

[श्री प्रिय गुप्त]

के ग्राफिसर, जो कि नार्थ का रहन सहन और तौर तरीके नहीं जानते हैं, नार्थ में इनकौन्सीटो जाते हैं। मैं आप को बताना चाहता हूँ कि एक बेचारा गाडें इन्वोसेंट भ्रामदी था बनारस का। वह अपने कंट्रोलर की फॅमिली को साथ ले गया। टिकट बनाने के लिये उन्हें दस रुपया दे दिया गया। जब इनकौन्सीटो ग्राफिसर ने उसे नोट कर लिया। जब वे किसी जगह टी० टी० को सलाम करते देखते हैं, तो सोचते हैं कि जब सलाम किया है, तो जरूर पैसा लिया होगा और वह वान लिख लेते हैं। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि चोरी नहीं होती है। चोरी सब जगह है। We are also a cross-section of the society. वह नोट कर लेते हैं कि दस रुपया लिया और एन्टर नहीं किया। उस वक्त इतनी भोड़ होती है कि कोई चढ़ नहीं सकता है। वह अपनी रिपोर्ट दे देते हैं और उस रिपोर्ट के आधार पर वगैर किसी एन्क्वायरी के १४६ के अधीन गाडें, टी० टी०, एस० एम०, ए० एस० एम०, टिकेट क्लैक्टर आदि की नौकरी चली जाती है।

मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इनकौन्सीटो ग्राफिसर सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट में भी ग्राफिसरों के लिये रखे जायें। इस बात की जांच करने की कोशिश की जाए कि वे लाइन पर से मैनुअलों में क्या क्या लेते जाते हैं। पब्लिक एकाउन्ट्स कमेटियों ने एक वेस पकड़ा है, जिस में दिल्ली ग्राफिसर के एक ग्राफिसर के दोषी पाए जाने पर उम को यह कहा गया कि the Railway Board expresses its displeasure. उस को इतना बड़ी पनिसमेंट दी गई जहां तक क्लास बी एम्प्लॉई, चोफ क्लार्क, का सम्बन्ध है, उम का इन्फ्रीमेंट रोक दिया गया।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि रेलवे करेशन एन्क्वायरी कमिटी को सिफारिशों को लागू किया जाए। साउथ ईस्टर्न रेलवे के सिवा उन को कहीं भी

लागू नहीं किया गया है। सरकार को और से देश में उचित वातावरण तैयार नहीं किया जाता है। इस लिए केवल सैल बनाने से, विजिलेंस सैल, इंजीनियरिंग सैल, मैनेजिनकल सैल और ट्राफिक सैल बना देने से, और ग्राफिसरों की संख्या बढ़ा देने से काम नहीं चलेगा। क्या एक भी ग्राफिसरों को पनिसमेंट दी गई मैं ने उस दिन बताया था कि एक डिस्ट्रिक्ट ग्राफिसर ने पास का अपनी मदर-इन-ला के लिए गलत इस्तेमाल किया। जब वह पकड़ा गया, तो वह छुट्टी ले कर घर चला गया। वहां पर पंचायत कर के उस ने लिखा कि यह हमारी माता है, यह करेशन कर दिया जाए। यह करेशन कर भी दिया गया। लेकिन प्रश्न यह है कि उस डेट से उस को पास कैसे इश्यू किया गया और जो कुछ उस ने किया, उस के लिए उसको क्या सजा दी गई। गाडेंज और पे-क्लाक्स की तनख्वाहों का भी मवास है। उस तरफ भी ध्यान देना चाहिये।

जो कुछ मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, वह मैं भूल गया हूँ। मैं अन्त में सिर्फ यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार अपने और अपने ग्राफिसरों के एंगल ग्राफ विजन को, अपने दृष्टिकोण को, ठीक करे। अगर वह ऐसा करेगा, तो ये सब बातें यहां पर कहने की जरूरत नहीं पड़ेगी। उस से ही रेलवे का प्रशासन अच्छा होगा और देश की तरक्की होगी। उम के बिना कुछ नहीं होगा।

Mr. Speaker: We shall continue this discussion tomorrow.

18 hrs.

DISCUSSION RE: GOLD CONTROL

Mr. Speaker: We shall now take up further discussion on the statement laid on the Table of the House by the Minister of Finance on the 20th February, 1963, regarding the gold control scheme.

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma may now continue her speech. I hope hon. Members would now probably agree to my request that none of them should take more than 10 minutes each. Most of the things have been said. We had 4 hours for this whole discussion, and now we have only one hour left.

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma (Khammam): I hope I have got ten minutes' time.

Mr. Speaker: She has already taken two minutes, but she will have ten minutes today afresh.

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma: A poor country like India cannot afford to lock up gold in bullion and ornaments in an unproductive manner. The keeping of gold is a luxury as far our country is concerned. The public, traders, goldsmiths and women should all realise that this Gold Control Order had come to stay and that a reform like this will initially create some distress in the beginning.

As far as the sufferings of the goldsmiths are concerned, it is more the jewellers that are creating this trouble to the goldsmiths. The Jewellers have suspended the manufacture of ornaments so that they can make use of the feelings of the goldsmiths for their own purposes. If this is to happen, ultimately, it is the jeweller that is going to suffer. Government will not see the sufferings of the goldsmiths for a long time. So, they will absorb them in some industry and offer them some employment. Once they are absorbed in some occupation, it will be very difficult for the jewellers to get back these people and it will be very difficult for them to train large numbers of people in this art once again.

Sir, I feel that the jewellers have no cause to complain because they had their boom. They were given one month's time within which they could sell their even unsold articles at fancy prices. As far as women are concerned, they are not perturbed because the existing ornaments are not touched and they had enough time of one

month within which they could purchase their requirements.

