

Shri Jaganatha Rao: Sir, I move:

"That the Bill be passed."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

"That the Bill be passed."

The motion was adopted.

14.50 hrs.

GOLD (CONTROL) BILL

The Minister of Finance (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to provide, in the economic and financial interests of the community, for the control of the production, supply, distribution, use and possession of, and business in, gold and ornaments and other articles of gold and for matters connected therewith, as reported by the Joint Committee, be taken into consideration."

I have on several occasions and also when I moved the Bill for reference to the Joint Committee, dealt with the circumstances under which Gold Control had been introduced and what its principal objectives were. I have also, for the information of the Members of the House, circulated a brief note on the subject and therefore it is not necessary to repeat what has already been said about the basic objectives of this measure.

On the 5th June, 1964, this Sabha adopted a motion referring the Gold (Control) Bill, 1963 to a Joint Committee. The Rajya Sabha concurred in that motion on the 6th June, 1964. The Joint Committee held thirteen sittings in all. Having regard to the importance of the subject and the interest taken by the public, the Committee decided to hear evidence of associations and others desirous of presenting their views or suggestions and for this purpose issued a Press Communique inviting memoranda. 1,99,678 memoranda and representa-

tions were received by the Committee from various associations and individuals. The Committee gave an opportunity to 47 associations as well as a Member of Parliament to give oral evidence before it. Certain officials were also examined.

The Joint Committee has presented its report to this Sabha. That report fully explains the reasons for the change made by it and I would not like to take the time of the Sabha by repeating them. However, it is necessary to comment on the main points raised in the various minutes of Dissent and to touch upon some of the more important changes made by the Committee.

In most of the minutes of dissent, the 14 carat rule has been singled out for strong criticism. Apart from its unpopularity, it has been argued that once people start taking to 14 carat ornaments, they will be buying more gold ornaments than before because their intention would be to possess a certain pre-determined quantity in terms of pure gold content. Consequently, the object of reducing the demand for gold will be defeated. On these grounds, some Honourable Members have urged that instead of quality control, there may be quantity control. While accepting the need for controlling the price and distribution of gold, some members have suggested that a statutory body like the State Trading Corporation or the Khadi Gramodyog Commission should be entrusted with the monopoly of buying and selling of gold in the country.

The object of the 14 carat rule is to make the existing supply of gold go round to a greater extent than before. Generally, when people go in for ornaments, they do not have the intention of acquiring a pre-determined quantity of gold. They are guided by the existing social customs and go in for, say, a set consisting of bangles, necklace and ear-rings. Obviously, for making this set, much less gold will be required if the ornaments are

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of 14 carat than 22 carat. If the 14 carat rule is abrogated, there would be no reduction in the demand for gold and the position would be the same as without gold control. When 14 carat ornaments become acceptable as a rule to the people it will not lead to any increase in the demand for gold. If a larger number of ornaments are purchased, there is a corresponding extra making charge which will be a waste at the time of resale. Further, there will be no desire, at least for those in the lower and middle income groups, to have more than, say, one full set or ornaments. It has also to be noted that there is an aversion to 14 carat ornaments as such. All this will militate against an individual holding a larger quantity of ornaments in 14 carat gold than in the past.

The alternatives of quantity control, either by limiting the weight of individual ornaments or the total holdings by an individual, have been suggested. If only the weight of individual ornaments is restricted, then the acquisitive instincts for gold ornaments will be in full play and there will be no reduction in the demand for gold as is the purpose behind the Bill. Imposition of a ceiling on total holdings by an individual bristles with administrative difficulties and will lead to possible harassment to individuals. In fact even the limitation for which power has been taken is so wide of the mark of what normally individuals will have. Nor will the suggestion to set up a statutory corporation for controlling prices and distribution be practicable at present. Manufacture of ornaments will have to be entrusted to a large number of scattered goldsmiths and dealers and, with a chronic shortage of gold, malpractices will abound and the corporation will find itself ineffective. It has to be recognised that in present conditions jewellers and other dealers in gold trade can only be permitted to function on the basis of their dealing in an identifiable quality of gold as

apart from those that are smuggled. The consequence of dropping the quality control on gold would be that the dealers and jewellers in gold will have to give up dealing in gold altogether.

The investment aspect of gold as a motivation for the villager and the peasant has been stressed in some Minutes of Dissent. According to them, our rural banking system being next to nothing, the villager always hopes to raise some loan by pledging his ornaments. Some people say that the present food situation has been accentuated by the restrictions on gold trade because the farmer being prevented from converting the sale proceeds of his grain into gold, clings on to his surplus grain. I am afraid this view is not correct. In recent years, there has been a great expansion of banking facilities. In 1958, there were 4,605 branches of banks. At the end of 1963, the number had risen to 5,573. The number of post-offices with savings bank facilities was 15,618 in 1958. Since then, there has been a phenomenal rise and there are now 42,594 Post-offices, spread throughout the country, which provide savings bank facilities. In this context, it would be incorrect to say that our rural banking system is next to nothing. Furthermore, there are vastly increased and enlarged facilities for the purchase of small savings certificates, unit trusts, and for taking life insurance policies. Times and attitudes of people have changed and in these times, we should not think of primitive and dead investment. It is of paramount importance that people's savings should be progressively channelised in productive investments designed for national development. The theory of a connection between gold control and high food prices is obviously incorrect. Long before gold control, there have been instances of grain prices spurting up.

Certain Hon'ble Members have voiced an apprehension that the gold-

smith's craftsmanship which is highly sophisticated art may be lost like the art of manufacturing muslin. They have naturally urged that it is not only essential that this art should be preserved at all cost to provide employment to the skilled artisans but should be exploited to earn foreign exchange through exports. According to them, rehabilitation of the artisans in other trades and industry will not be in the best national interests and would mean sacrificing this traditional skill.

Government are fully aware of this aspect of the problem and have already taken suitable measures. To ensure that traditional skills are utilized for exports, facilities have been given in two ways. Certain dealers are authorised to manufacture jewellery 'in bond' by obtaining gold from their clients abroad. Others have been authorised to manufacture jewellery out of gold available within the country, including ornaments of over 14 carat purity, for purposes of export. All facilities have been given for the export of Indian jewellery which has a demand abroad and the Ministry of Commerce have also made provision for export incentives. Furthermore, nearly 2,00,000 goldsmiths and 12,000 dealers are employed in the remaking of ornaments and in the manufacture of 14 carat jewellery. Thus, there is no need for apprehension that traditional skills will be lost. But if there is a surplus of working population among goldsmiths, it is but natural that other avenues of employment should be found for them.

Reference has been made to the high cost of enforcement of the provisions of the Bill. Certain members have stated that a huge amount of Rs. 28,84,000 is being spent "on the cadre of a new class of officers" which is going to be created for popularising 14 carat jewellery. This is obviously based on a misunderstanding of the provisions. As will be evident from the financial statement attached to the Bill, the expenditure of Rs. 28,84,000

includes the staff employed for the rehabilitation of goldsmiths as well as the enforcement staff. It is not proposed to create any cadre of officers for popularising 14 carat jewellery. Any restrictive legislation will call for administrative expenses. Having regard to the vital stakes, the enforcement cost is indeed extremely reasonable. The estimated expenditure on rehabilitation of goldsmiths, the bulk of which consists of recoverable loans, is in the nature of a productive investment. Highly exaggerated figures of alleged loss of income-tax revenues have been mentioned by some members. Government do not consider that there will be any appreciable loss at all.

Some of the Hon'ble Members have objected to the powers conferred on the Gold Control Administrator. It may be pointed out that these powers are nothing extraordinary and are the minimum necessary for enforcement of the provisions. There is no question of these powers being exercised arbitrarily because there are remedies of appeals, revisions and other legal means always open to the aggrieved party.

Shri Masani has objected to the very principle of the Bill. His point is that people would invest their savings in assets other than gold if adequate incentives, sense of security etc., are provided. He has referred to the threat of nationalisation network of controls and "Vindictiveness often underlying Government's policy towards people's enterprises". Whatever may be one's view in regard to these and Shri Masani has certainly distorted the picture by over-stating his case—no one can deny that the sort of security which Shri Masani is looking for is available in investment in small savings scheme. If an individual had invested his savings, say, in the 12-year National Savings Certificates in 1950, he would have got, for every Rs. 100 of investment, Rs. 150 by 1962. If he reinvested this sum in the 12-year National Plan Certificates, he would get Rs. 247 by 1974. Even

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if he encashes his certificates now, his original investment of 1950 would have grown to about Rs. 160.00 by 1964. Over the period 1950 to 1962, gold prices have increased from Rs. 97.70 to Rs. 119.59 for 10 grammes—an increase of hardly 22 per cent, and if 1964 prices are taken, the increase is, lower, being only 18 per cent, as against 50 per cent. or 60 per cent. increase respectively by investment in small savings. It is clear, therefore, that investment in gold does not yield as attractive a return as is available from small savings schemes, the return from which has moreover been tax free. The annual return and the capital appreciation of the original investment would be even higher if an individual had chosen to invest in some of the growing industries of India.

The fact of the matter is that those who choose to invest in gold in a big way are not interested in obtaining return on their investment, but to hide their wealth. One hopes it is not Shri Masani's plea that these individuals should be given free reign to conceal their ill-gotten gains in gold by permitting imports of gold.

One agrees with Shri Masani that it is necessary to take strong measures to right inflation. The entire progress of the economy depends on maintaining a reasonable stability of prices, and Government have been taking, and will in future take, suitable steps to check inflation. It is difficult, however, to agree with Shri Masani that this requires giving up, or postponing development of industries—including heavy industries.

The suggestion that we should import gold is clearly impracticable. Equally, there cannot be any question of our continuing to depend on imported machinery. While price stability is an objective in itself we also must balance our external accounts and there is no prospect of doing so unless we invest enough now in machine

making instead of frittering away foreign exchange in importing gold.

Shri Masani has also alleged that the Bill seeks to create a near monopoly in gold in the hands of Government and it will make people feel that the Government which gives them such sermons about the uselessness of gold is itself trying to lay its hand on all the gold in the country. I do not know how he has come to the conclusion that Government intends to have a monopoly in Gold. The Bill does not at all make any provision for taking over private holdings of gold ornaments. People have the fullest freedom to hold on to whatever ornaments as well as bullion they may have and the only condition is that in so far as bullion is concerned they should have made the prescribed declaration if the quantity owned by them exceeded a certain limit. There is no provision in the Bill for the expropriation or the taking over of gold from private individuals.

Another point raised by Shri Masani is that during the 15 months of the operation of the Gold Control Rules, there has been no evidence that the lure of gold has diminished or that the gap between the indigenous and world price has narrowed or that smuggling has decreased. I may, however, mention for the information of the House that there are indications that the demand for gold has fallen. The number of dealers and refiners in gold has come down from about 27,000 in the pre-control days to about 12,000 at present. A recent survey has shown that the turnover of dealers is considerably less than that in the pre-control days. The quantity of gold used for industrial purposes has been brought down to about 50 per cent. of that prior to the imposition of gold control. Another fact that has acted as a disincentive for the demand for gold is that scheduled banks, loans against security of gold has dropped from the level of Rs. 42 crores in October 1962 to about Rs. 16 crores

in September, 1963, and is being maintained at the level of Rs. 17 to 18 crores since then. On the price front also, some success has been achieved. While in former years, gold prices in India used to rise by about 4-5 per cent. per annum, after the introduction of gold control, prices have been ruling almost consistently at lower levels as compared to the levels of 1962. Although there was an up-ward trend in prices in April—August, 1964, the maximum reached even during this period was only Rs. 126.71 per 10 grams of 24 carat gold compared to the price of Rs. 129.90 in August, 1962. Subsequent to August, 1964, there has been a drop in prices and the current quotations are of the order of Rs. 112. The fact that the price level of gold is still lower than that of 1962 is particularly significant because the intervening period of two years has witnessed a nearly 20 per cent rise in the price level in general and about 25 per cent rise in food article prices in particular. However, in so far as smuggling is concerned, it is too early to draw definite conclusions. Nevertheless, the provisions of the Bill, which seek to impose an absolute ban on transactions in primary gold between private individuals and requires proper accounting of the gold already held, coupled with the intended reduction in the overall demand, is a step in the direction of putting down smuggling.

In certain minutes of dissent, reference has been made to the need for rehabilitation of goldsmiths. Government are fully alive to the problem. In representations made on behalf of goldsmiths, the magnitude of the problem has been vastly exaggerated by giving inflated figures of the number of goldsmiths in the country. According to the 1961 census, there were some 4,51,000 goldsmiths, silversmiths, gold dealers and others associated with the profession of gold, silver and precious stones in the country. It is only the goldsmiths and not silversmiths that have been affected by Gold Control. Separate figures of goldsmiths were not available. With

the concessions announced in Parliament on the 21st September, 1963, to assist goldsmiths, it has been possible to make some estimate regarding their number. They now either continue in the profession or have sought rehabilitation assistance. From these applications, it appears that the total number of goldsmiths are in the neighbourhood of 2,70,000.

