America, one can hold only a very small quantity of gold, gold worth 150 dollars or so. To keep more than 150 dollars worth of gold is punishable with imprisonment. Why is that? That is because gold has value only when it is in the hands of the government. When it is in the hands of the government it is exchange. But when it is in the hands of individuals it is useless to the country and it is wasteful expenditure when it is in the form of jewellery or ornaments. Maybe a Maharaja may have the satisfaction that he has gold worth Rs. 50 crores but it is useless to the country. It is useful only when it is held by the Government. That is the reason why even in capitalist countries like the U.S.A. they

have banned the use of gold. In England also there is a similar ban. The limit is there even on the holding of gold coins. In England you cannot hold more than a certain number of gold coins. We have not included coins in this measure. But in England there is a ban on the holding of gold coins beyond a certain number. I forget the number but it is very small. That is the trend of modern thinking. We are living in a modern age and we are progressing. Of course, I do agree because of the tradition of our people and because a large number of poor people are involved and many people are engaged in the gold trade, we must be careful and we must give them relief. On the other hand, even a country which has the largest stock of gold, namely, the United States of America, and another country the Soviet Union, which produces a sizeable quantity of gold, they have put restrictions. And India does not produce gold, yet it is used for ornament-making in India. I see even a leader of the eminence of Shri Bbupesh Gupta wants to have a communist bride bedecked in gold. Where else can it be done except in India? Ornamentation or ornaments held by individuals is wasteful anywhere. But in India it can be criminal because India does not produce gold worth mentioning. And when that ornamentation is done as a result of smuggling, it is definitely criminal. It is not only wasteful but it is positively criminal. Therefore, there is a ban on the holding of primary gold. It is primary gold that gets converted into gold ornaments. After being smuggled the primary gold gets converted through refineries and the refineries must be State-controlled and ultimately State-owned. Therefore, another instrument has been introduced. It is not only smuggling that is difficult, but after smuggling the conversion into ornaments is made much more difficult. And thirdly we have specified a limit for ornaments. We do not want to touch the ordinary people, the middle class people, the smaller people. But certainly people with big amounts in gold ornaments, in their case certainly we want to know how much they have. We want to know those who have gold ornaments beyond the specified limit. It is not as if we are trying to find out their private wealth. But even after taking all the precautions against smuggling and even after controlling the refine*

[Shri B. R. Bhagat.]

ries which, as I said will ultimately become State owned, even then the gold may trickle down and become ornaments and this will go to the big people generally.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: And yet the hon. Finance Minister Shri Sacbindra Chaudhuri will search the wrong house of Birla and apologise later.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: If the hon. Member will give us fool-proof evidence or information we can find out the gold.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA. You have to find out the gold.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: If the hon. Member tells the Finance Minister that at a particular place there is so much gold, then the Finance Minister will be in a position to order his staff to go and find it out. We cannot go about searching houses.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Searches produce result, as everybody knows.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: We cannot go on a fishing expedition. If the hon. Member is in a position to give us definite information, he may do so.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But the Finance Minister apologises after the search.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Let not the hon. Member mix up the two things.

As I was saying, in spite of all these steps if some primary gold comes in and is converted into ornaments they usually go to the big persons.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: And to them you apologise.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT. We have to trace them. Therefore the House will realise that this scheme should be acceptable to it because it gives relief to the goldsmiths. At the same time it keeps the instrument of anti-smuggling well preserved and strengthened. The point is, in spite of whatever arrangements there may be in any country, it has not been possible to prevent smuggling either of gold or any

other thing cent per cent. The smuggling can only come down if . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We have got Ministers who smuggle their wives into the Board of Directors of Managing Agents.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: The point is this. Unless the demand for gold in the country comes down the price will not come down and when the price comes down the incentive for smuggling comes down. Therefore it is in that spirit that we have kept the instrument with a view to tightening the anti-smuggling measures and also to provide relief to the goldsmiths.