However, the main concern of the promulgators of this order is not to touch the *mangala sutra* or the bangles or the chains or the ear-rings or any of these things, but the large quantities of gold hoarded by certain people. The immediately affected persons by the gold order are the traders, the bullion merchants and the jewellers, who, along with hoarders of gold, have been responsible for the high price of this precious metal in this country. They were the first to protest against this order.

18.02 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

It is evident that ornaments could be produced at 14-carat purity. It is also exhibited here and one of the jewellers has said that they are as fine as the 22-carat gold. I would like to ask Shri Prakash Vir Shastri whether any *shastra* tells or prescribes that a certain purity of gold should be prescribed for the *mangala sutra*.

Investment in other forms of gold fetches interest and I would also suggest to the Government that they should make the gold bonds more attractive. Even in countries like U.S.A. and U.K. the supply is restricted. As soon as the Gold Order had been promulgated, in reply to a question in the Rajya Sabha, the Deputy Minister has said that smuggling has been stopped with consequent savings of foreign exchange. The demand for gold for making gold ornaments has fallen, there is downward trend in gold prices and there is increase of value of our rupee abroad. These are some of the results of the introduction of this order.

About export of gold articles, I wish to say something. Yesterday, Shri Prakash Vir Shastri has shown us some gem set article. It is expected that every year we will be exporting these articles to the tune of Rs. 1

[Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma.]

crore as against the import of the same quantity of gold. There was a meeting of the Gold Control Board at Bombay. The goldsmiths have not protested. They had only some grievance. At some meeting they said that they should get interest-free loan; that they should be exempted from profession tax; they should be recognised as backward class; and that they should be given quotas of iron, brass, copper etc. to start alternative industries. These are some of their points. I think it should not be difficult for Government to accede to their request. The State Government can take up this matter and they can help these persons.

I wish to say a few words as far as women are concerned. I would like to mention a small story.

It is said by Ramakrishna Paramahansa at one place that a husband and wife decided to become sanyasis. They were going about the world. The wife was following the husband. On the way, the husband came across a gold ring. He covered it with mud thinking that the wife might otherwise be attracted to it. The wife came and asked what he was doing. When he related what he was doing, the wife asked: 'Do you still feel the difference between mud and gold?' That is the tradition of the women of this country. They may be attached to gold, but once they give it up, they give it up for ever.

There are also certain disadvantages in keeping gold. Gold has almost become a social evil. While we were discussing the Railway Budget, we were concerned about the safety of women passengers and all that. I think much of the trouble will be over for the Home Department also if women wear only 14-carat gold because no thief will be attracted towards that gold.

Sometimes even murders take place because of gold. I know of instances where women have been murdered

brutally for the sake of these gold ornaments. Women who keep huge quantities of gold articles can never live in peace. Out of their love for their children, sometimes parents put gold ornaments on their children. And when they go to school, somebody kidnaps them and murders them for the sake of those ornaments.

There is also another evil. This breeds a competitive spirit among women. When rich ladies wearing gold ornaments and poor ladies without them attend the same function, there is an inferiority complex developing in the latter.

So far as the socialist aspect is concerned, we do not budge an inch from the socialistic ideal in the Gold Control Order. Gold is also dead capital. Now so far as payment of dowry is concerned, parents of daughters must be feeling inwardly happy because at least on this pretext they need not give their daughters all these things.

Also how many women in the country can afford these gold ornaments? Only 20 per cent can afford them, the other 80 per cent go without them.

Gold is almost like an opium for women. If you do not want women to progress, you must always keep them under this illusion and attachment to gold. I congratulate Morarjibhai on bringing about this radical change in that regard.

Somebody asked how I could represent the women of this country. If I do not represent women, whom else do I represent? Are women represented by those people who oppose the Hindu Code Bill? Or are they represented by people who want child marriages even today and want to keep women under subjugation? Do they represent women?

With these words, I support the Gold Control Order.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri (Berrampur): I am not a Member given to strong words and expressing feelings in a demonstrative way. But I have no manner of doubt in my mind that this is an ill-conceived, ill-planned and, if I may say so, ill-fated measure. Ill-conceived because in the name of stopping smuggling of gold, it has opened the door wide for illegal transactions in gold and illegal hoarding; ill-planned because in the name of getting gold for defence and planning, it has thrown, on the admission of the Finance Minister himself, 5 lakh people out of employment and service, and with their dependents it would come to about 25 lakhs. I do not accept that figure. According to me, it would be much more, but even if we accept his figure, that also is a colossal amount of unemployment in these days, which we would be hard put to solve immediately. And ill-fated, because the performance of this Gold Control Order for the last two, three months that it has been in operation has shown that it has failed on every count. It has not got us any gold in the shape of Gold Bonds, it has not brought down the price to the international level. And as for smuggling it has yet to be seen. I do not think much is proved by the slight rise of the value of the rupee in certain markets outside India, because that phenomenon also occurred a few months ago, but again our rupee price sagged down and gold price shot up.

18.11 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

But it seems rather curious that that master strategist of the Congress Parliamentary Party, the hon. Minister of Parliamentary Affairs had put up a larger number of lady Members.....

The Deputy Minister of Finance (Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha): Why not? We are vitally concerned.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: I am coming to that.

Mr. Speaker: They are equally Members, whether they are lady Members or male Members.

Shri Sheo Narain (Bansi): On a point of order, Sir. It is an aspersions on the Chair.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: It is like putting up a *Pramila Vahini* in front of the Finance Minister to support these ill-advised Gold Control Rules.

There is very good reason why our sisters, and particularly those who are very ornament-loving among them, should be supporting the Finance Minister, because if you read rule 128(i) you would see that they have been permitted, not only they, in fact, everybody has been permitted, to keep an unlimited amount of gold in the form of ornaments above 22 carats, and for below 22 carats, of course, there is no limit.