About 2,15,000 have applied for certificates to work as self-employed goldsmiths and are carrying on their business. They are also eligible to seek rehabilitation assistance. The scheme of rehabilitation is very comprehensive and covers various spheres. It makes provision for educational assistance to children of goldsmiths on the same lines as members of backward communities. Technical training facilities are made available to children of goldsmiths as well as to the younger generation of goldsmiths. While the expenditure on educational assistance is met by the Centre wholly as a grant, that on training is shared between the Centre and the States in the ratio of 60:40. To enable goldsmiths to take up other professions, they have been accorded priority in getting employment in services and also relaxation in age limit, educational qualifications etc., to the extent possible. Loan assistance has been provided for settlement in agriculture, industry and other productive purposes. Loans for comparatively smaller amounts can be taken, without security, on personal bonds. The terms are extremely liberal in various ways—the period of repayment is spread over 10 years and the rate of interest varies from 2½ per cent for co-operative industrial undertakings to 3 per cent for individuals setting up industries and 4 per cent for other purposes. The Centre has agreed to meet 50 per cent of the loss on account of non-recovery and also administrative expenditure upto 1½ per cent. So far, a total sum of Rs. 6.5 crores has been advanced as loans to State Governments. The State Governments in turn have made advances amounting to over Rs. 4

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crores benefiting over 35,000 goldsmiths. Other measures for alternative employment, fair price shops etc. have rehabilitated over 18,500. Altogether, nearly 55,000 goldsmiths, or about 20 per cent of those affected, have been rehabilitated so far.

15 hrs.

The Joint Committee has made several improvements in the Bill. Certified goldsmiths had an apprehension that they would not be entitled to manufacture ornaments of lower purity but had to confine their activities to higher purity ornaments only. It has now been made absolutely clear that they could accept ornaments of any purity for remaking ornaments. The original provision for stamping of primary gold was considered too onerous. Accordingly, this obligation has been withdrawn from private individuals who occasionally sell one or two pieces. Under the provisions of the Defence of India Rules, goldsmiths could apply for the issue of certificates only upto the 31st March, 1964. To meet exceptional cases, the Administrator has now been empowered to accept fresh applications for the issue of certificates. While facilities for re-making of new ornaments from old ornaments given to the goldsmiths will continue, it has now been provided that the Central Government may prescribe, if and when it considers necessary, limits on the weight and purity of the new ornaments so manufactured. The provisions relating to places of public religious worship have been amended to make it clear that there will be no restriction as to the purity or form of gold which they may receive as offering. There was some apprehension about the scope of the enabling provision for calling for declaration of ornaments. This clause has now been amended to exempt a person or family from making a declaration as to the gold ornaments owned by such person or family if in the case of an

individual the value of such ornaments does not exceed Rs. 25,000 and in the case of a family Rs. 50,000. The provisions relating to adjudication have been elaborated in order to ensure full compliance with the requirements of natural justice, namely, issue of show-cause notice, grant of reasonable opportunity for personal hearing etc. The clause relating to penalty has been amended so as to confer on Courts the power to award punishment of imprisonment for a period less than the minimum period of six months, if for special and adequate reasons to be recorded the Courts consider it necessary to do so.

It has been suggested that the form of accounts at present prescribed for goldsmiths should be simplified. It has also been suggested that the present limit of 100 grammes of primary gold with which a goldsmith can work at a time in the manufacture of ornaments, should be raised in order to facilitate the re-manufacture of ornaments from old ornaments given to the goldsmiths. Another suggestion has been made that people who have small quantities of primary gold which are below the limits prescribed for a declaration may have easier facilities for the sale or hypothecation of that gold.

I have considered these suggestions and am prepared to accept them. I will be moving formal amendments wherever necessary.

I need hardly emphasise the extent of havoc which smuggling can do to the economy of the country, particularly in a period of development, when we require all our foreign exchange resources for nation building activities. Shri Masani has suggested that a certain amount of gold should be allowed to be imported into the country to meet indigenous needs. I am sure the House will realise the impracticability of this suggestion. When we are seeking loans and other assistance from friendly countries and

international organisations to import the most essential goods, the diversion of any of our foreign exchange resources for the import of gold is bound to have an adverse reaction in international circles and thus endanger our developmental efforts. In this context, it is vital that gold smuggling should be combated on all fronts. We must also greatly reduce the use of gold for non-essential purposes, including ornament making. The ban on the import of gold, on the one hand and absence of control on transactions in and use of gold within the country on the other will be self-contradictory. It is for this purpose that gold control has been designed.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Motion moved:

"That the Bill to provide, in the economic and financial interests of the community, for the control of the production, supply, distribution, use and possession of, and business in, gold and ornaments and other articles of gold and for matters connected therewith, as reported by the Joint Committee, be taken into consideration."

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): Sir, I rise to a point of order. I would request you, Sir, to see Rule 307(1), (2) and (3) of the Rules of Procedure. I would like to remind this House that there are two petitions, one presented by me signed by about a crore of goldsmiths and other people supporting their demand, and another presented by Shri Surendranath Dwivedy on a subsequent date. Now, taking into account the fact that the Committee on Petitions is seized of the matter, I am relying on Rule 307(1) and (3). It says:

"(1) The Committee shall examine every petition referred to it, and if the petition complies with these rules, the Committee may direct that it be circulated."

It was circulated and I have no grouse on that account. Rule 307(3) says:

"It shall also be the duty of the Committee to report to the House on specific complaints made in the petition referred to it after taking such evidence as it deems fit and to suggest remedial measures either in a concrete form applicable to the case under review or to prevent such cases in future."

Sir, I rely on the observations made by the then Speaker, Shri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar. You remember, Sir, that on 6th May 1963 when this House was going to discuss the Report of the Vivian Bose Commission a point of order was raised by my hon. friend, Shri Sonavane. He also relied on this rule. He said:

"Sir, I rise to a point of order. A petition has been presented to the Committee on Petitions by Shri Shanti Prasad Jain, and it was circulated to us on the 4th of this month. I would like, in this connection, to invite your attention to sub-rule (3) of rule 307 of the Rules of Procedure which says:..."

Then then hon. Speaker, on this point of order, observed:

"This is only limited to the specific complaints that are made in certain individual cases whether they have to go into that. There is already the Report of the Commission before us. That is to be discussed. In relation to the observations made by that Commission, the petition had laid its own point of view. Therefore, it is not necessary in this case for the committee to make any enquiry, go into everything and then make a separate recommendation."

Then the discussion was allowed. Then he said:

"It is only for those specific petitions that relate to any indivi-

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dual matters or when any particular individual sends any grievance that he has that the committee goes into that. Therefore, I cannot agree with him. We will start with the discussion."

This petition is a specific petition demanding that the Gold Control Bill should be dropped. That was a discussion on a Report. Nothing was going to be enacted then. No decision was going to be taken. Here the petition is specific. Both the petitions says:

"The petitioners pray that the Gold Control Bill, 1963 as reported by the Joint Committee be dropped."

I am expecting another petition tomorrow. So the then Speaker said that it is only for these specific petitions that relate to any individual sends any grievance that he has that the committee goes into that. This is a specific petition making a specific prayer. I therefore plead that this cannot be discussed and I beg to move that this should be deferred to the next session.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Rules 306 and 307 refer to the Committee on Petitions and not to Bills. That Committee can take any action it likes, but we are governed by the provisions concerning Bills. The Bill has come back from the Joint Committee and it has to be taken into consideration. There is no point of order.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I am not talking of the petition. What is the prayer in the petitions? The prayer is about the Gold Control Bill.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Have you any authority to show that when a petition is made to the Committee on Petitions regarding a Bill that Bill cannot be proceeded with? If you can show me that authority I will consider it.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: My point is this. There are two specific petitions on this Gold Control Bill as reported by the Joint Committee. Even when this was referred to the Joint Committee.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I want to know if there is any decision that a Bill which has gone to a Select Committee or a Bill that is before the House cannot be proceeded with if any question about that has been referred to the Committee on Petitions.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I rely on Rule 307 and I am relying on the observations of the hon. Speaker, Shri Ayyangar.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Is it regarding a Bill?

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Regarding a discussion. He said that it was a discussion on a Report and therefore the discussion could go on. That was not a specific thing. Now the Gold Control Bill as reported by the Joint Committee is under discussion. My submission is that there are two petitions accepted by this House and circulated to all Members. According to Rule 307(3) proper action should be taken on them.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Proper action should be taken by the Committee on Petitions. They are free to take any action.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Then the whole matter is defeated. I want your ruling on this. There is no precedent, but is not this House capable of creating precedents? If not, I move that this discussion may be postponed.

Shri Nambiar (Tiruchirapalli): Sir, I want to make one submission. If after some time the Committee on Petitions makes a recommendation, by that time the Bill would have been passed, it would have become an Act

and proceedings would have gone on under the Act. Thereby the whole purpose of the petition signed by more than a crore of people would be defeated. The point is whether this discussion cannot be postponed till the next session so that proper action could be taken by the Committee on Petitions. Then the advice of that Committee will also be available to the House and this House can consider the Bill in the light of their recommendations. That will help us to consider the Bill in all its aspects after the receipt of the report of that Committee.

Shri P. R. Patel (Patan): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, before you give your ruling, I want to submit that two petitions have been presented to the House and they have been referred to the Petitions Committee. The Petitions Committee has to consider them and then report to the House. Suppose the Petitions Committee comes to the conclusion that the Bill should be dropped, what would be the position? So, my submission is that the Petitions Committee must be asked to finish its work as early as possible and then we should consider this Bill. Otherwise, a difficulty may arise. When the matter is seized by the Petitions Committee, it will have to give thought to it; if in the meanwhile we consider the Bill and pass it, what will be the functions of the Petitions Committee? And how can its report be given effect to if we have passed the Bill and then its report comes that the Bill should be dropped. So, the matter is not so simple as that and we have to give serious consideration to it.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: It is an extremely novel suggestion for postponing the consideration of a Bill. In February I shall be moving the Finance Bill; I hope to do so anyway. If I do so, if some petition that the Finance Bill should be dropped could be referred to the Committee on Petitions, according to this reason, the Finance Bill cannot be considered until the Petitions Committee has

given its report on that petition. If the hon. Member feels that we should not consider this Bill, it is open to him and the other hon. Members to vote it down and then the Bill will be dropped. What the hon. Member has referred to about a petition is a different matter. On a reference that has been made to the consideration of a report on which no action was to be taken, except mere consideration, maybe that certain additional facts are going to be submitted to the House and they should consider them; maybe that the hon. Speaker had that in mind. But I have never heard in the history of parliamentary democracy that a Bill which had the approval of the House for the purpose of consideration by the Joint Committee should not be reconsidered by the House merely because some petition has been referred to the Petitions Committee and some decision has to be taken on those petitions by the Petitions Committee, which is subordinate to the House. I think the whole objection is frivolous.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: The heavens are not going to fall if you postpone the consideration of the Bill.

Shri Gauri Shankar Kakkar (Fatehpur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I have to make certain observations on the point of order raised by Shri Banerjee. In accordance with rule 307 of the Rules of Procedure certain privileges and powers are given to the Petitions Committee. Now, two petitions have been received by us, which have been referred to the Petitions Committee and which are being scrutinised by that Committee. If we now proceed with the present legislation it will mean that we are negating or ignoring the privileges which have been given to the Petitions Committee. It will also mean a negation of the democratic set-up. Certain privileges are given to the various parliamentary committees and they are as good as the privileges of the House.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Could he quote a precedent where the con-

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sideration of a Bill could not be proceeded with because a petition had been presented to the Petitions Committee and the report of the Committee was awaited?

Shri Gauri Shankar Kakkar: I say that this is a mandatory provision by which certain powers and privileges are given to the Petitions Committee. Suppose we proceed with the Bill here and now and the Committee afterwards comes with a report that the Bill should be withdrawn, what will be the effect of the report of the Committee? If we proceed with this legislation now it will mean that we are negating the powers and privileges given to the Petitions Committee.

Shri Sivamurthi Swamy (Koppal): The Petitions Committee has been constituted by this sovereign Parliament and this matter has been seized of by that Committee in the form of two petitions. Here we must remember that in the history of Parliament this is the first time when more than one crore of people, the voters on whose consent we are here in this sovereign Parliament, have signed a petition and submitted it to Parliament. So, we have to view this problem from that context. It is not merely one crore of people. If the Petitions Committee takes the trouble of inviting the witnesses to give evidence, it will find that the Bill is opposed not only by one crore of people but by many times that number. Perhaps, except the Finance Minister, nobody likes this Bill. Therefore, Sir, I would request you to consider this point from that larger point of view and give your ruling. Unfortunately, under our parliamentary system, though there is direct representation there is no provision for recall from Parliament. If that power is given to the voters, I have no doubt that the hon. Finance Minister will be the first person to be recalled from this House.

Shri Kapur Singh (Ludhiana): I am inclined to agree with the conten-

tion which has been raised by my hon. friend, Shri Banerjee, for the reasons which have been explained here by hon. Members of the House. I am persuaded that if we proceed with this Bill now, while at the same time the petitions are under the consideration of the Members of this House in the Petitions Committee, it would be tantamount to reducing the provisions and procedures relating to petitions to a mockery. The only argument which has been advanced against it by my hon. friend, the Finance Minister, if I have understood him correctly—I say that with a great deal of hesitation, knowing his views about the intellectual capacity of the people from the North—the only argument which he has advanced against the point of order raised by Shri Banerjee is, because it is easy to procure petitions of this kind, therefore, they need not be taken too seriously. If one were to counter this argument by saying that it is easy for the Treasury Benches, or for the hon. Finance Minister, to have a Bill drafted, have it introduced here and passed in Parliament by the sheer force of the brute majority of his party, would that be a valid argument? So, his own argument against the validity of the objection or the seriousness of the objection against consideration to which it is entitled, is not an argument which requires any serious consideration. With these words, I support Shri Banerjee.