A point was made as to wherefrom the goldsmiths will get gold. The country has a very large amount of ornaments, maybe Rs. 3,000 crores or Rs. 4,000 crores, and Rs. 200 crores worth of ornaments, are in constant circulation. Besides that there is the primary gold that is declared and which is below the specified limit. I have been told by the All India Swarankar Sangh, by many jewellers and many others who know about these things that there won't be any dearth for ornamentation in the country. Therefore the fear that the goldsmiths will not get gold is unfounded.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA (Uttar Pradesh): That is because the swarankars expect that there will be smuggling of gold into the country and they will get it.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I am quite convinced that the poor goldsmiths have no hand in smuggling. There may be people elsewhere but the goldsmiths have assured, not today but from the very beginning, that they do not want any primary gold—they are our biggest supporters—but they only want permission to make ornaments from ornaments and they will get plenty of work if this is permitted.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Find out who are behind Walcott and you will know where it is.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: The hon. Member knows these things more.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL. You should know. You are in the Government and you should take steps about it.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: My plea is that you should not judge this measure in a matter of a year or two. We have to create a climate in the country and here I would appeal to all Members; let us all join and create a climate in the country, educate our people in the villages, in the farm, everywhere, that they should not go in for gold ornamentation any more. If that is done the demand for gold in the country will go down and the measure will succeed. Unless that climate is created through constant education—and I have faith in our young people . . . SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You have? SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Yes; I have full faith, inborn faith, unshakable faith in the people and we should help them to bring about this climate. In this the House could give a lead. I expect the hon. Members who have moved this to give a lead in this matter to the people that henceforward they will not "go in for ornamentation so that the demand for gold will come down. That way lies the surest success of a measure like this.

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङ्गिया :
उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय मंत्री जी ने अपना जो वक्तव्य दिया उसमें एक बहुत जोर से यह बात कही कि जो व्हेस्टेड इन्टरेस्ट वे वे इसका विरोध करते आ रहे हैं। यह मुझे समझ में नहीं आया। अगर वे मेरी उस समय की स्पीच पढ़ लेते तो उनको मालूम पड़ जाता कि किसके क्या इन्टरेस्ट हैं। आज भी मैं इस मत का हूँ कि हमारी सरकार ने अपने स्वार्थ में आकर, क्योंकि इलेक्शन नजदीक आ गया है, इसलिये कहीं स्वर्णकार और नाराज न हो जायें इसलिए मजबूर होकर उसमें छूट देने के लिए यह किया है।

हमारी सरकार ने जब से यह गोल्ड कन्ट्रोल आरम्भ किया, वैसे ही भ्रष्टाचार, चोरबाजारी और बेईमानी पहले से व्यापक थी, मगर गोल्ड कन्ट्रोल आने के पश्चात् उसका रूप और बढ़ गया।

श्री महेश्वर नाथ कौल (नाम निर्देशित) :
गोल्डन हो गया।

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङ्गिया :
जैसा कौल साहब ने सजेस्ट किया गोल्डन हो गया, वैसे गोल्डन भ्रष्टाचार और बेईमानी हो गई। यह हमारी सरकार ने स्वयं से, अपनी करतूतों से, प्रमाणित कर दिया है कि हमने जो पहले कदम उठाया था वह गलत था, उसी के परिणामस्वरूप उन्हें पहले संशोधन लाना पड़ा और अभी भी रिलेक्सेशन करना पड़ा।

श्री एन० पात्र (उड़ीसा) : सब लोगों के चाहने से यह लाया गया, पब्लिक ओपीनियन हुआ है, इस वास्ते किया है।