Some lady Member was claiming yesterday that she had gone about and persuaded all the ladies to give up their gold. But there is such a thing as the gold market in the country. On the 8th February, the last day when the sale of 22 carats of ornaments was free, the price of ornament gold shot up in the Calcutta bullion market to Rs. 140. That does not show that our women were very eager to give gold the hands of the Government. They were purchasing them, they were so very busy purchasing them.

Shri J. P. Jyotishi (Sagar): Are not the blackmarketeers responsible for this? Are you sure that women make their purchases?

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: That day it was not black market, Jyotishiji.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. He will continue to address the Chair and not Jyotishiji.

**Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri:** Any-way, nobody would be very much impressed by womenfolk coming forward to support this Order, because it does not restrict them in getting ornaments to an unlimited extent. They have been permitted, and not only permitted, the rule has been made in such a way that all non-ornament gold is to be transformed, it is being transformed, the Finance Minister knows it very well, and everybody who keeps himself informed about these things knows how non-ornament gold is being transformed into ornament gold. About the Gold Bonds we know how much he has got, but I would like the Finance Minister to enlighten the House about the amount of declared non-ornament gold about which he has got information in the form of these declarations.

That will show how things are moving.

About the unemployment caused by the enforcement of the 14 carat rule, I need not say much because other Members have already dealt with this point and I have very little time. I was pained to see in an evening paper in Delhi the other day that the Prime Minister said that he was disgusted at the reported suicides of some of these people. He is reported to have said: "Why not they join the Army and be useful to the nation instead of losing their lives like this?" Is it not a mockery to ask them to go to the Army? Is it possible for people who are 40 or 50 to do so? They have spent all their lives in this profession. If somebody asks the Prime Minister—nobody would be so foolish to do that—to shoulder a rifle and go to the front, how would it look?

**Shrimati Lakshmi Kanthamma:** What is that paper?

**An Hon. Member:** Newspaper.

**Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri:** I would end by referring to one fact. There has been some curious order from the officers of the Gold Control Board about the release of pledged

ornaments. Here is an order; I can lay it on the Table of the House; it is a photostat copy; it is an order about pledged ornaments. The dealer is notified like this:

"This is to inform you that since you are a gold dealer registered with Sales-tax authorities, the gold ornaments of more than 14 carats purity pledged with you as security for loans cannot be returned by you to the pledgers after 8th February, 1963. However, there is no objection to your converting the aforesaid ornaments into ornaments of purity up to 14 carats and delivering the same (new ornaments not exceeding in purity 14 carat) to the parties concerned. In this connection the relevant provisions of Part IIIA of the Defence of India (Amendment) Rules, 1963 may please be referred to."

On 8th February, 1963 there was an order of the High Court of Jabalpur and there the learned judges very specifically say with reference to the rules:

"We are therefore of opinion that Rule 126 F is concerned with the capacity of a person *qua* a dealer alone, and consequently the return that he is required to furnish is of his stock-in-trade *qua* a dealer only and not of the gold possessed by him in his various other capacities, if any. On this reasoning, the pledged ornaments of which he is in possession as a pledgee or a moneylender have not to be declared because he is not in possession or control of them as a dealer as defined in the Rules.

On the other two points, we are of opinion that dealers are not prevented by any provision contained in Part XIIA from returning gold ornaments pledged with them to the owners or from accepting in future such ornaments as security for loans."

By these orders such a confusion has been created that now the registered dealers cannot deal in them but un-registered dealers are freely doing what they want. Unless these loopholes or similar other loopholes are stopped or plugged, the whole economy of the country is bound to go into confusion. They should not tamper with the economy of our country in the way they have done.

**Shri Morarka (Jhunjhnu):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to you for allowing this discussion on such an important subject because I hope that this debate will serve a useful purpose in removing some of the misgivings in the minds of the people. The leader of the Swatantra party, Shri Rajagopalachari, has accused, the Finance Minister of laying his violent hands on the hard-earned savings causing distress and robbing millions of people of this country of their savings. The leader of the communist party, Shri Dange, on the other hand, makes a grievance that the Finance Minister has not confiscated anybody's gold and that he has given too long a period of time for making the declaration, etc.

The main purpose of these Gold Control Rules is to stop smuggling. I repeat that the main purpose of these rules is to stop smuggling. People who want to criticise the Government have often confused this motive, this purpose, by saying that since no gold has come in gold bonds or in subscription or in declarations, the very purpose of the Gold Control Rules is defeated, they say. I beg to submit that this criticism is neither fair nor relevant. The smuggling of gold has been going on in this country for the last several years and every year a sum of Rs. 50-60 crores has been spent in foreign exchange for this purpose. When we do not have foreign exchange for buying our essential medicines, for purchasing our vital needs of defence, for implementing our main plan projects or even for importing the food for the infants, still every year we are obliged to pay the bill of these smugglers to the extent of Rs. 50-60 crores. The Government

has been criticised every year, in season and out of season, for not taking any action to stop this smuggling. In the past the Government had taken some steps which were less strict. These steps have only partially succeeded. For example, in 1959, the Government issued special currency for the Gulf countries; the Government also tightened the Customs vigilance and they also by law transferred the onus of proof on the smugglers namely, to prove that the gold in their possession is not smuggled gold. All these steps of the Government did not yield sufficient results. The smuggling is still going on. What was the remedy to be followed? The emergency came and it made the need for conserving and augmenting the foreign exchange resources all the more vital.

It is against this background that the Government was obliged to take this step. All the hon. Members who have spoken before me have criticised the Government, but I am sorry to notice that not even one has come before the Government with any concrete suggestion as to what the Government should have done by way of some step to stop smuggling. They all agree that smuggling is bad and that it should be stopped. When the Government does not take a step they blame the Government, but when the Government initiate some steps, these are the very people who, in the name of the people, in the name of the masses, in the name of democracy, come and blame the Government for taking these steps. It would have been more impressive and more useful in this House if even one Member had come out with a concrete suggestion as to how smuggling should be stopped. The only suggestion which some of the Members have made is that this 14 carat should be made 22 carats, that this process should have been slow instead of giving a shock to the people all of a sudden, and that they should have phased this programme and so on.