Shri Sinhasan Singh (Gorakhpur): After hearing the hon. Finance Minister, I think two points arise. Sir, you were pleased to ask the hon. Member to quote any precedent in support of his contention. The occasion envisaged by the point of order is one for which there cannot be any precedent. Here what is the position? A Bill has been referred to the Joint Committee by this august House. The Joint Committee has referred it back to the House after making some changes. On that very Bill, certain petitions have been presented to this very House, this very sovereign House—no

other House—for consideration. Now, there are two ways open to the House. The House could outright reject or accept the petition or refer it to the Petitions Committee. In this case, the House referred the petitions to the Petitions Committee. There are two Committees in the picture—a Select Committee and the Petitions Committee. One Committee, the Select Committee, has recommended the consideration of the Bill. The other Committee, the Petitions Committee is yet to make its recommendation. Of course, this House is, as the hon. Finance Minister stated, sovereign and it can accept or reject anything. But this House has not rejected those petitions. They have been referred to the Petitions Committee, whose report is awaited. And those petitions relate to no other matter but this very matter. So, if we now go ahead with the consideration of the Bill, it would amount to prejudging the report or recommendation of that Committee. This House can abolish that Committee today. This House can pass a resolution on the motion of the hon. Minister that this Committee may be abolished. This House is sovereign and it can consider this way or that way. He is not moving a motion that the matters referred to the Petitions Committee be withdrawn and sent back as not considered. Unless he takes that position, this can't be done. That question being there, the only course open for this House is this. Under section 10 of the Civil Procedure Code, when the matter is technically referred to the court, the other matter will be stayed. This matter has come later. So, it must be stayed under general provisions of law of the Civil Procedure Code. If one view is taken by the House that the matter is referred to the Petitions Committee for its consideration, the other matter must be automatically stayed. There is no question about that. We can hurry up that matter. We can ask this Committee to report very early. The Committee may report this way or that way. The House may reject it or accept it. If the House accepts the

recommendation that it be dropped, then no consideration arises on this Gold Control Bill. That is my submission. There may not be an earlier precedent like that but we have to create this precedent here.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Dr. Aney.

The Minister of Rehabilitation (Shri Tyagi): May I also make a submission on this question?

An hon. Member: It is not a matter of rehabilitation. (*Interruption*).

Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur): Sir, the Petitions Committee has come into existence on account of this sovereign body. Under the Constitution itself, the appointment of this Committee is obligatory. When the Constitution provides that a certain committee should be appointed and the House has acted upon that advice, it becomes the duty of the House to see that that committee does the work which has been entrusted to it.

Shri Nambiar: And wait.

Dr. M. S. Aney: This has been referred to the Petitions Committee. It is under consideration there. The Speaker represents the House. He referred it to the Committee and it means that this House has referred that petition to that Committee. Having taken that stand, it is a matter of equity, fairness and constitutional propriety that this House ought to wait for the report of the Committee. It is also open to the House not to accept that report for consideration. The only question is whether the body that you have created and created for a purpose is allowed to function properly or not. If you do not do that, I think, it is a serious matter.

Shri Narendra Singh Mahida (Anand): I propose that the Petitions Committee should meet tomorrow and till then this debate may be postponed. (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. I have heard all the Members. I have heard the arguments they have put forward. I learn there are no petitions pending before the House Com-

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker]

mittee. The two petitions referred to have been considered by the Committee and they have been circulated.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: No, Sir. I have got it here. Kindly hear me.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: This was circulated on the 14th December.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I have got it. Kindly hear me.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. Please sit down. Even if there are any petitions pending, I hold it is no ground to postpone the consideration of a report of the Joint Committee where nearly 2 lakhs petitions were received by the Committee. None of the Members has shown any decision or ruling of the Chair that when a petition is pending before the Petitions Committee, the consideration of the Bill should be postponed. The rules regarding the consideration of the Bills are very clear and I hold that there is no point of order and the consideration of this Bill will proceed. Are you moving your amendment?

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I have a submission to make.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Nothing now regarding this point. I have given the ruling.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Kindly hear me for a minute. Nothing is going to be lost.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: You move your amendment? Yes. Shri Tan Singh.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Yes, I move. Sir, I move:

"That the debate on the Bill be adjourned to the next session."

I have the right to move that.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There is no such motion before the House.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Sir, I can quote you a ruling. On 6th May, 1963,

when Mr. Sonavane's point of order was not accepted by the House, he was allowed by the Speaker to move a motion and it was negatived.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There is no motion before me. Are you moving your amendment?

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I am moving the motion.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: You must give previous notice. You cannot spring a surprise.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I am quoting the ruling given on an earlier occasion:

"Mr. Speaker: I do not think that the House agrees with it. The sense of the House is that this must be discussed in this session. He may make a motion and I will put it to the House.

Shri Sonavane: I beg to move:

'That the debate on the Report of the Commission of Inquiry appointed to investigate into the administration of certain Dalmia-Jain Companies laid on the Table of the House on the 23rd January, 1963, be adjourned to the next session.'

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

'That the debate on the Report of the Commission of Inquiry appointed to investigate into the administration of certain Dalmia-Jain Companies laid on the Table of the House on the 23rd January, 1963, be adjourned to the next session.'

The motion was negatived."

There is a precedent."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is not regarding a Bill?

Shri S. M. Banerjee: There is a precedent in this House. I should not be deprived of my privilege.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Is it regarding the Bill?

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I have the right to do it. Let them vote it down.

Shri Gauri Shankar Kakkar: It has no different character. When the Bill is introduced, it is a motion.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: This is the ruling on a motion for adjournment of the debate. Here we have to take up the consideration of the report of the Joint Committee.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Perhaps, nobody has gone through the whole thing. Kindly hear me. Nothing is going to be lost. My point is only this. I know there is a division inside the Cabinet also. That is the whole thing. I have relied on Rule 307. You said that the petition has been circulated. I know it has been circulated. I have relied not only on Rule 307(1) but also on 307(3). It says:

"It shall also be the duty of the Committee to report to the House on specific complaints made in the petition referred to it...."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That is over. You need not go into that. You come to the motion to adjourn the debate. I have given the ruling on that.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Sir, I have lost my mother. I have specially come for this. Kindly hear me....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I have read it in the news. I am very sorry for that. Please accept my sincere condolences.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Kindly hear me. You are relying only on Rule 307(1) which says:

"The Committee shall examine every petition referred to it, and

if the petition complies with these rules, the Committee may direct that it be circulated...."

It has been done. I have no grouse against that. But what about 307(3)? About the ruling that I quoted, the point was whether the Vivian Bose Commission's report should be considered or not.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Are you discussing my ruling or this ruling?

Shri S. M. Banerjee: You wanted a specific ruling on that. I have quoted that ruling.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: This is about the motion for the adjournment of debate. Are you not moving your amendment? First you move that and then ask for the adjournment of the debate.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Sir, I move:

"That the Bill, as reported by the Joint Committee, be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon by the 1st February, 1965." (70).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Then you move for the adjournment of the debate.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Sir, I move:

"That the debate on the Bill be adjourned to the next session."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Motion moved:

"That the debate on the Bill be adjourned to the next session." Let the Lobbies be cleared.

The Lok Sabha divided:

Division No 11.]

AYES

[1543 hrs.

Alvares, Shri
Aney, Dr. J. M. S.
Banerjee, Shri S. M.
Berwa, Shri Onkar Lal
Bhattacharya, Shri Dinen
Bhawani, Shri Lakhmu
Biren Datta, Shri
Dandekar, Shri N.

Dasaratha Deb, Shri
Dwivedy, Shri Surendranath
Gupta, Shri Kashi Ram
Himmatsinhji, Shri
Kachhavaia, Shri Hukam Chand
Kapur Singh, Shri
Krishnapal Singh, Shri
Kunhan, Shri P.

Mahida, Shri Narendra Singh
Manoharan, Shri
Masani, Shri M. R.
Murmu, Shri Sarkar
Nambiar, Shri
Ramabadrn, Shri
Reddy, Shri Narasimha
Roy, Dr. Saradish

Sezhiyan, Shri
Siddhanti, Shri Jagdev Singh
Sivasankaran, Shri

Solanki, Shri
Swamy, Shri M. N.
Swamy, Shri Sivamurthi

Venkaiah, Shri Kolla
Yashpal Singh, Shri

NOES

Alva, Shri A. S.
Babunath Singh, Shri
Bajej, Shri Kamalnayan
Bal Krishna Singh, Shri
Balakrishnan, Shri
Balmiki, Shri
Basumatari, Shri
Besra, Shri
Bhanu Prakash Singh, Shri
Bhattacharyya, Shri C. K.
Borooah, Shri P. C.
Brajeshwar Prasad, Shri
Brij Raj Singh-Kotah, Shri
Chaturvedi, Shri S. N.
Chaudhry, Shri Chandramanj Lal
Chuni Lal, Shri
Daljit Singh, Shri
Dorai, Shri Kasinatha
Dubey, Shri R. G.
Gandhi, Shri V. B.
Hanumanthaiya, Shri
Harvani, Shri Ansar
Himatsingka, Shri
Jamunadevi, Shrimati
Keishing, Shri Rishang
Koujalgi, Shri H. V.
Krishnamechhari, Shri T. T.
Lakhan Das, Shri
Lakshmikanthamma, Shrimati
Lalit Sen, Shri
Mahishi, Shrimati Sarojini

Marandi, Shri
Maruthiah, Shri
Mishra, Shri Bibhuti
Mishra, Shri Mahesh Dutta
More, Shri S. S.
Mukerjee, Shrimati Sharda
Musafir, Shri G. S.
Naik, Shri D. J.
Oza, Shri
Pandey, Shri R. S.
Panna Lal, Shri
Paramasivan, Shri
Patel, Shri Chhotubhai
Patel, Shri N. N.
Patel, Shri Rajeshwar
Prabhakar, Shri Naval
Puri, Shri D. D.
Rai, Shrimati Sahodrabai
Rajdeo Singh, Shri
Raju, Dr. D. S.
Raju, Shri D. B.
Ram Sewak, Shri
Ram Swarup, Shri
Ramanathan Chettiar, Shri R.
Rane, Shri
Rao, Shri Muthyal
Rao, Shri Rajagopala
Rao, Shri Ramapathi
Roy, Shri Bishwanath
Sadhu Ram, Shri
Sahu, Shri Rameshwar

Samanta, Shri S. C.
Sanji Rupji, Shri
Saraf, Shri Sham Lal
Sarma, Shri A. T.
Satyabhama Devi, Shrimati
Sen, Shri P. G.
Shakuntala Devi, Shrimati
Sharma, Shri D. C.
Sharma, Shri K. C.
Shashi Ranjan, Shri
Shastri, Shri Ramanand
Shree Narayan Das, Shri
Siddananjappa, Shri
Singh, Shri D. N.
Singh, Shri K. K.
Singh, Shri R. P.
Soy, Shri H. C.
Subbaraman, Shri
Sumat Prasad, Shri
Sunder Lal, Shri
Swamy, Shri M. P.
Tantia, Shri Rameshwar
Tiwary, Shri D. N.
Tiwary, Shri K. N.
Tiwary, Shri R. S.
Uikey, Shri
Veerappa, Shri
Venkatasubbaiah, Shri P.
Vyasa, Shri Radhelal
Wasnik, Shri Balkrishna
Yadava, Shri B. P.

श्री लहटन चौधरी (सहरसा) : मुझे
सीट एलाट नहीं हुई है। मैं "नो" के पक्ष
में हूँ।

Shri Tyagi: I have voted from a
wrong seat.

Shri Gauri Shankar Kakkar: I want
to vote for 'Ayes'.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: In the case
of Shri Lahtan Chaudhuri, his vote
will be added to the 'Noes', because
he was sworn in only today, and he
has not been allotted any seat yet.
In the case of the others, their obser-
vations will be recorded:

The result of the division is as
follows:

Ayes: 32; Noes: 93

The motion was negatived.

Shri Solanki (Kaira): Shame!

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: 6 hours is the
time allotted for the discussion of this
Bill. We have to fix some time for
the consideration stage and some time
for the clause-by-clause consideration
also because there are a number of
amendments.

Shri Nambiar: There are about 200
amendments and there are about 43
clauses. Therefore, 6 hours may not
be sufficient.

श्री श्रींकार लाल बेरवा (कोटा) : दस
घंटा होने चाहिये।

Shri Nambiar: We discussed this
point also in the Business Advisory
Committee and said that the time al-
lotted was not sufficient. And the

Hon. Speaker said that we could consider the matter.

Shri Kapur Singh: I submit that more time may be allotted, so that we can go into the matter carefully.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Just now, we shall have 4 hours for the general discussion and 2 hours for the other stages. As we proceed, we shall see.

Shri Yashpal Singh: What about the time for amendments?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We shall have 4 hours for the consideration stage and 2 hours for the amendments.

Shri M. R. Masani (Rajkot): The discussion that has just concluded on the point of order and the adjournment of the debate is in a way a reflection of the strong feeling among all sections of the House against this Bill.