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङ्गिया :
यह हमारी सरकार, ऐसा लगता है, बेईमानी, भ्रष्टाचार, चोरबाजारी का एक देवता है और इस देवता को प्रसन्न करने के लिये, इसको द्रवित करवाने के लिए जब तक कोई त्याग तपस्या नहीं करता तब तक यह देवता द्रवित नहीं होता। पहले स्वर्णकारों ने आहुति दी, आंदोलन किया, त्याग किया तो कुछ देवता द्रवित हुआ और फिर त्याग तपस्या करनी पड़ी, सारे देश में अनशन करना पड़ा, उन लोगों की तपस्या के परिणामस्वरूप फिर देवता द्रवित हुआ। मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा यह जो आपकी आहुति लेने की वृत्ति है इसको समाप्त करें। क्यों नहीं आप गोल्ड कन्ट्रोल को समाप्त करते? कारण बताते हैं कि स्मगलिंग रोकना चाहते हैं। स्मगलिंग दिल्ली में नहीं होगी, भोपाल में नहीं होगी, स्मगलिंग इंदौर में नहीं होगी लेकिन जो बाईर के प्लेसेज हैं क्या आप वहां स्मगलिंग को रोक सकते हैं? आप अपने पाप छिपाने के लिये, अपनी गलती को छिपाने के लिये, हर एक आदमी को परेशान करना चाहते हैं, यह ठीक नहीं है। यदि हमारी सरकार गोल्ड कन्ट्रोल स्मगलिंग रोकने की दृष्टि से कुछ करना चाहती है तो वहीं रोके जहां इसका स्रोत है, क्योंकि स्मगलिंग तो एक आदत का सवाल है, यह कम नहीं अधिक होती है। मैं इस बात का हामी हूँ कि यदि देश को सोने की जरूरत पड़े तो प्रतिबंध लगा दें कि इतने से अधिक

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौराड़िया]

सोना किसी के पास रहेगा तो वह अपनी बेचने की व्यवस्था करे या सरकार ले ले, लेकिन नये नये तरीके निकाल कर लोगों को परेशान करना न्यायसंगत प्रतीत नहीं होता। इसके लिये सबसे पहले यह मांग करता हूँ कि या तो गोल्ड कंट्रोल बिल्कुल उठा दे, अगर उठा नहीं सकती है, और यह आपकी इच्छा है कि लोगों के पास अधिक सोना न रहे, तो सीलिंग कर दें। आप चाहते हैं कि आपके दफ्तर में घोषित कर दें कि इतने तोले गोल्ड है। इसमें बड़ा खतरा होने वाला है। अगर भिड़ भुरेना क्षेत्र का रहने वाला कोई घोषित करता है आपके दफ्तर में आकर कि इतने तोला सोना हमारे पास है तो वहाँ का अमृतलाल डाकू रिपोर्ट लेकर डाका डाल कर उसको बसूल कर लेगा और यदि उसने घोषित नहीं किया तो हमारी सरकार अपनी पुलिस ले आकर, कानून के अंतर्गत उस घन को एकत्रित कर ले जायगी। बड़े घर्म संकट में है वहाँ का रहने वाला। ऐसी स्थिति में सरकार को घोषित कर देना चाहिये कि इतनी सीमा रहेगी और लोगों को छूट दे कि इतनी अवधि में व्यवस्था करे वरना सरकार ले लेगी।

हमारी सरकार ने अपने पाप की वजह से जिन स्वर्णकारों को तीन साल तक बेचारों को कष्ट भुगतने पर बाध्य किया, उनके लिये क्षतिपूर्ति की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिये। जिन लोगों ने त्याग करके आपको सद्बुद्धि दी उन सद्बुद्धि देनेवालों की, जो सचमुच में हजारों की संख्या में हैं और जिनका नुक्सान हुआ है, जिनको खाने को दाना नहीं था उनको तक मजबूर होकर यहाँ आना पड़ा, क्षतिपूर्ति सरकार को करनी चाहिये और हमारी सरकार भविष्य में इस तरह का पाप करने का कष्ट न करे। यह जो आपने गोल्ड कंट्रोल डिपार्टमेंट को कायम रखने के लिये कि कहीं उसके अधिकारी और कर्मचारी बेकार न हो जाय, कदम उठाया