[Sri Morarka]

If you remove this restriction in respect of having only 14 carats and if you allow 22 or 24 carats, the Government may as well withdraw the scheme. The essence of the scheme is to reduce the demand for gold. The only way of doing it is by reducing the gold content in ornaments. The leader of the Swatantra party here who has been most vocal on this subject has said that this scheme has caused a lot of distress and difficulties. Please bear with me for a minute, and let me examine what these difficulties are, that the scheme has caused. The first thing is that the scheme requires that hereafter no ornaments can be made of more than 14 carat gold. A very impressive argument was advanced by one of the Movers of the Motion yesterday that the chemical reaction of 14 carat gold would be that the skin of the wearer would become dark. I was surprised to hear it. That shows the lack of knowledge on the part of the hon. Member concerned. Without these rules, without these regulations, the tendency of the people is to go towards costume jewellery which does not have even one carat gold—leave alone 14 carat gold. Costume jewellery is becoming more and more fashionable. It is synthetic stones and artificial gold that is becoming more popular. What about pearls? Real pearls are now out of fashion. The pearls which are purchased, worn and extensively used are cultural pearls. Leave aside those things. What has made stainless steel popular in our houses? Before these stainless steel utensils came, we were all using brass and copper utensils. There may be many slokas, shastras and authorities supporting the use of brass and copper vessels. The Government did not by rules enforce the people to use stainless steel utensils. Today we see people going in the blackmarkets and purchasing stainless steel utensils at Rs. 22, Rs. 30 and Rs. 32 a kilogram rather than use copper or brass utensils which they have been using. God knows for how many centuries.

An argument has been advanced that a lot of unemployment would be caused. I respectfully agree that this scheme would cause unemployment. But I do not agree that the magnitude of it would be such as is being voiced in this House. In the first place, before the scheme came into effect, every goldsmith was not employed. Similarly, after the scheme was announced, every goldsmith has not become unemployed. Even assuming for a moment that all these goldsmiths are unemployed, does not that by itself prove that the demand for gold ornaments and the availability of gold has gone down to such an extent that they have all become unemployed? Does not that by itself mean a success of the scheme? Assuming for a moment, if you like, that these people, this section of the society, would remain unemployed, if the employment of these people can be sustained only by smuggled gold, only by paying a bill of Rs. 60 crores every year, the House has to judge carefully whether it is worthwhile maintaining that employment. When you do not have foreign exchange for the purpose of raw materials for your industry, does not the industry stop? When the industry stops, does that not cause unemployment, and when it causes unemployment, do we not shed our tears for them? These are all various factors which one has to take into consideration.

Another hardship mentioned is that the refineries have been asked to take licences before they can refine any gold. To whom has that caused hardship? It has caused hardship not to the citizens, because they are not concerned with the refineries, but to the smugglers because they can no more get their smuggled gold refined in those refineries. It was in these refineries where smuggled gold was being refined, and it was only through these refineries that we could make our estimate of what the amount of smuggled gold was.

Since you have already rung the bell and time does not permit me to go to the other points in support of this

scheme of the Government, I will conclude by saying that gold, which is a precious metal, has acquired glamour not only out of the instincts of self-preservation or because it is a commodity which always appreciates in value, but also because gold has value in the international world. Our international balance of payment is always corrected by means of gold. Not only that, even the backing of paper currency throughout the world is provided by gold. In our own country also the value of gold has been constantly rising. Our Finance Minister, our Government is trying to reduce this glamour for gold. It is a hard task. It is not an easy thing. If anybody thinks that the success or the failure of the scheme can be determined in the course of two or three months, he is mistaken. I think the scheme must remain at least for two or three years before the ultimate result of the scheme can be assessed. I think the Government must not modify the scheme now. Once they modify it, that would show their weakness and people would not take the Government's scheme seriously and the very purpose of the scheme would be defeated.

**श्री बागड़ी (हिंसा) :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, कल से इस सोने पर चर्चा चल रही है, या जूलम टूट रहा है। पक्ष और विपक्ष दोनों की तरफ से दलीलें दी गई हैं और दोनों तरफ से नाम गरीबों की हिफाजत का लिया जा रहा है। हाँ, आज के राजाओं की तरफ से देश की हिफाजत का भी नाम लिया जा रहा है। जहाँ तक सोने के कंट्रोल के समर्थन का सवाल है, हमारी कुछ बहनें यह सोच रही हैं कि अगर सोना इकट्ठा हो जायेगा, तो पीकिंग को फतह करेंगी। कुछ सदस्यों का यह भावना और यह ख्याल है कि देश भक्ति और देश के फायदे के लिए सोने को इकट्ठा करना है और इस कानून से सोना इकट्ठा हो जायेगा। दूसरी बात कहते हैं कि सोने के स्मगलिंग को रोकने के लिये यह कानून बनाया गया है। मैं अर्ज करूँगा कि यह सोने की चर्चा आई कहां से है। सोने की चर्चा किस गर्भ में से निकली