Many years ago, Mahatma Gandhi, talking in Wardha to Mr. Louis Fischer, the well-known author, made a remark which has been published in Mr. Fischer's book *A Week with Gandhi*. In that conversation, Mahatma Gandhi told Mr. Fischer that if he had his way, he would open the vaults of the Imperial Bank and the Reserve Bank of India to take out all the gold and distribute it among all the villages of India so that economic power which was concentrated in the hands of the Government, could be decentralised and distributed in the hands of the people.

Shri Tyagi: That meant socialism.

Shri M. R. Masani: This Bill is the exact negation of Mahatma Gandhi's wish and advice. This Bill seeks to take away all the gold in the hands of the people and concentrate it in the hands of the Reserve Bank and the State Bank of India. This is the climax to the betrayal of Mahatma Gandhi by those who seek to thrive in his name and mislead the people in his name.

This Bill, I repeat, seeks to create a near-monopoly of the possession of gold in the hands of Government. The Finance Minister asked a few minutes ago what was so wrong with it, and why I objected to it. I object because I am opposed to all monopoly, whether in the hands of private people or of Government. That, I thought, was the reason for the appointment of the Monopolies Commission by this Government, which we welcomed, but it is quite clear from this Bill that, far from being anti-monopoly, this is a Government of monopolists, who seek to monopolise the possession of gold and the political and economic power that it gives.

But before I proceed to this aspect, let me draw, for five minutes, the attention of the House to certain features of the Bill which have not much relation to its main object and which are highly objectionable in themselves. It has been for me a matter of disappointment that the Joint Committee could not at least get these evils out of this measure.

The first of these is the inclusion of the declaration of ornaments. This is a new threat, particularly to the women of India. Shri Morarji Desai had given a solemn assurance that gold control would never apply to ornaments. That was only eighteen months ago but, as is the practice of this Government, the assurances are not worth the paper on which they are written. Cynically those assurances are made and cynically they are broken, and today this House is being asked to start putting its fingers on the ornaments of our women. It is true that they are not being confiscated straightway. But the quantum of ornaments and their value have to be listed.

15.47 hrs.

[DR. SARAJINI MAHISHI in the Chair]

Can there be any doubt that within a little period of time, this same government, if it survives that long, will

[Shri M. R. Masani]

come and say. 'Now, we place a ceiling on ornaments, and all ornaments over that ceiling should be handed over to Government for nominal compensation?' Has that not happened to the land of our people? A Government that can do this with the land of the people will have no compunction, in its avarice and greed, in laying its hands on the jewellery of our women.

Then, there is quality control. I do not wish to take the time of the House on this. It will no doubt be taken up tomorrow on the amendments. But I would advise the House to read two very good Minutes of Dissent which have been appended to the Report of the Joint Committee. One is by Shri Chandak and half a dozen Members of the ruling party pointing out that quality control or the restriction of 14 carat is completely unnecessary for the purpose of the Bill itself. And the other is another cogent Minute by my hon. friend, Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri, the revolutionary socialist, who also points out that this 14 carat resolution is utterly meaningless and unhelpful to the objective of the Bill.

Then there is the attempt to accentuate class was among those concerned with gold. In typical communist fashion, attempts are made to set the so-called certified goldsmiths against the other dealers. An attempt to drive a wedge between the victims of this Bill is sought to be made. I was very glad to see in the Joint Committee that that attempt had failed, and that goldsmiths and dealers stood side by side refusing to be separated like this, equally unanimously demanding the withdrawal of this wicked measure.

Then there is the attempt to say that you must not carry on business in gold and moneylending operations in the same office.

And finally, there is the objectionable proviso that no appeals to the

courts of law can be made against any order passed by the Administrator under this Bill. We have talked long in the days of pre-independence about the separation of the judiciary from the executive, but under this Bill the power to adjudicate and the power to administer are in the same hands, and there will be no appeal to the courts of law or justice. I hope these aspects will be carefully considered by the House tomorrow.

Now, I come to the main point of my speech, and that is to oppose this Bill root and branch. This is a mis-conceived measure. It is a measure altogether uncalled for by the economic situation in the country. Dr. L. M. Singhvi, in his Minute of Dissent, has pointed out how this Bill is against the total weight of evidence led before the Joint Committee. Hundreds of memoranda were presented to the Joint Committee, but he points out that except for Mr. Khera and a couple had a good word to say about nobody had a good word to say about this Bill. No class of citizens came before the Joint Committee to put in one good word for this Bill. If the Joint Committee had been a free committee, I know that this Bill would have been voted down, but we know what happened in the Joint Committee. I am not free to refer to it here.

This Bill was conceived in January, 1963. Taking advantage of the Emergency and the patriotic sentiments of our people, the Finance Minister's predecessor put through the Gold Control Order. That was a bad day for India. I have an idea that, when the history of our times comes to be written, the economic history of our times, and of the collapse for which we are now heading, it will be mentioned that January, 1963, with the Gold Control Order and the Compulsory Deposit Scheme, marked the beginning of the end of our economy under this Government.

As it happens, that is an accident that gives us some advantage. When most laws are introduced in Parliament, nobody knows how they will work. In the case of this law, we have had experience of 18 months of this particular Bill already in operation under another name. The proof of the pudding is in the eating thereof. What has been the experience of the country and this House about the Gold Control which we are now trying to put permanently on our statute-book? Has gold control served its objectives? Have these objectives been achieved or even furthered?

What were the objectives, and what are the objectives of this Bill? I think on this there will be unanimity. There are three objectives of this Bill. One is to cure what is called the "lure" of gold, and to lessen the demand and stop hoarding. The second is to bring down the price of gold in India, which is twice that in the international market. And the third objective is to help in stopping smuggling. I do not think that even the Government would deny that this is a fair statement of the objectives of the Bill. I am glad my hon. friend Shri Tyagi agrees.

Then, what I want to know is the experience with regard to these three things. Has this control lessened the love of gold or the desire to have gold?

Shri Kapur Singh: No.

Shri M. R. Masani: The answer has been given. Not at all. How much gold has been surrendered to the Government under this measure? Let the Minister answer how much of the gold in India has been given over in response to this measure?

Secondly, has the price come down?

An hon. Member: No.

Shri M. R. Masani: Most definitely not. In August/September, 1964,

when the Joint Committee was discussing this measure, the price of gold was higher than it had ever been. The Indian price of gold in last August/September was Rs. 145 per tola, while the international price was Rs. 63. In other words, the Indian price, after 15 months of the Gold Control Order, was more than twice the international price of gold.

A wretched little memorandum was sought to be circulated a few days ago, trying to make out some kind of case for this Bill. It was a pitiable effort, with all the resources of the Government behind it. It tried in a vague manner to suggest that the price of gold had come down somewhat since August/September. I challenge and question that statement. These gentlemen are trying to fool Parliament into believing this. As soon as the Bill is passed, it will be mentioned that the price has gone up again. The price has not gone down since August/September, and the demand for gold is as active as ever.

Finally, has smuggling stopped, has smuggling diminished?

An hon. Member: Increased.

Shri M. R. Masani: It has increased. It is true that the risks of smuggling have increased, but so have the profits of smuggling. The profit margin has widened, and we know that when the profit margin widens, there are bold and daring spirits, lawless spirits, in every part of the world, who take advantage of that profit margin and that is what they have been doing. So, neither has the price of gold gone down, nor has smuggling diminished.

If this is the poor experience of 18 months of gold control, then the country and the House will ask why Government are persisting with this measure. It is a very legitimate question. We might well ask why. I must say very plainly that, as far as I can divine, there are two motives behind this Bill.

[Shri M. R. Masani]

The first is the motive of grabbing the gold that exists in this country. The Government knows that the only valuable things left in this country are things like gold, land, foodgrains, buildings, and so on. They know the worthlessness of their own money, and they know the worth of gold. They are trying to tell the people of India that it is useless, that it is a lure. The best way of setting an example is to say: "we do not care for your gold, you may keep it." What is the example this Government is setting to the people? When the Finance Ministry of the Government of India go and try to lay their hands on gold, they not only convince the people of this country of the worthlessness of our rupee currency, but convince them that it is wise to have gold.

Why does Government want gold? Because they want to meet their foreign obligations on which they are about to default. Having brought this country to the brink of bankruptcy, this Government now tries to grab some gold so that they can pay foreigners for what we owe them.

That is the first motive—the desire to grab gold and establish a monopoly. It is the "acquisitive instinct" at which the Finance Minister seeks to mock. If there are any acquisitive people today, they are on the Government benches and Treasury benches in this country. They are the real acquisitive people who are trying to grab everything in the hands of the people.

The second motive is to fool the people. I say that the Bill is meant to fool the people into believing that something is being done. Like Hitler, they want scapegoats for the failure of their own economic policies, and they have fastened on the poor goldsmiths of this country,....

An hon. Member: Shame.

Shri M. R. Masani: . . . just as Hitler fastened on the Jews. They are trying to cover up their failure in stopping smuggling, the inefficiency of their Customs Department, by asking us to pass this Bill.

Let me read from one of our very acute economic observers. In the *Indian Express* of 17th July this year, Shri G. R. Penkshe says:

"More than eight months have passed since then, and the present situation is that the gold control rules are more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Despite the closure of the futures trading in gold and the ban on the sale or purchase of anything exceeding 14 carats, there is a roaring blackmarket.. —mark the words—

"... in the metal of the highest purity. The entire trade has passed from the hands of the jewellers to innumerable small shopkeepers selling a variety of odds and ends, who have discovered an underhand side business more lucrative than the ostensible 'shop-front'.

They sell 'biscuits'—as bars of smuggled gold of 10 grammes each with foreign markings are called—to needy customers who are either recognised or are properly 'introduced', the terms being prior payment of cash at the rate ruling on the day. No questions are asked, and none answered.."

The writer then went on to say that: "the proposed law would be a dead letter", and "will bring neither credit to the Government nor to Parliament", if passed.

These are sapient words coming from an expert on the subject. That is why I said: since this Government is not devoid of intelligence enough to know that gold control has not worked and will not work in this

country, they are going through this mockery and farce, this act of calculated hypocrisy, in asking Parliament to make itself a party to this hypocritical act.

16 hrs.

What is the basic issue, Madam Chairman, in regard to the pride of gold and the hoarding of gold? Why is the price of gold high? Why is there the demand for gold? Why is the Indian price twice that of the international market? It is not an unhealthy craving on the part of your sex, Madam Chairman, nor is it the desire to hoard gold for its own sake. The cause is that our currency has been debauched by this Government. This Government for the last ten years, as a result of its Second and Third Plans, has debased our currency until it is today what it is; the rupee is worth exactly 17 nP of the pre-war rupee of 1939-40. In every city of India, I am told, people are buying the pound sterling for Rs. 24 when the official price of the £ is Rs. 13.33. It is very interesting that in September 1963, when the gold control order of the present Minister was brought in, the pound was worth Rs. 18.7 and this control was supposed to bring down the price of the pound and raise the price of the rupee. But the price of the pound in our black markets has gone up from Rs. 18 or Rs. 19 to Rs. 24 today. That is the abject failure of this gold control.

It is not only the price of gold that has gone up. Don't we know that other prices also have gone up? Gold has very little to do with it. Has not the price of land gone up? Has not the price of foodgrains or of cloth gone up and, as somebody pointed out the other day, has not the price of green vegetable gone up, due no doubt to the wicked hoarders, the vegetable merchants who keep green vegetables for one or two years.

Prices have gone up because the rupee has gone down, because those

in possession of the Government of this country have defaulted on their primary obligation of giving us a clean and honest rupee, a rupee whose value is the same today or tomorrow or ten years from now. In other words, the problem of gold is the problem of inflation. There is no gold problem in India; there is the rupee problem in India; there is the currency problem in India; there is the monetary problem in India.

What are the causes of this inflation? They are the policies of this Government and its predecessor Government. I will just list them for lack of time.

The first is the wrong priorities of the Second and Third Plan. By showing an obsession for heavy industry, which is unremunerative and slow in returns, as our Prime Minister has belatedly learnt, by investing more in the State sector, which is a wasteful and unproductive sector, we have deliberately and cold-bloodedly created inflation in our country. Let me read one sentence from the report of the Auditor General of March, 1964. He said that there are 45 public enterprises and according to him, only ten make some profit; the remaining 35 made a loss. On a public investment of Rs. 1200 crores, our public undertakings had made a loss of Rs. 12 crores. This is the kind of wasteful investment in our Plan which is the direct cause of the gold problem which we are facing today.

Secondly, the burden of foreign indebtedness. It has been estimated that during the Fourth Plan period, we have to repay Rs. 1200 crores in foreign currency by way of instalment of capital and repayment of interest. This is where gold is wanted—to repay these obligations. Then, there is deficit financing, manufacturing of currency notes without reserves and without resources against them. Finally, there is excessive taxation of the needs of life of the poor; those excise duties which have further aggravated the rise in prices.

[Shri M. R. Masani]

It is sometimes said that the great economist, Keynes, justified some amount of inflation. It is a great injustice to that great man. I shall read a sentence from Keynes who is blamed for pro-inflationary policies to show what he would have said about those gentlemen who adorn the Treasury Benches today and their predecessors. Keynes said:

"Debauching a currency saps the foundations of society more subtly, swiftly and permanently than any other conspiracy."

This is what the Government have done. They have debauched our currency. Having done that, they now come and stop people having gold. Only a fool would hoard rupees in this country. . .

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member's time is up.

Shri M. R. Masani: Madam Chairman, I am the only speaker from my party and I need another ten minutes.

Mr. Chairman: Leaders of parties were given 20 minutes and I request him to conclude.