इससे हजारों लोगों को परेशान होना पड़ा है और सारे समाज में बेईमानी, भ्रष्टाचार और चोरबाजारी जो आप अपने कायदे, कानूनों से बढ़ाना चाहते हैं, यह तरीका आपका बिल्कुल ठीक नहीं है। इसलिये आप इस तरह का दिखलावा करते हैं और बहाना बनाते हैं। अगर आपको बंधन लगाना ही है तो वहाँ लगाइये जहाँ से स्मगलिंग होती है उसमें हम आपत्ति नहीं करेंगे लेकिन ये इस तरह से अलग अलग तरीके निकाल कर के लोगों को चोरबाजारी करने के तरीके बताना, यह ठीक नहीं है। आपकी इस व्यवस्था के अन्तर्गत भी चोरबाजारी को प्रश्रय मिलने वाला है, रुकने वाला नहीं है। आप गहनों का नाम लेते हैं, सोने के कड़े बनाकर लोग हाथ में पहनने लगेंगे तो आप उनको रोक नहीं सकते। तो इस तरह से कानून बना कर व्यवस्था करके और लोगों को चोरबाजारी, भ्रष्टाचार और बेईमानी करने की छूट देना इससे कांग्रेस सरकार का चोरबाजारी, भ्रष्टाचार और बेईमानी का देवता ही शोभित हो सकता है, समाज के लिये यह अच्छी बात नहीं है।

Smt BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, as was to be expected, the entire Opposition spoke in this matter in one voice demanding the scrapping of the infamous Gold Control Order. An attempt has been made by the hon. Minister to provoke us and he has pretended as if he does not understand how an hon. Member here, Shri Dahyabhai Patel, myself belonging to another party and others are joining together in putting forward this demand. I think he should understand it if only for the reason that this demand is a very legitimate public demand just as the demand for bringing down the prices. All of us demand that prices should be brought down and similarly we are demanding that the Gold Control Order should be scrapped and one need not read more into it than what it obvious for all to see.

Now I will deal only with the arguments advanced by the Minister. Mr. Bhagat spoke very bravely; I wonder what has happened to him. It is not because

of elections that we are demanding this. We did speak against the Gold Control Order in 1963, that is, four years before the elections or one year after the third general election. There was no question of an election at that time. Therefore election is not the consideration at all as far as our point of view in regard to this matter goes. On the contrary it is the Government which is open to the charge of trying to bolster its election chances by doing something now which it should have done three years ago. It is the Government which is open to this charge and the ball really is in its court, not in ours.

Now, Mr. Bhagat said that smuggling should be stopped. Who is opposed to it? Stop smuggling. We are all in favour of stamping out all smuggling of gold. Here is a Government which smugglers. You fight elections with smugglers' money. You run trusts with smugglers' money. Tomorrow the question will come about the Kalinga Trust and we will see where the money has come from. Now, that is what we know. You. smuggle your wives into the board of directors, to be the chairmen of board of directors or managing directors in order to defalcate the public funds. Therefore, you are pastmasters in the art of smuggling yourself. In political life you have introduced the norms of a smuggler. Now, who prevents you from raiding the homes of those people who are likely to have bullion? Everybody knows that in Calcutta, Burra Bazar, there are people who are likely to have slabs of gold in their underground or secret vaults and so on. Why do you not carry out some searches? You will find it. Then, you search the homes of political workers and often you do not find anything. You never apologise for carrying out searches of a trade union office or the house of a political worker or the Party office and so on. Recently our Party offices were searched in Gujarat and other places. Has anybody apologised for it? No. But you have a Finance Minister here today who carries out a search, gets certain papers and even after that he apologises to Messrs. Orr, Dignam and Company, Tell us. Nobody thinks that you are going to unearth all the secret gold. Tell us as far as you know how it goes. If you do not know I say you are utterly incompetent. If you