है। पहले तो सोने की चर्चा अखबारों में ही सुनाई दिया करती थी। अखबारों से पढ़ कर पता चलता था कि पंजाब में, राजस्थान में कोई बजीर, किसी बजीर का लड़का स्मगलिंग करता है या कोई कांग्रेसी नेता स्मगलिंग करता है। इसके सिवा और कहीं सोने की चर्चा सुनाई नहीं देती थी। इसके बाद जब चीन का हमला हुआ तो सोने का जिक्र चला और कहा जाने लगा कि आज प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब को सोने में तोला जायेगा, आज हमारे मुरारजी भाई को सोने में तोला जायेगा। लेकिन अब तो इस सोने का जिक्र इस सदन में ही नहीं बल्कि सारे देश में चल रहा है। मेरे ख्याल में मुरारजी भाई के दिमाग में भी इस सोने की बात उसी तरीके से आई जैसे कोई प्यासा राजा जंगल में चला गया और किसी किसान के खेत में जा कर कहने लगा कि पानी चाहिये। पानी तो था नहीं, इसवास्ते उस किसान ने कहा कि तरबूज है, मतीरा है, इसको ले लो और उसने वह तरबूज उनको काट कर दे दिया। उसको खा कर वह राजा कहने लगा कि कि क्या इस पर कोई टैक्स लगता है? जब किसान ने कहा कि नहीं लगता है, तो उस राजा ने कहा कि यह गलत बात है, इस पर भी टैक्स लगना चाहिये और वापिस जा कर आर्डर दे दिया कि इस पर टैक्स वसूल किया जाये। इसी प्रकार से मुरारजी भाई ने किया है। भूखे नंगे लोगों ने, गरीब लोगों ने उनको सोने में तोला और अब उन्ही का सोना लिया जा रहा है। उन्हीं के सोने की बात आप अब कर रहे हैं।

मैं दो बातें जानता हूँ। पहली बात तो यह है कि सत्तर साल से सोने का स्मगलिंग चल रहा है और यहाँ इसी सदन में मारनीय सदस्यों ने कहा कि तीस चालीस स्मगलर्स हैं, उनको पकड़ा जाय। कौन है ये स्मगलर्स यह पता लगना चाहिये। अगर आज केन्द्र की सरकार उन स्मगलर्स को पकड़ नहीं सकती है तो स्पष्ट और साफ है कि मुरारजी भाई इतने निकम्मे साबित हुये हैं, जो इन

### [श्री बागड़ी]

स्मगलजं को भी पकड़ नहीं सके हैं या फिर दूसरी वजह यह हो सकती है कि सरकार का उसके अन्दर हाथ है और वह उनको पकड़ना नहीं चाहती . . .

**Shri R. S. Pande (Guna):** Sir, on a point of order. The hon. Member has used the word *Nikamma* which is definitely unparliamentary.

**श्री बुजबिहारी मेहरोत्रा (बिल्हौर) :**  
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय सदस्य मुरारजी भाई के नाम के साथ "श्री" शब्द नहीं लगा रहे ह, यह अनुचित है ।

**Shri R. S. Pande:** Sir, what is your ruling on my point of order?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I will look into it.

**श्री बागड़ी :** ठीक शब्द नहीं है तो चलो प्रच्छा है ।

मेरे ख्याल में यह कानून स्मगलिंग रोकने के लिये नहीं है बल्कि इसे सरकार की सत्ता के सहारे जिन स्मगलजं ने नूट मचाई है, उनकी अधिक चर्चा न, चले, इसलिये बनाया गया है। चर्चा अगर कानून बनता तो ऐसा बनता कि जिन्होंने लूटा इस देश को, उनके खिलाफ एक्शन लिया जाता। मुरारजी भाई जिस सिंहासन पर बैठे हैं, उस राज सिंहासन के दौर के अन्दर इस देश का दिवाला निकला, यह देश दिवाला हुआ, इस देश का विदेशी सिकका खत्म हुआ, यह देश गरीबी के अन्दर गया और उनको सिंहासन पर बैठने का कोई हक हासिल नहीं था। उनको चाहिये या कि वह इस्तीफा दे देते। अब इस कानून के द्वारा क्या उन ४०, ५० या ५५ लोगों को बख्शा जा रहा है? इस कानून से दो बातें बनेंगी। मैं छोटे छोटे लोगों की बात नहीं करता हूँ। मैं गरीबों की दुहाई नहीं देता हूँ। वह तो एक बहाना है। इस कानून से इस देश के जो पुराने ज़ीपति हैं और इस देश के कांग्रेस पार्टी गर्भ में निकले हुए नए ज़ीपति हैं, इस

देश के पुराने राजे हैं और इस देश के नये राजे हैं, इन राजाओं का सोना क्या बाहर निकल सकेगा? हर्गिज नहीं निकल सकेगा। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जब से यह कानून बना है तब से आज तक कितना निकला है, किस में दिया, कौन देता है? कहा जाता है कि लोगों को सोने से क्यों प्यार है। मैं कहता हूँ कि जो लोग हैं, वे अपनी जान तक दे देंगे जैसे बेचारों ने सोना दे दिया है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि जब मुरारजी भाई अपना जवाब दें तो बतायें कि कितने मिनिस्ट्रजं ने सोना दिया है, कितने दूसरे भाईयों ने जो कांग्रेसी हैं, सोना दिया है, कितने जो राज्य मंत्री हैं उन्होंने सोना दिया है, प्रांतों में कितने मंत्रियों ने सोना दिया है और जो सोना इन सब ने दिया है, वह कितना.. (Interruptions.)

**Shri Morarji Desai:** May I point out that nobody is deaf in this House? Why should he shout like that?

**श्री बागड़ी :** गांधी नाम जपना, पराया माल अपना, अब नहीं चल सकता है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि जब मुरारजी भाई जवाब दें तो बतायें कितने मंत्रियों ने और कितने देश-भक्तों ने जो देश भक्ति के ग्राम बहाते हैं, इस गोल्ड कंट्रोल आर्डर आने के बाद सोना दिया है और कितनों ने अपनी देशभक्ति के जज्बात को मुकम्मिल किया है। कितने बड़े लोगों से, कितने राजाओं से, कितने महा-राजाओं से, कितने पूंजीपतियों से आप सोना ले सके हैं। न तो गरीब लोगों पर इसका असर पड़ेगा और न दूसरों पर, ऐसा भी कहा जाता है। लेकिन जो खाना बंदोश लोग हैं, जो मजदूम लोग हैं, जिन बेचारों के घर और दर नहीं है . . .