Shri M. R. Masani: I shall conclude soon. Inflation, as has been quite rightly pointed out, is not only anti-social but anti-socialist, because it hits the poorest people most.

Acharya Kripalani sometime ago called the inflationary policies of the Government "pick-pocketing". It is because they are picking money out of the pockets when they are not looking. I would rather compare it with counterfeiting. A Government that puts in circulation notes for which it knows it does not possess reserves or resources in goods and services is a counterfeiting Government and I call this Government a Government of counterfeiters. If I

counterfeit a coin, I will be sent to jail, quite rightly; so would you be, Madam Chairman, with all respect. But the Finance Minister of this country is free from the Indian Penal Code. He can go on fabricating money which is worthless money, pretending to put a rupee into our hands when he is only giving 17 nP. and he is immune from the criminal law of this country. Therefore, I say that this is a Government of counterfeiters which is taking advantage of the confidence of our illiterate people. Then the Government comes with this Bill and says: let us fight the gold menace. There is no gold menace; there is the governmental menace; there is the rupee menace in this country. A man who holds gold or land or grain is a rational human being. He is reacting in a normal, human way, an acquisitive way, if you like. But all of us are acquisitive, not excluding this Government.

What has the gold control done? It has pushed up prices of other articles higher. When control is put on gold and you cannot hold it legally, the more timid spirits turn to other things because they will not hoard the rupee, worthless as it is. The price of diamonds has gone up by fifty per cent since gold control has come; the price of silver has gone up; the price of land, houses, foodgrains has gone up. If today foodgrains are hoarded by the people, one cause is the gold control order.

Gold control has destroyed rural credit. It has hurt our peasants who, with their little holdings of gold, were able to get credit for seeds, for fertilizer.

Lastly, it has driven dealings underground. The same people who were dealing in gold openly, now do it underground. I mentioned earlier Mr. Ponskhe's remark that the gold trade is not carried on by gold dealers and goldsmiths but it is being carried on by cloth merchants, bidiwalas, panwalas, restaurant

keepers and "biscuitwalas". Go to Chandni Chowk here or Bhuleshwar in Bombay and see gold trade going on openly and shamelessly. I tell the Finance Minister that nothing that he does can stop this trade in the gold or hoarding of gold.

Lenin, the great communist, once boasted before the Revolution; he mocked at gold. "When we are victorious on a worldwide scale," bragged Lenin in 1921, soon after coming to power, "we will make public toilets out of gold on the streets of the world's largest cities." Lenin has gone, but gold remains, and today Soviet Russia is not building toilets out of gold. It has come on the world market to offload gold and to buy grain. In the last year they have delivered 200 million dollars worth of solid gold and by the end of this year it is estimated another 350 million dollars worth of gold will be unloaded on the market by Lenin's successors. Lenins may come and go; pinchbeck Napoleons may come and go. I predict, Madam Chairman, long after all of us have passed away, gold will remain as it was, because gold is pure and the Government's policies are impure and filthy.

Finally, gold control has created a new bureaucracy, new forms of corruption and new expenditure, and it has lost to the public exchequer, revenue, lakhs of rupees in the way of sales-tax and income-tax which would have come to us from the earnings of honest, goldsmiths and gold dealers of this country. (*Interruption*). It is no wonder then that my revered chief, Rajaji, said a few days ago that "Congressmen are my children, but they have gone mad."?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Thank God, the hon. Member does not claim that he is one of his children!

Shri M. R. Masani: There is no other description for this Bill: it is a Bill of suicidal maniacs; it is a Bill of the people who are out to destroy

themselves; they want to commit suicide for the country. We shall therefore fight this Bill, inch by inch, tooth and nail. I would like to declare here, for the benefit of the poor goldsmiths and dealers of India, who are being crucified on a cross of gold by those opposite, that the moment we can do so we shall seek the repeal of this shameful law which the Government have brought forward here today.

श्री सिंहासन सिंह : सभापति महोदय, माननीय सदस्य, श्री मसानी, ने इस बिल के सम्बन्ध में बड़ा ओजपूर्ण भाषण दिया है। उन से पहले अभी सदन में वाद-विवाद उठा और डिप्युटी स्पीकर के आदेश के मुताबिक अब आगे बहस शुरू हुई है।

गोल्ड कंट्रोल से क्या लाभ हुआ और क्या हानि हुई, वह देश के सामने है। मैं माननीय सदस्य, श्री मसानी, की इस बात से सहमत हूँ कि जिस उद्देश्य से गोल्ड कंट्रोल किया गया था, उसमें वह सफल नहीं हुआ, लेकिन इस असफलता के कारण क्या हैं, उस पर उन्होंने प्रकाश नहीं डाला। अगर उसका उद्देश्य यह होता कि हम स्वर्ण का राष्ट्रीयकरण कर लें और स्वर्ण राष्ट्र की सम्पत्ति हो जाये, तो शायद वह उद्देश्य सफल हो गया होता। लेकिन हम ने लोगों में धीरे-धीरे यह चेतना पैदा करने का प्रयत्न किया कि स्वर्ण की ओर से उनका मोह घटे। लेकिन मोह धीरे-धीरे नहीं हटता है। वह तो ऐसी वस्तु है, जो धीरे-धीरे हटाने से नहीं हटता है, बल्कि आगे आगे बढ़ता जाता है।

22 केरट से 14 केरट कर देने से लोगों की सोना रखने की प्रवृत्ति हट जाये, यह सम्भव नहीं था। सोना रखने की प्रवृत्ति तब हटती, जब सोने को रखना ही अपराध घोषित होता। लेकिन वह नहीं हुआ। हम ने सोने को नीचे के स्तर पर लाकर कहा कि यह रखो, इतना रखो। गवर्नमेंट ने आदेश दिया कि सब लोग अपना स्वर्ण भंडार गवर्नमेंट को

[श्री सिंहासन सिंह]

प्रकट करें। मेरे पास इस के आंकड़े तो नहीं हैं, लेकिन मेरा ख्याल है कि आज हमारे देश में जितना स्वर्ण है, उसका दस फ्रीसदी गवर्नमेंट के सामने प्रकट नहीं हुआ है।

गोल्ड कंट्रोल से एक समस्या हमारे देश में खड़ी हुई कि स्वर्णकार वर्ग अपने कार्य से विरत हुआ। हमारे सामने यह समस्या आई कि इन स्वर्णकारों का क्या किया जाये। जिस वक्त स्वर्ण कंट्रोल किया गया, उस वक्त कई अनशन हुए, कई हंगर स्ट्राइक्स हुई और इस सदन के सामने यह प्रश्न भी आया कि बहुतों का स्वर्णवास भी हुआ, बहुतों ने इसके विरोध में प्राण-विसर्जन किया। लेकिन गवर्नमेंट ने यह कहा कि हम स्वर्णकारों को ये सुविधायें देंगे। इस प्रकार हमने देश के सामने एक समस्या खड़ी कर दी और एक पल्टन को, जो कि पहले अपने कार्य में लगी हुई थी, उसके कार्य से विरत कर दिया।

बाद में दूसरे अर्थ मंत्री जी आए। उन्होंने अनुभव किया कि गोल्ड कंट्रोल की पुरानी व्यवस्था में कुछ खामियां थीं और इसलिए उन्होंने उस में यह संशोधन किया कि पुराने जवरों में नये शुद्ध सोने के जेवर बनाए जा सकते हैं, ताकि स्वर्णकारों को कुछ काम मिल जाए। उनकी इस तरमीम का परिणाम यह हुआ कि सोने में और भी चोरी बढ़ गई। 22 कैरट के जेवर परिवर्तित हो सकते हैं और नये जवर 14 कैरट के बनेंगे, लेकिन 22 कैरट का जेवर दिया या 14 कैरट का जवर दिया, इन दोनों में इतना गोलमाल हुआ कि खुद स्वर्णकार कहते हैं कि इस तरमीम से हम लोगों का काम चलने लगेगा।

इस तरमीम के बाद मिनिस्टर साहब ने एनाउंस किया कि कुछ एमेंडमेंट्स आए हैं, जिन को वह स्वीकार करेंगे। मैंने उन एमेंडमेंट्स को देखा नहीं है। लेकिन

उन्होंने यह आश्वासन दिया कि जो लोग स्वर्णकार का पेशा करते थे, उनको सब हूलियत दी जायेगी।

गोल्ड कंट्रोल से स्मर्गलिंग और बढ़ गया और सोने की कीमत भी नहीं घटी। हर रोज अखबार में निकलता है कि 14 कैरट के सोने की कीमत यह और 22 कैरट के सोने की कीमत यह। आज इस कानून के मुताबिक हमारे देश में कोई नया 22 कैरट का शुद्ध सोना नहीं रख सकता, लेकिन उसकी कीमत भी निकलती है। अगर सरकार ऐसी व्यवस्था करती कि 22 कैरट के सोने की कीमत बाजार में न निकले, तो लोगों का प्रलोभन भी कम होता। लेकिन सरकार के आदेश के बावजूद अखबारों में उसकी कीमत निकलती है।

14 कैरट के जेवर की कीमत लगभग 66 रुपये निकलती है।

माननीय सदस्य, श्री मसानी, ने कहा कि चूकि वर्ल्ड मार्केट में 22 कैरट के सोने का भाव 66 रुपये है और यहाँ पर 14 कैरट सोने का भाव 66 रुपये है, इसलिए यह स्वाभाविक है कि तस्कर-व्यापार करने वाले इस बात के लिए प्रोत्साहित होंगे कि बाहर से 22 कैरट का सोना लाकर यहाँ पर उसको 14 कैरट में परिवर्तित करके उतना ही रुपया कमायें। अभी दो दिन पहले पालम हवाई अड्डे पर 15 लाख का सोना पकड़ा गया। आज अखबार में है कि चार लाख का सोना पकड़ा गया। यह क्रम हर रोज जारी है। मुझे मालूम हुआ है कि कुछ बड़े ऊंचे व्यक्ति सोने को बाहर से लाने के व्यापार में लगे हुए थे। पुलिस में इस बारे में रिपोर्ट भी हुई, लेकिन कुछ हुआ नहीं।

मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह काम करने के लिए गरीब लोग हवाई जहाज से नहीं आते हैं। हवाई जहाज से तो मसानी

साहब जैसे धनी आदमी ही जाते हैं। यही स्मगलिंग भी करते हैं।

एक माननीय सदस्य : मसानी साहब ?

श्री सिंहासन सिंह : मसानी साहब नहीं, धनी आदमी। स्वर्ण का तस्कर व्यापार धनी वर्ग ही करता है।

बहुत दिन हुए, नारद ने युधिष्ठिर से पूछा कि धन कैसे पैदा होता है। युधिष्ठिर ने कहा कि चोरी से—जितना बड़ा धनी देखो, उसको उतना बड़ा चोर समझो।

एक माननीय सदस्य : विड़ला कौन है ?

श्री सिंहासन सिंह : सब से बड़ा चोर।

एक माननीय सदस्य : वंदी गुड।

श्री सिंहासन सिंह : यह बात आज मैं ही नहीं कहता हूँ। महाभारत में प्रसंग है कि यह पूछा गया है कि धन कैसे पैदा होता है। बताया गया कि चोरी से। केवल साधारण धन आप ईमानदारी से पैदा कर सकते हैं, अधिक धन तो चोरी से ही होगा।

जब स्वर्ण का तस्कर व्यापार करने वाले अफ्रीका और एरेबिया आदि से 60 रुपये में सोना खरीद कर यहाँ पर 147 रुपये में बेच सकते हैं, जैसा कि मसानी ने कहा है, तो वे लायेंगे। वे पकड़े जाने का खतरा मोल लेते हैं। लेकिन पकड़े जाने के बाद भी क्या होगा ? इस देश का एक बड़ा भारी पूंजीपति बाहर से कोई चीज ला रहा था। उसने बाहर एकाउंट रखा हुआ था। वह इसी पालम हवाई अड्डे पर पकड़ा गया। वह अर्थ मंत्री के साथ जा रहा था।

एक माननीय सदस्य : भूतपूर्व अर्थ मंत्री कहें।

श्री सिंहासन सिंह : भूतपूर्व होगा, कोई रहा होगा, हम क्या जाने ? उस व्यक्ति पर 56 लाख का जुर्माना हुआ। उसने बोर्ड आफ रेवेन्यू में अपील की, तो वह जुर्माना पांच लाख हो गया और शायद अपील या रिवीजन में वह भी खत्म हो गया होगा।

स्मगलर्स पन्द्रह, बीस, पचास लाख का सोना लाते हैं। उनको जर्मनी या जेल की सजा होती है, लेकिन किसी न किसी टेक्निकल ग्राउंड पर वे कहीं न कहीं छूट जाते हैं। उनको ज्यादा से ज्यादा लाभ होता है। अभी हमारे यहाँ स्मगलर गोल्ड को कनफिस्केट करने का प्राविजन नहीं है। जर्मनी करके छोड़ दिया जाता है।

इस बिल के साथ पूरी हमदर्दी होने हुए भी मेरे दिल में यह खटकता है कि हम हर एक मेजर को हाफ-टाइट तरीके से लाते हैं। पूरे तौर पर सोच समझ कर हम कोई मेजर नहीं लाते हैं। इसका परिणाम यह होता है कि हर छठवें महीने हर तीसरे महीने उस विधेयक में संशोधन हमको लाने पड़ जाते हैं। हमें चाहिये कि हम सोच समझ कर विधेयक लायें।