know then I will say that you are not acting upto the knowledge that you possess. Tell us whether you are incompetent people or knowledgeable people. In my opinion, you are knowledgeable people, because you have been dealing with smugglers and, therefore, you are knowledgeable people. You are not in that sense doing anything against them. I know it, because after all you will see the donors of the Congress Party in the next elections, coming elections. You should carry out the search of the houses of ten per cent, of your donors, ten per cent, of the donors to the Congress election fund. Let their houses be searched. A lot of gold will come out and bring it to the exchequer. But you will not do that. Now, therefore, I say let us not say that we are not opposed to smuggling. Smuggling of gold goes on on a large scale in this country because the foreign trade is in the hands of some top monopolists and you do not do anything. You have got a corrupt administration which can be bribed. Bribery and smuggling go together. Unless the administration is efficient and honest, you cannot stop smuggling. In the economic life unless you corner the monopolists and take over the foreign trade in your hands, you will not be able and be in a position to strike at the very source of smuggling. Suppose we do not allow any private individual to have foreign trade, to enter into foreign trade, all the earnings will be accounted for in Government account that way. Nobody will have the opportunity of earning extra money, unaccounted money. There will be no under-invoicing of exports from this country and hence they will not be in a position to buy gold from abroad in order to sell it at a higher rupee price here. Strike there. You are not doing it. I am glad that some lady members spoke about the bullion markets. Stop it. This kind of bullion markets should be controlled and brought under the control of the Government. You are not even doing that. I am not for big dealers. I am speaking for the small working goldsmiths, the common man, lakhs and lakhs of them, who have been ruined.

Now, if the prices of all commodities rise and the rupee value falls, the price of gold will rise. You cannot stop it and that is an incentive to smuggling. Devaluation

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] of the Indian rupee is one great impetus to the smuggling of gold and devaluation plus the private foreign trade is really the source of corruption and smuggling as far as gold is concerned. Today the value of the rupee in international currency has gone down. There will always be a tendency for gold to flow into this country through clandestine channels in order that those who indulge in this trade can earn more. That is going to happen. You are talking about stopping of smuggling, while you have yourself done the greatest disservice to the anti-smuggling drive by devaluing the rupee. It does not lie in the mouth of the Government to say such things.

As far as the other things are concerned, scrap it. Scrapping of the Gold Control Order will not do any harm to the Government, because you have gone wrong. You have three and a half years experience. You did not tell us where you have gone. You have lost in rehabilitation the money that you spent, after ruining the working goldsmiths. I do not know how many crores you have spent. Some say it is about Rs. 38 crores. Money has been spent on the Gold Control Board and on its administration a lot of money has been spent. I should like to know how much you have earned by means of your gold control in order to compensate the loss you have suffered. I think we are on a debit balance on that score, even from that angle. We have suffered. As far as the other gold bond scheme is concerned, it is a complete failure. You asked for gold from the people. Some people wrote to the Nizam of Hyderabad a letter asking him to give a little more gold. The Nizam wrote back saying that he could give only Rs. 1 lakh or so and that he was a very poor man. And you remained quiet. Tell us and give us a list of the rich people, from how many of them, how much gold you have recovered in the course of the past 3½ years. You have not told us anything. Everybody knows that you did not do anything. You never struck in those quarters where you should have carried out a vigorous dehoarding drive. Yes, I know of one thing that happened. Once Mr. Binodanandan Jha went to Darbhanga to be weighed against the gold of the Darbhanga Maharaja and he told me that he was a

very bulky man and, therefore, he got a lot of gold. It is true that you got this gold by way of loan or investment from the public funds. He came forward with secret gold, three maunds or so. Mr. Binodanandan Jha weighed three maunds or something like that. He can tell us, how much they got? Am I to understand that when the Maharaja of Darbhanga had about three maunds of gold—he was only a big landlord—the other bigger Maharajas, the former Princes did not have any gold? Certainly they have. What has happened to the gold? Certainly there are bulky people in the Congress Party. They can be sent and weighed against gold and that gold should be recovered. You have not done that. Therefore, I say you have not even done that. Mr. Vice-Chairman, this kind of reply depresses us. I tell you frankly. Here he did not make out a single point to justify his position. He did not say that smuggling had been stopped. He said that immediately after smuggling stopped. We know, some of us, as to what happened the next day. We are concerned with 3½ years after the Gold Control Order came into force and we have the Report before us. According to your Report, you cannot claim that smuggling has gone down. Therefore, it does not lie in your mouth to put forward this as an argument. Now, you should stop from arguing on the plane that the smuggling has gone down. Prices have not gone down. These are also figures provided by the Reserve Bank of India.