**श्री बे० शि० पाटिल (यवतमाल) :**  
आन ए प्वाइंट ऑफ आर्डर, सर। पार्लियामेंट का बिजिनेस चलाने के बारे में जो रुख [है, उस में यह है कि भाषण देते वक्त किसी

माननीय सदस्य को कैसे बोलना है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि नाम ले कर इतने जोर से इतनी बड़ी आवाज से भाषण करने के बारे में भी क्या कोई रूल है ?

श्री बागड़ी : जोर से बोलता हूँ इस-लिए कि गुनाह अगर किसी ने किए हैं, तो वे सचेत हो जायें।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : यह कोई प्वाइंट ऑफ आर्डर नहीं है। माननीय सदस्य इतनी जोर से न बोलें। धीरे-धीरे बोलें।

श्री बागड़ी : यह मेरी आवाज है, अगर इस पर भी प्रतिबन्ध लगाना है, तो लगा दीजिये। अगर आप मेरी आवाज को रोकना चाहते हैं तो यह रुक नहीं सकती है। मेरी यह आवाज उन की कोठियों तक जा रही है, कोठियों में सुनाई दे रही है। मैं अपनी इस आवाज को वहाँ तक सुनाऊंगा। यह मेरी ही आवाज नहीं है, जनता के दिल की आवाज है, हिन्दुस्तान के करोड़ों भूखे, नंगों की आवाज है, जिन का नाम यहाँ लिया जाता है . . . . . (Interruptions.)

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I do not see why an hon. Member should be disturbed like that.

Shrimati Parkeshwari Sinha : Then you ask him not to shout.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Please speak less loudly.

Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur): Sir, I have heard, in the old House, Sir Surendranath Banerji and Shri Bipin Chandra Pal speaking in the stentorian tone; that was their tone. He is no exception to that.

Shri Joachim Alva (Kanara): Sir, there is one point of order that I want to raise. It is against all parliamentary decorum to call another hon. Member by name without either pre-

fixing 'Mr.' or 'Shri'. In the British House of Commons they call an hon. Member by the name of his constituency, like, the hon. Member for Buckinghamshire. But he calls the hon. Finance Minister by his first name. He can call him like that in the public maidan if he likes, but not here.

Shri Kapur Singh (Ludhiana): What is wrong in that?

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : कम जोर से बोलिये, आराम से बोलिये।

श्री बागड़ी : यह सफरंगी तो घड़क से टांट पर बजेगी। मैं मोरारजी भाई से कहना चाहता हूँ

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : किसी भी मੈम्बर का जब नाम लें, तो श्री कहें।

श्री बागड़ी : लेडी मੈम्बरजं को भी श्री से पुकारें या श्रीमती कह कर पुकारें ?

मैं अज्ञ कर रहा था कि अगर इस ग्लोब के कानून से स्मर्गलिंग रुकता है तो दर्द किस बात का है। किसी को भी दर्द नहीं हो सकता है। लेकिन मैं देखता हूँ कि इस देश के पूंजीपति, इस देश के सरमायेदार, इस देश के पुराने राजे और कुछ नए राजे सोने से चिपटे बैठ हैं, सोने का मोह उन को उसके साथ चिपटाये बैठा है। यही नहीं, यह यह भी चाहते हैं कि किसी तरह से दूसरा सोना भी इन के पास आ जाये। मैं अज्ञ करता हूँ कि सोना लेना है तो लो, जरूरत है तो लो, देश के निर्माण के वास्ते लेना है तो लो लेकिन सोना लेने वाली बात तो करो। सोना उन गरीब लोगों के पास नहीं है, जिन्होंने अपने पेट काट कर गलती की जो आप को सोने में तोल दिया। सोना है उन लोगों के पास जिन लोगों ने सरकार के सहारे स्मर्गलिंग किया है, पदों के साथ चिपक कर और पदों की इनायतों से अमीर बने हैं या फिर उन के पास है जो पुराने

[श्री बागड़ी]

राजे महाराजे और पूंजीपति हैं, उन से तो लो, उन को भी तो हाथ लगाओ ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : अब खत्म कीजिये ।

श्री बागड़ी : अभी पांच मिनट बोला हूँ । कितना ही समय तो इन इंटरप्शन में चला गया है ।

चौदह कैरट की बात यहां कही जा रही है । यह चौदह का हिंदसा हमारे मुरारजी भाई को कैसे याद आया । अगर फूल-फ्लैण्ड मिनिस्ट्रज को लेना है तो भी बे १७ या १६ हैं और एक एक कैरट भी उन के हिस्से में नहीं आता है और अगर चार-चार और पांच-पांच का हिसाब भी लगायें तो भी काफी अधिक हो जाता है । यह चौदह की याद उन को कैसे आ गई है, जबकि यहां पलटनों की पलटनें वजिरों की बैठी हुई हैं । मैं अर्ज करूंगा . . . . .

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri D. C. Sharma.

श्री बागड़ी : मैं खत्म कर रहा हूँ । मेरा सारा टाइम तो इंटरप्शन में चला गया । दस मिनट में से उन को कम कर दीजिये ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : आप के दस मिनट हो गये ।

श्री बागड़ी : मैं दो मिनट में खत्म कर रहा हूँ । मैं श्री मोरारजी देसाई की खिदमत में अर्ज करूंगा कि यह गरीब लोग, जिन को रोजगार मुहैया किया जाता है, या किसान लोग . . . . .