अभी हमने देखा है कि गोल्ड कंट्रोल बिल कमेटी के सुपुर्द किया गया है और उसको राय देने के लिये कहा गया है कि यह बिल वापिस लिया जाये या न लिया जाय। इस बीच हम इस बिल को पास कर रहे हैं। बहस करने के बाद यह पास हो भी जाएगा। लेकिन जब कमेटी अपनी रिपोर्ट तैयार करेगी और उसको इस सदन के सामने पेश करेगी और अगर उसने कहा कि इसको पास न किया जाए तो एक बड़ी कठिन समस्या उत्पन्न हो जाएगी। तब हमें फैसला करना होगा कि उसको हम स्वीकार करें या न करें। इस तरह की गड़बड़ियाँ हो

[श्री सिंहासन सिंह]

जाया करती हैं। ये नहीं होनी चाहियें। इससे तालमेल बिगड़ जाया करता है। तालमेल हमेशा बना रहना चाहिए।

यह बिल पास तो हो ही जाएगा इसमें सन्देह की बात नहीं है। लेकिन आप देखेंगे कि अगले सेशन में, बजट सेशन में इसको अमेंड करने के लिए संशोधन लाए जायेंगे। इसका मुझे पूरा-पूरा डर है। इस वास्ते अभी से इसको सोच समझ कर, पूरी छानबीन के बाद पास करवाया जाना चाहिये।

अगर आपने इसको करना है तो हम इसका पूरा-पूरा स्वागत करेंगे अगर गोल्ड का बिल्कुल राष्ट्रीयकरण कर दिया जाए, स्वर्ण को राष्ट्र की सम्पत्ति घोषित कर दिया जाए। गांधी जी का हवाला भी अभी माननीय सदस्य ने दिया है। उन्होंने कहा है कि गांधी जी कहा करते थे कि सोने का बटवारा हो जाना चाहिये। मैं उनको याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि गांधी जी तो यह कहा करते थे कि सारा देश गोपाल का है, सारा देश ईश्वर का है। बांटने के लिए तो उन्होंने कभी नहीं कहा। अगर सोना बांटने में लग जायेंगे तो झगड़ा पैदा होगा कि इतना तुम लो इतना यह ले, कितना कौन लेगा। गांधी जी ने क्या कहा था, इसको तो मैं देखूंगा। लेकिन मेरा पूरा विश्वास है कि वे कभी ऐसा नहीं कह सकते थे कि सोना लेकर बांट दो। मुझे याद है कि

डा० सा० श्री० अणु : ईश्वर की बात उन्होंने नहीं कही।

श्री सिंहासन सिंह : वह नहीं कही है तो बांटने की बात भी नहीं कही है। मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि वह इस हद तक जाया करते थे कि अगर वह रेल मंत्री होते तो रेलों का चलना बन्द कर देते जब तक कि हर एक पैयेंजर टिकट न खरीद लेता।

यह चीज अब भी टाइम टेबल पर लिखी रहती है। वह इतने सख्त थे। उनसे यह उम्मीद करना कि गोल्ड का बटवारा करने की बात वह कहते, मेरे विचार में सही नहीं होगा। अगर ऐसा हो तब तो झगड़ा पैदा हो जाएगा और कहा जाने लगेगा कि त्यागी जी को कम मिला और मसानी साहब को ज्यादा मिल गया। इस तरह के झगड़े वाली बात वह नहीं किया करते थे।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप सोच समझ कर इस मामले में कदम उठायें। अगर सोने का राष्ट्रीयकरण कर दिया जाए तो सारा झगड़ा ही मिट जाएगा। झगड़े की जो जड़ है, वह ही समाप्त हो जाएगी। इसको आप हमेशा के लिए कर दीजिए कि सोना अग कोई लेगा तो गवर्नमेंट की परमिशन से लेगा। आप चाहते हैं कि जिसके पास जेवर भी हैं, वे भी उसको घीषित करने पड़ेंगे। कोई करेगा और कोई नहीं भी करेगा। इसका नतीजा क्या होगा, इसको भी आपने देखा है। आपका इंसपेक्टर जायेगा और अगर किसी के पास दस लाख के जेवर होंगे तो वह दो हजार रुपया उसकी हथेली पर रख देगा और इंसपेक्टर कह देगा कि उसके पास पांच हजार के जेवर हैं। यह तो इंसपेक्टर को कमव ने का जरिया आप बना रहे हैं। इसके सिवा और कुछ नहीं होगा। अगर इसको राष्ट्र की सम्पत्ति घोषित कर दिया जाये तो गोल्ड खोद कर भी आप बाहर निकाल लेंगे और घूस देने वाला भी कोई नहीं रहेगा। कारण यह है कि इसको रखना ही अपराध हो जाएगा जब जब रखना ही अपराध हो जाएगा तब कोई घूस भी नहीं देगा। अगर आप हिम्मत से कुछ करना चाहते हैं सोने के बारे में तो राष्ट्र की सम्पत्ति इसको करार दे दीजिये।

हम देखते हैं कि अरबों और खरबों का सोना देश में पड़ा हुआ है, जमीन के अन्दर दबा पड़ा है। जब मैं जेल में गया था

तो मुझे याद है कि एक जेलर ने मुझसे पूछा था कि ठाकुर साहब बताइये कि कौन सा सब से सेफ्ट इनवैस्टमेंट होगा, सोना खरीद लें, चांदी खरीद लें, या कहां इनवैस्ट रुपया करें। इनका भाव तो बना रहेगा ? मैं ने जेलर से कहा कि सोना चांदी या जमीन ये तीनों मुस्तकिल धन हैं।

दुख से एक अन्तिम बात मैं कहने जा रहा हूं। अब तक किसी आदमी की ईमानदारी या नेकनीयती को नापा करते थे तो सोने से नापा करते थे और कहा करते थे कि वह तपा तपाया सोना है, उस में कोई छामी नहीं है, जितना तपाया जायेगा उतना ही खरा वह उतरेगा। लेकिन आज दुर्भाग्य से सोना भी प्योर नहीं आप रख रहे हैं। सोना भी घटिया होने जा रहा है, चौदह कैरट का सोना होने जा रहा है। इसके बाद किसके साथ उसकी उपमा दी जाएगी।

श्री राम सहाय पाण्डेय (गुना) : तपाने के बाद ही चौदह कैरट का होगा।

श्री सिंहासन सिंह : तपा तपाया सोना तो 22 कैरट का ही होता है।

हम देखते हैं कि जीवन का स्तर हमारा चारों तरफ गिरा हुआ है। अब सोना जो तोलने की चीज थी इसका भी स्तर गिरा दिया गया है, इसका मुझे दुख है आप 22 कैरट का सोना रखें, 14 या 13 क न रखें। 22 कैरट का ही शुद्ध सोना होता है, इसको अशुद्ध न करें। शुद्ध सोने का राष्ट्रीयकरण कर लें, इससे देश का कल्याण होगा।

Shri P. R. Patel: Mr. Chairman, I do not oppose the Bill. However, I have no pleasure in supporting the Bill. We had the gold control order under the DFR. That was done at a time when we were in trouble, when

we were attacked by China and we wanted to pool all our resources for the defence of our country. The gold control order was enforced by the Government and yet, I would ask whether the gold price has gone down. My submission is that it has not gone down.

Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur): It has gone up.

Shri P. R. Patel: So, the purpose of the gold control order is not served. Secondly, smuggling of gold also has not gone down. Thirdly, has the love of gold decreased? We can have pious wishes and speak whatever we like in the House, so that people may say "this is a nice man". But the love of gold has not decreased. If my friends who are speaking here go home and search the pockets and trunks of their family members, they will find gold. The love for gold has not decreased.

I come to the 14 ct. gold. With all the rules about 14 ct. gold, I know that ornaments have been manufactured with 22 ct. gold. I think if we are honest we would admit that our experience is that 22 ct. gold ornaments have been manufactured by goldsmiths. We have all along been hearing cries from goldsmiths. I have no love for goldsmiths. I can assure you I have no gold with me. Even with my wife and my son's wife, the value of gold would be much less; it may not even be worth Rs. 5000.

So, if a legislation does not serve the purpose, what is the good of having it on our statute-book? What is the result? If we consider the legislations that we have passed, the breach is much more than the implementation. There is breach not only by the people, but by Government servants, ministers, Members of Parliament and legislators. When there is such a breach of law, people lose respect for law. I am of the opinion that whatever law we pass, it should be implemented fully.

Shri Nambiar: This is another prohibition law!

Shri P. R. Patel: If we want gold for the economy and welfare of our country, the best course is to restrict the people from purchasing gold. It may be ornaments, ear-rings or whatever it may be. It may be of 14 ct. or 5 ct. If you want gold let us have it. Restrict the people from having it, let us restrict ourselves. Let there be no buying or selling of that type. Today what we are doing is that we are having the satisfaction of passing a Bill, a Bill which will serve no purpose. I would like to know whether this Bill as it is would stop smuggling. Would it also make people have their ornaments in 14 ct? Nothing of that type. Will the price come down? No. Then, why have this Bill? If it does not serve the purpose, what is the fun in getting this Bill through in this august House?

If we read the Bill and the Gold Control Order we will find that this Bill is more stringent than the Gold Control Order. The goldsmiths and other people were fools to oppose the Gold Control Order. This Bill is more stringent than the Gold Control Order. The Gold Control Order exempted ornaments. No declaration of ornaments was necessary. There was no limit to the possession of ornaments. In this Bill a limit is placed at Rs. 50,000 worth of ornaments. If anybody has more he has to declare it. Once we agree to Rs. 50,000, it may come down to Rs. 25,000, then Rs. 10,000 and tomorrow it may be "any ornament". So the principle is the declaration of ornaments. Personally I feel that if ornaments are to be declared, let all ornaments, even ornaments worth a paisa, may be declared. What I desire is that let this be a legislation which can be implemented. There should be no loopholes. Today what will happen is, if I have ornaments worth Rs. 60,000 I will just put in the custody of my friend ornaments worth Rs. 30,000. Then no declaration is required. (*Interruption*).

Then there is one other thing. Today there is a kind of tendency that is increasing. It is said that these traders are rogues, they are black-marketeers and all that. It is said that the goldsmiths are rogues, the persons dealing in gold are rogues and all that. If we say like this about the whole nation, that all are rogues, that is not the way of improving the nation.

Shri Nambiar: Then nobody will be left.

Shri P. R. Patel: It is a negative approach. I am the grandfather of more than two dozen grandchildren. I have large family. My sons' children, my daughters' children and nephews' children call me grandfather. But there is one rule in our family which we have followed. We never abuse the children. We never tell the children that they have done something wrong and we have found that our children are better than the other ordinary children. If you want to bring up the nation, if you want to bring the moral standard of the people high, you have to improve the moral standard in this way. Do not abuse the people as we are abusing them today. Let us stop here and trust our people. Today we are saying that gold should be nationalised. If gold is nationalised I will be very happy. Because, those people who talk of nationalisation are the worst hoarders, not the others. They are speaking only for the sake of speaking. ¶

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member should now conclude.

Shri P. R. Patel: I would not say anything more. Let there be a legislation which can be implemented, which can bring purity in the people. If we accept 14 carat, I think the whole nation is going to become 14 carat or 12 carat. That is not the way of making people pure or brave. So, if you come forward with a Bill, restricting or even taking away the entire gold from each and everybody, I would be the first person to support

such a measure because the possession of gold is not absolutely necessary, as food is necessary. Now we have certain legislation, certain Acts, certain orders which are not implemented or which are not capable of being implemented. Such enactments should not find a place in the statute book.

Mr. Chairman: The time of the hon. Member is over. He should conclude now.

Shri P. R. Patel: I resume my seat.