Now, about consumption, 'Yes', the common people have suffered, I am sure. But what about those rich people who have got ornaments made secretly? Everybody knows that in the cities of Calcutta and Bombay certain jewellers have arrangements. Now, they are doing underground business. They send their people to the houses of the very rich to get orders and get ornaments made that way. They make many ornaments in 22 ct. 20 ct. etc. That has been going on just like black-marketing in foodgrains. It is the common people who suffer, who cannot go into the open market, because the commodity is not there. Normally the price is very high. Those who operate in the black-market can get these things. These are the rich people who can afford such things. Therefore, the demand has not been booked and so the demand has gone done. Certainly those who go

to the shops—well they may not have openly gone, but others have gone—are there. It is no use trying to tell us that the retailers, the small men or those dealers—of course the licensees—will be less; you have run many. But what about the big jeweller who are carrying on the trade and so on? That would not be found out by the mere look at statistics.

Finally, we did not have any assurance from him about those who have suffered. Therefore, before I sit down one or two suggestions I would make. Firstly, in regard to those to whom you have advanced loans, poor goldsmiths, working goldsmiths you should take a liberal view in the matter of recovery of loans. Personally I should be in favour of writing off the loans in needy cases. They were displaced persons of a special type. When displaced persons came from East Pakistan, their loans in many cases had been written off; loans to richer displaced persons from East Pakistan under the Relief and Rehabilitation Administration had been virtually written off. I think here is a fit case for writing off the loans which you have advanced to the working goldsmiths who live by their toil. Secondly, you should spend a lot of money to rehabilitate them and help them to get back into their profession and their work. You should help them. Bullion market and other things should be stopped, and an anti-smuggling drive should be launched. What is more, other economic measures should be taken.

Finally, I do not think that as long as this Finance Minister occupies his position and remains in charge of that Ministry you can evoke any confidence because this Finance Minister has already been surrounded by all kinds of allegations against him including an unbelievable thing he has done, namely, that he apologised to a particular firm which was searched by the Enforcement Directorate; he ordered his official, Mr. R. C. Dutt, to ask the Director of Enforcement to apologise to Orr, Duggan and Company. We shall hear what he has to say but, Mr. Vice Chairman, when you have a Finance Minister of this type, a man from big business, who is ready to apologise the moment big business shows a little anger, with such a Finance Minister as the steward of India's finances, you can never trace unaccounted money nor can

you discover the hidden gold nor can you save the economy. Therefore, the first thing to do, if you at all want to strike hard against the monopolists and gold smugglers, is to get the Finance Minister, Mr. Sachindra Chaudhuri, out of office, and he must resign so that steps could be taken. This is all I have to say. I hope the Minister of State will understand what I have said. The trouble with Mr. Bhagat is he had been long in the Ministry and he had been defending everything. He defended Mr. Morarji Desai, he defended Mr. Krishnamachari; now he is defending Mr. Sachindra Chaudhuri; next day he will be defending someone else.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I defend the policies of the Government.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, these vicious policies are associated with evil men politically speaking.

SHRI V. M. CHORDIA: You are a good man.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): That will do.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Therefore, I say that he has been defending them. You have been the bodyguard of all these Finance Ministers. Give up that role.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I have my individual personality.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is how you have been acting. I would appeal to you, Mr. Bhagat, you seem to be a nice man, a smiling man, but you are in bad company. It is a misfortune that you did not get a better Finance Minister than Mr. Morarji Desai, Mr. Krishnamachari or Mr. Sachindra Chaudhuri. What can I do?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): You can sit down. That is what you can do. The House stands adjourned till 11 A. M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 7th September, 1966.