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : श्री बागड़ी, अब आप पुनरावृत्ति कर रहे हैं, आप बंद जाइये ।

श्री बागड़ी : मैं अभी खत्म करता हूँ । आप और लोगों को टाइम देते हैं, लेकिन मुझे नहीं देते ।

मैं श्री मोरारजी देसाई को एक पुरानी बात याद दिलाता हूँ । इस देश में एक राज-वंशी ने सोने का छल कपट किया था तब वह सोने का हरिण बन कर आया था, जिस ने कि सीता का हरण कराया था । लेकिन उस सोने के हरिण का अंजाम क्या हुआ ? सोने का हरिण मारा गया और लंका खत्म हुई । यह सरकार सोने के हरिण रुपी १४ कैरट को जनता को दिखा कर उस की मन रुपी भावना का हरण कर रही है, यह उस के नाश की बात है । मोरारजी भाई, आप सोच लीजिये । पंडित जी आप को बख्शें नहीं । इसीरास्ते शख अन्दुल्ला गये, इसी रास्ते से कृष्ण मेनन गये और इसी रास्ते से आप को गड्डी पर चढ़ा देंगे जब देश की जनता चाहेगी ।

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, no measure during the last 16 years has raised so much controversy as this Gold Control Order. I feel that this Order is being discussed in every hamlet of India and every bazaar and street of India.

श्री बागड़ी : मैं सुन नहीं पा रहा हूँ, माननीय सदस्य जरा जोर से बोलें ।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order.

Shri D. C. Sharma: It has provoked untold controversy and I feel that that controversy is, to some extent, justified. It has been said that it is a social measure of far-reaching consequences. I cannot understand how it is going to benefit society either today or tomorrow and in what way it is going to bring good to the people at large. It has been said that it is a psychological measure and we are going to educate the people in a way which takes away from them the lure for gold and the glamour for gold. I think these are very tall things that are being said about this. I do not think anybody has been able to change the psychology of mankind so far. So many prophets have come and gone and they have not been able to change

human nature. Love of gold has been there amongst the people, is there today, and I believe, will continue to be there in spite of all these Gold Control Orders. Therefore, I believe that the psychology of mankind cannot be changed overnight by any kind of legislation.

We have seen the fate of social legislation. We have come to the conclusion that social legislation has not proved to be a remedy for our social ills. It has not even proved to be a palliative for our social ills. It has not proved to be a remedial measure in any sense of the word. I do not think that this Gold Control Order is going to do all these things which we are thinking of bringing into being on account of this. The psychological approach that it makes is almost nil. The social good that it is supposed to do is there only in the mind or imagination of some persons. It is not there inherent in this.

It has been said that this Gold Control Order is going to put an end to smuggling. I do not know any smuggler; Gold forbid that I should run into a smuggler. But, I can assure you that smuggling will go on on a greater scale than before and that this Gold Control Order will only prove to be an incentive to the smugglers. They will devise other ways, other methods to have smuggling going on. Therefore, I want to know for what purpose this Gold Control Order has been promulgated.

Of course, the hon. Minister has said somewhere that we had been talking about smuggling of gold all these days, and he wanted to bring forward a measure which would put an end to smuggling. I do not think that human ingenuity can be so barren as to put an end to this time-honoured though pernicious and anti-social practice in such a way. Therefore, I think that this Gold Control Order is not going to achieve any of these purposes,

say what we may about it. But it has done one thing, and it is this.

The menace from China united all the people of India, irrespective of the State to which they belong, and irrespective of the profession which they practise and irrespective of whatever they do. The Chinese aggression has achieved that. And I believe that this Gold Control order is going to put the process in the reverse direction. It is going to be disruptive of the unity of the people. It is going to do something which is going to divide the people again.

The lady Member of this House have made very great speeches, saying 'We do not love gold, we do not love to do this, we do not love to do that, we do not love to hoard gold' and so on. They have made all these fine speeches. But I tell you that you must understand two things. There are hoarders in this world. I have no brief for those hoarders. Those hoarders must be put an end to. Hoarding must be put an end to. But can we do that? Have we been able to achieve the nullity of the hoarding all these days? We have not been able to do so. I have no brief for blackmarketeers. But have we been able to stop blackmarketing in the different commodities? So, I think that the only purpose that this Gold Control Order has achieved is this, namely that it has brought about a kind of social disturbance in all the ranks of society in this country, and I think that this measure which was thought to be full of great promise has not been able to achieve anything of the kind.

It is said that the goldsmiths can take to watch-making, and they can take to this thing or that thing. Can you uproot people from their professions in such a way? I believe that

[Shri D. C. Sharma]

this order should be taken in the light of our Constitution. Our Constitution says that nobody can be deprived of the privilege of practising his profession. But I think that with this order we are trying to deprive so many persons of the freedom of practising their professions. The estimates vary in regard to the number, but so many persons are going to be deprived of their professions.

**An Hon. Member:** How?

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** I do not know how. I am not pleading the case of goldsmiths though I want to plead their case. I think that so much has been said about goldsmiths. Those goldsmiths are there. They also want changes in the order. They cannot manufacture jewellery with 14 carat gold. This is what they say. They also say that they cannot go to the refineries which are in Ahmedabad and other places to get the gold refined. They say further that they cannot pay the licensing fee. And they say also that they cannot keep accounts. Most of them are illiterate. They say that they cannot overnight change their methods.

Unemployment is also one aspect of the situation. If we remove a man from a particular employment, then we must promise him and provide him with some alternative employment. But that has not been done. Therefore, I would say that this Gold Control Order which has been promulgated in a great deal of hurry should have been thought out in a very comprehensive way. I think that it suffers from so many defects and lacunae that I do not think it is going to achieve even one-hundredth part of the good which our esteemed and honourable Finance Minister has in mind. I think that it has only been a case of social disturbance, and

I do not think that it is going to achieve any good.

Therefore, I would request the hon. Minister to take back this order and bring forward a comprehensive order before the House which would enable the smugglers to cease to practise their nefarious trade, and which would enable the gold hoarders to bring out their gold.