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : सभापति महोदय, मैं चाहता हूँ कि यह जो बिल ज्वायंट कमेटी से आया है वह सर्कुलेट हो ताकि इस के ऊपर जनमत संग्रह किया जाये और पहली फरवरी, 1965 तक यह सदन के सामने आये।

मैं जानता हूँ कि वित्त मंत्री महोदय कहेंगे कि ऐसा मोशन पहले भी आया था जब यह ज्वायंट कमेटी के सामने जा रहा था। लेकिन ज्वायंट कमेटी में जिस तरीके से हमारे माननीय सदस्यों ने अपने नोट आफ डिसेंट दिये हैं उस से उन पर इस की प्रतिक्रिया का पता चलता है। आम तरीके से जो उन का मत है, उस को देखते हुए मैं समझता हूँ कि आज भी जरूरत इस बात की है कि इस का सर्कुलेशन हो और इस पर जनमतसंग्रह किया जाये।

मुझे को तो मालूम नहीं कि यह कहां तक सही है, लेकिन आप को सही तरीके से मालूम है, मैं ने कानपुर में पढ़ा कि हमारे काफी मंत्रियों ने और रूनिंग पार्टी के बहुत से सदस्य थे जिन्होंने इस की मुखालिफत की थी और उन्होंने चाहा था कि यह जो विधेयक है उस को खत्म कर दिया जाये। इस को वे नहीं चाहते। इस से मालूम होता है कि आज सिर्फ विरोधी सदस्यों में ही नहीं बल्कि हमारे कांग्रेसी भाइयों में इस के विरुद्ध भावना है और वे चाहते हैं

कि यह विधेयक सदन के सामने न आये। लेकिन मुसीबत यह है कि उन के खिलाफ चाबुक इस्तेमाल किया जाता है और उन के दिल की इवाहिश उस के बाद दिल में ही रह जाती है। यहां आ कर उन को बटन दबाना पड़ता है।

श्री कृ० चं० शर्मा (सरघना) : आप अपने दिल को अपने पास रखिये।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : मैं अपने दिल को अपने पास ही रखता हूँ और अपने काबू में। इसलिये मैं केवल यह बात कहूंगा कि अभी मैं ने सदन में ऐतराज किया था कि पिटिशन कमेटी के सामने यह मसला है और उस ने कोई निर्णय नहीं दिया है, मैं फिर इस बात को कहूंगा कि पहले हम पिटिशनस का फैसला कर दें उस के बाद इस को लेना ठीक होगा। पहली पिटिशन एक करोड़ लोगों ने दी है जिस में लगभग 17 लाख या 18 लाख स्वर्णकार बन्धु हैं और बाकी कलकत्ते और दूसरे शहरों की जनता है। उन्होंने कहा है, कमेटी के सामने सुझाव रखा है कि इस बिल को ड्राप कर दिया जाये। दूसरी पिटिशन मेरे मित्र श्री सुरेन्द्रनाथ द्विवेदी ने पेश की थी। उस में भी लाखों स्वर्णकारों के हस्ताक्षर थे। उन्होंने भी यही कहा था कि इस बिल को ड्राप कर दिया जाये। मुझे मालूम हुआ है कि कल या परसों एक और पिटिशन आने वाली है। लेकिन इस के बाद भी पिटिशनस कमेटी को यह मौका नहीं दिया गया कि वह अपना निर्णय पहले दे दे जिस में कि जितने सदस्य हैं वे इस पर गौर करें, देखें भालें और उस के बाद फैसला करें कि इस बिल का स्वागत करें या इस में संशोधन पेश करें।

मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि आखिर यह पिटिशनस कमेटी क्यों बनी। मैं कोशिश कर रहा हूँ कि हाउस आफ कामन्स की या दूसरे देशों की अगर कोई नज़ीरें या मिसालें हों तो उन को मैं कल सदन के समक्ष रखूँ

[श्री स० मो० बनर्जी]

श्रीर कहें कि इस तरह से पिटिशन्स कमेटी के लिये सिफारिश देने के लिये कुछ रह ही नहीं जाता। अगर इस तरह से पिटिशन्स कमेटी की अवहेलना की जाये तो यह कहाँ तक उचित है।

मैं एक चीज कहना चाहता हूँ। इस बिल के पीछे कौन से उद्देश्य थे जिन के लिये यह बिल लाया गया। उस वक्त देश के सामने एक ही मसला था कि देश की आजादी को चीनी हमलावरों से बचाना है। हमारे भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री जी ने उस समय एक नारा दिया था कि इस वक्त हम को हथियार खरीदने हैं और उस के लिये विदेशी मुद्रा की जरूरत है। हमारे पास विदेशी मुद्रा की कमी है इसलिये तमाम बहनों और भाइयों से कहा गया कि अपने जेवरात दे डालो। उन्होंने लोग दिया कि आर्मीमेंट फार आर्मीमेंट। मैं आप को यकीन दिलाता हूँ कि जिन के पास केवल एक जेवर था, जिन के पास केवल सुहाग के कंगन के जोड़े थे, जिन के पास केवल मंगल सूत्र थे, जिन के पास केवल वह चीज थी जिस में सुहाग का सिन्दूर दिया जाता है, उन्होंने अपने एक मात्र जेवर को भी दे दिया। महारानियों ने नहीं दिये, महाराजाओं ने नहीं दिये, बल्कि जो गरीब लोग थे जिन की आपदनी मुश्किल से 50 या 100 या 200 रु० महीने थी उन्होंने उस एक नारे पर सफ़ तरीके से दे दिये और सोने के गट्टों से बिन्दुल खाले हो गये। वह दिन भी हमें याद है जबकि एक बहन का कहा गया कि वह अपना मंगल सूत्र उतार कर न दे, तो उस ने अपने पति का हाथ पकड़ कर कहा कि यह तो सही है कि यह मंगल सूत्र मेरे सुहाग का चिह्न है और मैं इसे अपने पास बचा कर रख भी सकती हूँ लेकिन असली सुहाग तो तुम ही मेरे ही और देश की रक्षा की खातिर जब तुम्हें मैं नहीं रोक कर अपने पास रख सकती तो फिर इस सोने के मंजल सूत्र के ही रखने

से क्या लाभ होगा और उस ने वह मंगल सूत्र सुरक्षा कोष में दे डाला क्योंकि उसे अपने देश की आजादी की रक्षा स्वयं अपनी पर्वाह न करते हुए भी करनी थी। यह बहन महाराष्ट्र की थी

एक माननीय सदस्य : मध्य प्रदेश में भी काफ़ी बहनों ने अपने स्वर्ण आभूषण आदि उतार कर दे दिये थे।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि वे बहनों आज खड़ी हो जायें और कहें कि यह बिल गलत है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : गरीब लोग तो इस गोल्ड कंट्रोल बिल के पक्ष में हैं।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : मैं नहीं सुन पाया कि वे क्या कहना चाहते हैं, अगर जोर से वे उसे दुहराये तो मैं उसका उन्हें जवाब भी दूँ।

हमारे भूतपूर्व वित्त मंत्री ने यह गोल्ड कंट्रोल बिल के लाने के लिए तीन उद्देश्य बतलाये थे। इस से सोने का दाम गिराया जायगा और इन्टरनेशनल प्राइस के साथ उसकी प्राइस को लाया जायेगा। गोल्ड स्मगलिंग समाप्त करके सोया हुआ सोना बाहर लाया जायेगा। उन्होंने यह भी कहा था कि इस बिल के पीछे यह भी उद्देश्य है कि सोना सरकार के पास आये। लेकिन हम सब ने देखा कि जब एक महीने की छूट दे दी गई तो तत्करीबन 4000 करोड़ का सोना सो गया और उस के जागते जागते मंत्री महोदय भी चले गये। इस के अलावा इस के द्वारा सोने का तस्कर व्यापार भी बन्द करने की बात हो रही थी। अब जिस देश में एक्स कैंबिनेट मिनिस्टर का लड़का, किसी चीफ़ मिनिस्टर का लड़का तस्कर व्यापार में अपना हाथ बाँटाये उस देश में यह तस्कर व्यापार खत्म होना कैसे मुमकिन

हो सकता है ? एक वालकट यहां पर आया था । उस का काफ़ी यहां पर जिक्र हुआ लेकिन सलामत रहे यह सरकार, सलामत रहे हिन्दुस्तान और उस के कानून, यहां तो देश में हजारों वालकट स्वयं मौजूद हैं । कुछ हुआ नहीं । सोने का दाम आज भी कलकत्ते के बाज़ार में, कानपुर के बाज़ार में अगर आप की जेब में पैसा हो, और सभापति महोदय यदि आप जेवर पहनना चाहें हालांकि आप जेवर नहीं चाहती लेकिन अगर आप चाहें और 136 और 140 रुपये अगर आप में देने की हिम्मत हो तो हर एक जेवर आप के लिए बन सकता है । बहू बाज़ार में या बम्बई के जौहरी बाज़ार में, झवेरी बाज़ार में या दूसरे सर्राफ़ के बाज़ारों में आप चले जाइये 136 से 140 रुपये में सोने के जेवर बनवाये जा सकते हैं । पहले और अब में फर्क केवल इतना हो गया है कि पहले जहां जेवर के तैयार होने पर कसौटी पर कह कर उसकी शुद्धता की जांच की जा सकती थी अब वह कसौटी की जांच नहीं हो सकती है । अब हालत यह है कि न लेने वाला उस की जांच कर सकता है और न ही देने वाला उस को कह कर ग्राहक को संतुष्ट कर सकता है, बस रूमाल में लपेट कर दुकानदार उसे सौंप देता है और वह उसे चुपचाप अपनी जेब में रख लेता है । और वह मनुष्य ले जा कर अपनी बेटी के गले में डाल देता है । यह तो पता थोड़े समय के बाद ही चल सकेगा कि वह जेवर उसका दस कैरेट का था या आठ कैरेट का था ।

श्री त्यागी : यह आप का ज्ञाती तजुर्बा है ।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : जी ज्ञाती तजुर्बा तो है नहीं । अभी शादी तो की नहीं है और न ही कोई लड़का या लड़की है ।

भूतपूर्व वित्त मंत्री यह गोल्ड कंट्रोल बिल लाये थे । हमारे वर्तमान वित्त मंत्री श्री कृष्णमाचारी ने उस में कुछ छूट दी

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लेकिन चूँकि उन्होंने इसे अपनी इज्जत का सवाल बना लिया था तो लाचार होकर वर्तमान मंत्री जी को श्री मुरारजी देसाई के उस बेबी को अपनी गोद में लेना पड़ा और चूँकि उन्होंने इसे अपनी इज्जत का सवाल बना लिया था इसलिए उन्हें यह कहना पड़ा कि हम इस बिल को पास कर के ही छोड़ेंगे । इस तरह से यह एक मुसीबत हमारे सामने आ गई है । इस के विरोध में हमारे स्वर्णकार भाइयों ने बड़ा आन्दोलन किया है और करीब 200 या 250 आदमियों ने तो इस के विरोध में खुदकशी भी कर ली है । वे बेचारे बेरोजगार हो गये हैं और मजा यह है कि अभी तक उनको कोई मुआविजा भी नहीं दिया गया है । आज भी मैं आप से कहता हूँ कि 16 या 17 लाख स्वर्णकार और जोकि असली स्वर्णकार हैं उन्हें कोई संतोष नहीं है । अब अगर इस तरह के बिल के पास करने से कोई फ़ायदा देश का होता हो तो समझ में भी आ सकता है लेकिन भगवान न करे अगर दुबारा हम पर कोई आक्रमण हो जाय, चीनियों से हमें हमेशा चौकन्ना बने ही रहना है और उन पर कतई विश्वास नहीं किया जा सकता है कि वह कब क्या कर न बैठें, इसी तरह पाकिस्तान पर भी हम कोई विश्वास नहीं कर सकते हैं कि वह कब क्या शरारत कर बैठे, भगवान न करे अगर कोई दुबारा हम पर आक्रमण हो जाय और हमारे प्रधान मंत्री देश की सुरक्षा के लिए सोना देने का नारा देंगे तो उन्हें 14 कैरेट का ही तो सोना जनता से मिल सकेगा और वे स्वयं समझ सकते हैं कि इस 14 कैरेट के सोने से उनको क्या हथियार आदि मिल सकेंगे ?

एक माननीय सदस्य : 9 और 10 कैरेट के बन रहे हैं ।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : मुझे मालूम नहीं कि 14 कैरेट के ही बनने हैं या इस से भी कम के बनने हैं ।

[श्री स० मो० बनर्जी]

मोर्टगज करने के बारे में मन्त्री महोदय कहते हैं कि मोर्टगज करने के बारे में कोई संशोधन आयेगा तो उस को वह मान लेंगे। अब क्या संशोधन आयेगा? वह मुझे मालूम नहीं। वह सदन के सामने लायें तो हम लोग उसे देखें। लेकिन आज देश की जनता का मैं कहता हूँ कि उस के मत का अपमान किया जा रहा है। गोल्ड कंट्रोल बिल अपोजीशन मैम्बर्स के मत के खिलाफ ही नहीं, स्वर्णकारों के मत के ही खिलाफ ही नहीं, बल्कि सारे देश की जनता के इसके विरुद्ध मत दिये जाने पर भी हम इसे इस सदन में लाये हैं। ऐसा आप सिर्फ इस सदन में अपनी मेजरिटी के कारण ही कर सके हैं क्योंकि हम लोग जो इसके खिलाफ हैं वे अल्पसंख्यक हैं। लेकिन इसके मानी यह तो नहीं हो जाते हैं कि अगर आज इस सदन में हम अल्पसंख्यक में हैं तो हमारी आवाज कोई आवाज ही नहीं समझी जायेगी? मेरा तो कहना है कि अगर इस विधे क के बारे में सभी सदस्यों को जो कि ट्रेजरी बैंचेज पर बैठते हैं अपना मत देने की छूट दे दी जाय, उन पर विहप न लागू किया जाय तो हमारे यह जितने भी सदस्य यहां पर बैठे हुए हैं वे सभी इस बिल के खिलाफ अपना वोट देंगे यह मुझे विश्वास है।

सरकार जो यह गोल्ड कंट्रोल बिल पास कराना चाहती है तो क्या सरकार अपने हाथ में इस व्यापार को सफलतापूर्वक लेकर चला सकती है? जब बकों के राष्ट्रीयकरण की बात उठती है, जब जनरल इंश्योरेंस का राष्ट्रीयकरण करने की बात कही जाती है और राष्ट्रीयकरण की बात चाहे वह गोल्ड के बारे में, फुडग्रेंस के बारे में हो, अथवा किसी दूसरे व्यापार के बारे में हो तो इन की तरफ से यह कह दिया जाता है कि हमारे देश में मिक्सड एकोनामी चल रही है और उस में प्राइवेट सैक्टर भी रहेगा और पब्लिक सैक्टर भी रहेगा।

सभापति महोदय : माननीय सदस्य का समय समाप्त हो रहा है।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : मैं केवल दो या तीन मिनट में ही अपनी बात समाप्त कर दूंगा। आज हमारे स्वर्णकारों की मांगें हैं क्या? उन्होंने अपनी रैटिशन में साफ तौर से अपनी डिमाण्ड को लिखा है। उसमें वह साफ तरीके से लिखते हैं :—

"Government should recognise and protect Swarnashilpa as a cottage industry and shoulder all responsibilities for its fullest development.

Arrangement should be made for the import and distribution of gold to artisans and the public through Government agencies.

Arrangement should be made for the sale of Swarnashilpa products on the line of handicraft products in the internal as well as the international markets and for launching of an effective propaganda for the sale of its products and the establishment of a jewellery emporium in different places for this purpose."

उन्होंने यह कहा है कि यह चीजें ऐसे हो सकती हैं। इस बारे में हमारे एक भाई श्री सिंहासन सिंह ने ठीक ही कहा है कि थोड़े दिन के बाद ही आप देखियेगा कि इसका अमेंडमेंट आ रहा है। इमरजेंसी अब भी है हालांकि बहुत से लोगों को मालूम भी नहीं है कि कोई इमरजेंसी है भी या नहीं। अगर इस तरह से थोड़े दिन बाद फिर इसके लिए एक संशोधन विधेयक लाया जाना ही है, दुबारा इसे सदन में फिर पास कराना ही है तो मैं अपने मन्त्री महोदय से यह नम्र निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वे अब भी इस बारे में अच्छे तरीके से सोच लें और अभी इसको वर्तमान रूप में पास कराने पर जोर न दें। अगर यह वर्तमान गोल्ड कंट्रोल बिल मौजूदा इसी संशोधन में पास न भी हुआ तो उससे कोई देश की बड़ी हानि होने नहीं

जा रही है जिसके कि कारण उसका अभी फौरन पास ही करना जरूरी हो। इस के लिए कुछ और वक्त दें और कुछ इस बारे में सोचें और सोचने के बाद अगर कोई और बिल लाना चाहें तो फिर उसी को वे लायें। मन्त्री महोदय इस बारे में गम्भीरतापूर्वक सोचें ताकि हमारी जनता, हमारे गोल्डस्मिथ जो कि वाकई में सुनारी का काम करते हैं और जो जेवरात आदि बनाते हैं उनको कोई नुक़्त कोई फ़ायदा हो।

मैंने इस बिल के ऊपर काफी संशोधन दिये हैं। क्लॉज़ 3, 4, 7 और 9 आदि धाराओं पर मैंने बहुत से संशोधन दिये हैं। उनके ऊपर जब धारावार बहस होगी तो मैं अपने विचार रखूंगा।

अन्त में मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ और वह यह कि यह बिल जो कि सदन के सामने पेश है वह कल शायद पास भी हो जायेगा लेकिन देश में जो आज एक विषमता फैली हुई है जब किसी चीज़ के दाम हम रोक नहीं सकते हैं, चीज़ों के दाम रोक नहीं सकते हैं, चीज़ों के दाम सरकार कम नहीं कर सकती, रोक नहीं सकी तब उस सरकार को क्या हक़ है कि कुछ लोगों को बेकार किया जाय ? अगर स्वर्णकारों की लाशों पर यह बिल पास भी हो गया तो क्या इससे देश की जनता खुश होगी ? मैं मन्त्री महोदय से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वह इन बातों पर अच्छी तरह से सोचें। इस विधेयक का विरोध इस लिए नहीं करता हूँ कि मैं विरोधी दल का एक सदस्य हूँ। मैं इस लिए इस का विरोध करता हूँ कि इसके पास हो जाने से देश का कोई कल्याण नहीं होगा, सोना हाथ में नहीं आयेगा और जो सोना आज दबा हुआ है, वह फिर भी दबा हुआ रहेगा। इसलिए इस बिल को वापस ले लिया जाये। उसे वित्त मन्त्री जी की इज़्जत बढ़ेगी, घटेगी नहीं—देश में उनका सम्मान और बढ़ेगा।

श्रीमती सहोदराबाई राय (दर्मह) : जैसे पति के बिना स्त्री विधवा हो जाती है, उसी तरह हमारे हिन्दुस्तान में सोने के बिना कई महिलायें विधवा हो जाती हैं। मैं देहात से आती हूँ। जब मैं अपने क्षेत्र में जाती हूँ, तो वहाँ की जनता की तःफ़ में नाना प्रकार की गालियाँ दी जाती हैं। मुझे कहा जाता है कि तुम पार्लियामेंट में मिनिस्टर साहब को क्यों नहीं कहती कि सोने पर जो नियन्त्रण लगाया जा रहा है, उसको हटाया जाये, क्योंकि देहात में किसानों के पास ज्यादा से ज्यादा जो कुछ होता है, वह सोना ही होता है।

16.51 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

अगर देहात में किसी ने अपनी लड़की की शादी करनी है या ज़मीन ख़रीदनी है या किसी और काम से कर्ज़ लेना है, तो वह साहूकार के पास ज़ेवर रख कर रुपया ले लेता है, तब काम चलता है।

अब तो सुनारों को भी बड़ा मज़ा है। वे कोई लेखा-जोखा नहीं रखते हैं—चाहे छोटा दे दें और चाहे चंखा दे दें। अगर हम ज़ेवर को कपड़े में बांध कर घर ले जायें और रास्ते में पुलिस मिल जाये, तो वह पूछेगी कि यह सोना कैसे मिला, कहां से लिया, रसीद कहां है और बन्द कर देगी। एक तो यह आफ़त हो गई है।

मैं अपनी पार्टी की तरफ से नहीं कहती हूँ, लेकिन मैं समझती हूँ कि भविष्य में चुनाव जीतना बड़ा कठिन हो गया है, क्योंकि जनता का निर्वाह नहीं होता है और वह नाना प्रकार से कोसने लगी है। इसलिए सरकार को सोचना चाहिए कि आख़िर सोने से क्या बाधा पड़ी है कि वह उस पर नियन्त्रण लगाना चाहती है। सोने का तस्कर व्यापार रोकने के लिए सरकार को आबकारी के आदमी बढ़ाने चाहिए, खाना-तलाशी देने की चाहिए।

[श्रीमती सहोदराबाई राय]

और चुंगी-चौकी की व्यवस्था अधिक कड़ी बनानी चाहिए, । हमारे देश में हमारे कई भाई ऐसे गद्दार हैं, जो सोने का तस्कर व्यापार करने वालों का सही पता नहीं देते हैं ।

वैसे तो मैं दिल में इस विधेयक का विरोध करती हूँ, लेकिन चूँकि मैं पार्टी से बंधी हुई हूँ, इसलिए मैं इस बिल का विरोध नहीं कर सकती और इसका समर्थन करती हूँ । मेरी प्रार्थना है कि सरकार देहात की ज ता औ किसानों की तरफ ध्यान दे । वक्त पर सोना ही उनके काम आता है । इसलिए उस पर रोक न लगाई जाए ।

सुनारों को डेढ़ हजार, दो हजार रुपया दिया जाता है, उन को एजुकेशन की सहूलियत भी दी जाती है, लेकिन फिर भी वे रात-दिन गाली देते हैं और हल्ला करते हैं कि हमको कुछ नहीं मिला है । सुनारों ने हजारों करोड़ों ले लिये, लेकिन फिर भी वे गाली देते हैं । धनियों ने रुपये ले लिये, लेकिन गरीबों को कुछ नहीं मिला । जो काम करने वाले सुनार हैं, जो मजदूरी करते हैं, उनको सही मजदूरी नहीं मिलती है । बड़े सर्राफे वाले सब कुछ ले जाते हैं और गरीबों की तो भीत हो गई है । वे रात-दिन हमारे पास आते हैं । दमोह, सागर, जबलपुर आदि में सुनार लोग हजार, पन्द्रह सौ रुपये ले जाते हैं और उसको खाने के बाद फिर मांगते हैं । सरकार ने सुनारों को सब सहूलियतें दे रखी हैं, लेकिन उनका हल्ला समाप्त नहीं हुआ ।

आज चौदह या दस कैरट के सोने की वजह से जनता लुट रही है और इससे जनता को कोई फायदा नहीं हुआ । मेरी प्रार्थना है कि सोना 22 और 30 कैरट का हो, जैसे पहले था, वैसे ही होना चाहिए । इस बारे में जो नये नये नियम और कानून बनाए जाते हैं, उनकी वजह से विरोधियों ने गाली दी,

महिलाओं ने गाली दी, कांग्रेसियों ने गाली दी, जनता ने गाली दी । लोग मंत्रियों को कोसते हैं । जनता ने एक वर्ष में मोरारजी भाई को इतनी गालियाँ दीं कि हम क्या बतायें ।

श्री त्यागी : कुसूर औरतों का है ।

श्रीमती सहोदराबाई राय : औरतों का कुसूर नहीं है । औरतें तो बेचारी भली-भाली हैं । उनको तो पुरुष चंगुल में डाल लेते हैं । वे तो उनसे बंधी हुई हैं । महिलायें तो पति-धर्म निभाने वाली हैं । जो पति कहता है वे करती हैं ।

पहले लड़के-लड़की की शादी के लिए साहूकार के पास जेवर रख कर रुपया ले लेते थे और बाद में उठा लेते थे । लेकिन अब साहूकार के पास क्या रखेंगे ? इसलिए मेरी प्रार्थना है कि सोने के बारे में ऐसा बिल बनाया जाये, जिससे पहले वाली स्थिति हो जाये ।

तस्कर व्यापार को रोकने के लिये आबकारी के आदमी बढ़ाये जायें, चुंगी-चौकी का इन्तजाम ठीक किया जाये, बन्दरगाहों, जंगलों और पहाड़ों पर ध्यान दिया जाये, ज्यादा सी० आई० डी० रखी जाये ।

हिन्दुस्तान का भविष्य बड़ा कठिन दिखाई देता है । जनता बड़ी बागी हो रही है । भविष्य में हम को बड़ी मुसीबत का सामना करना पड़ेगा । सोने के बारे में ऐसे नियम बनाये जायें, जिससे सरकार को भी सहूलियत हो और वक्त पर महिलाओं को भी सहूलियत हो, घर में जेवर हों, धन-दौलत हो, देश का विकास हो और हम लोगों का भविष्य अच्छा हो ।

श्री कृष्णमाचारी से मेरी प्रार्थना है कि वह कां को जनता की बुराई लेते हैं । वह ऐसा रास्ता निकालें कि जनता में उनकी जय हो और हम लोगों को सहूलियत हो ।

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय (देवास) :
 चुनाव जीतने में ?

श्रीमती सहोदराबाई राय : इस बिल की सपोर्ट तो मैं जरूर करती हूँ, लेकिन विरोध भी करती हूँ, क्योंकि जनता को और देहात की महिलाओं को भी बड़ी तकलीफ है और सोने के घंघे में लगे लोगों को भी बड़ी तकलीफ है। सुनार लोग रात-दिन हल्ला करते हैं। वे 1500 रुपये कलेक्टर से ले लेते हैं, कुछ तहसीलदार से ले लेते हैं और कुछ दूसरी जगह से ले लेते हैं। वे लेते भी जाते हैं और बदनाम भी करते जाते हैं। इस बिल से कोई फायदा नहीं है।

इसलिए सरकार को कोई दूसरा रास्ता निकालना चाहिए, जिस से राष्ट्र को मदद मिले, राष्ट्र का विकास हो, देश की रक्षा हो, हमारी महिलायें सोने से माला-माल हों, ताकि वे वक्त पर सरकार को दे सकें।

Shri Alvares (Panjim): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, one would have thought that the Bill after coming out of the consideration by the Joint Committee would have improved matters considerably. But I find that in spite of all the searchlight thrown on this Bill and the representations made by those who appeared before the Committee, the Bill has come out, in its main provisions almost as it was first presented and therefore my opposition to this Bill remains more than ever. Nobody could take objection to the objective of stopping smuggling. Smuggling of all types of goods must end and must be brought under control. But how is it possible for the Government to stop smuggling when circumstances are so favourable? If one looks at the bullion quotations at the newspapers, one finds that the price of gold was as it was before when the gold control order was introduced. Yesterday I had an occasion to look to the price list. There is a very cryptic sentence: the price of

gold has been rehabilitated because of the news of fresh arrivals. Any newspaper can with impunity print the price of gold in the black market and can also say that next week there will be more arrivals; this week there are less arrivals and according to that news, the prices fluctuate.

17 hrs.

It is my contention that the printing of these prices is an open invitation to smuggling. After all, if the price of gold is what it is today, in spite of the limitation put by Government to go by the international price, it is obvious that the people who want to hoard gold will go and buy gold. I find that the Joint Committee has not given any attention to the point as to how to stop smuggling. All that the Government thought fit to do is to impose control upon the poor goldsmith. Obviously, the goldsmith is at the third receiving end of this smuggling racket. The gold first comes to the sea customs, and then it passes to the traders and finally only a small proportion of the gold comes down to the goldsmith for the making of ornaments.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member may continue tomorrow.

17.01 hrs.

CONVERSION OF HINDUS IN PAKISTAN*

Shrimati Savitri Nigam (Banda): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I want to raise a discussion on points arising out of the answers given on the 14th December, 1964, to Starred Question No. 489 regarding conversion of Hindus in Pakistan.

Unfortunately, there has been a definite and very fast deterioration in the functioning of the External Affairs Ministry which is quite visible not only by the answers and replies given