After all, what have we got out of the gold bonds scheme? Only 7 crores of rupees worth of bonds have been bought. Therefore the Gold Control Order has not achieved even a very very small fraction of the purpose it was designed to achieve. I would therefore ask the Finance Minister to take back this Order and bring an order for the control of gold, if he thinks it necessary—perhaps it is necessary—which is comprehensive, which can act as an effective check against smugglers, against hoarders, against black-marketeers, against profiteers and against all those persons. I do not think that this Gold Control Order which would cover a small section of the population would serve any useful purpose.

**Shri Sezhiyan (Perambalur):** We are told that the Gold Control Order has been promulgated to put down smuggling of gold into India and to mobilise the gold within India. We hold no brief for the smugglers and hoarders. We fully support Government in taking the severest measures possible to root out smuggling and hoarding of gold. In fact, not only smuggling of gold, but smuggling of anything is bad and anti-social and should be dealt with heavily.

Instead of bringing these anti-social and corruptive elements to book, the Finance Minister has come down

18-52 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

heavily on the poor goldsmiths and artisans.

Even at the conservative estimate of the Finance Minister, there are 5 lakh goldsmiths. Then there are 25 lakh people dependent on them. These three million people are being punished for the sins and evils of the smugglers.

To say that we can find employment for these goldsmiths in other vocations is not so easy as it appears to be. The figure of unemployment at the beginning of the Third Five Year Plan has been given as 9 million. Underemployment, in the sense of those who have some work but need to have full work, is of the order of 15 to 18 million. The number of new entrants to the labour force during the Third Plan period is estimated at 17 million. So against the unemployment of 26 million and underemployment of 18 million, additional employment expected during the Third Plan period, if everything goes well and if the targets are reached in time, will be 14 million only. When there is so much unemployment outside, when millions of people, skilled and unskilled, stand in a long queue, it will be impossible for the goldsmiths thrown out of their work wherein they have been trained, to find employment.

The Gold Control Order has created many difficulties, some of them not even anticipated by Government. I have one particular problem in my place. Tiruchirapalli in Tamilnad is the principal centre of synthetic diamond jewels. About 50,000 people are employed in cutting, grinding, polishing and making stone-set jewels. The synthetic diamond jewels are being made on a large scale at Tiruchirapalli and sent to various retailers throughout South India. About 90

lakhs of rupees worth of synthetic stone jewels are lying as a dead stock with the wholesalers and retailers. To convert them to 14-carat is a financial loss as the fragile synthetic stones will break if you take them out of the present set-up, thus entailing a loss of 40-45 per cent of the present value. All that they want is some way to dispose of this dead stock. They are prepared to hand over these stone set jewels to the Government or to a Government-controlled store for selling. They are even prepared to take any value for the gold content, international or otherwise. But to convert them to 14-carat or to keep them as dead stock will cause utter financial ruin to them. Credit basis is the basis of their business and keeping a dead stock is no pleasure, for they will be paying high interest for the borrowed capital.

The villager keeps gold not out of love or craziness for gold nor for ornamental or artistic values. But it is a mode of saving for them, a saving which is secure and durable and easy to handle. It helps him to raise a little bit of a loan now and then. Savings schemes and the banking system are unknown and understandable to the villagers.

I would plead that instead of prohibiting the use of 22 carat gold, the Government can best achieve its objective by declaring a quota for each individual's use. At least, they can allow 18 carats if not 20 carats.

*Prima facie*, the Gold Control Order is an open admission of the helplessness and ineffectiveness of the governmental machinery to deal with the smugglers. Supposing at some stage, the price of gold comes down appreciably in India, what will the Government do to deal with the smuggling of gold out of India? The Government cannot impose the gold control policy on other countries where the ruling price may be higher.

[Shri Serghyan]

In his statement in the Lok Sabha on the 20th February, the Finance Minister has stated that "no social reform worth the name can be put through without any trouble to the country". That might be true, but the converse is certainly not true. Just by giving trouble to everybody one does not bring about a social reform. I may add that social reform does not begin and end with gold. There are more urgent and pressing problems in social reform.

**Mr. Speaker:** I am sorry I cannot call any other hon. Member. Now I am going to call the Finance Minister. Before that I would like to know whether the Home Minister is going to make a statement. I have sent him three notices about the statement on Nepal. One was from Shri Kamath, and the two others I received subsequently.

**The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri):** Yes, Sir. The Call Attention Notices have come, and Shri Kamath is very particular that I should make a statement. He has said that in the morning. I shall do so tomorrow, and I shall be grateful if you permit me to make the statement at about 1 O'Clock.

**Mr. Speaker:** All right. He may make it at 1 O'Clock.

Shri Morarji Desai.

**The Minister of Finance (Shri Morarji Desai):** I hope I will have the indulgence of the House to hear patiently my views or my reasons for the measures that have been taken.

There has been some sort of violence in words seen in this debate. It is not unusual, it happens on some occasions, but I did not expect that my hon. friend Shri Prakash Vir Shastri, who moved the motion, would get so much excited. He was not his normal self, but became very abnormal in his tone and in his language.

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : सारे देश में ही ऐसी है ।

**Shri Morarji Desai:** Shri Prakash Vir Shastri is not the whole country. Neither I nor he can ever claim that we represent the whole country. Therefore, it is futile for anybody to talk in the name of the country like that.

It was even argued here by my hon. friend Shri Gopalan that there was so much agitation in this country on this that there had never been any precedent for it. Has he forgotten the agitation which took place in Kerala against their Ministry? Is this even one-hundredth of that? Has there been any procession even one-twentieth of that procession which took place in Kerala at that time?

All States have seen many processions. These processions have been led by goldsmiths. I know they have a grievance. I do not say that they have no grievance, but that grievance can be dealt with in a different manner, not by shouting as was done by the hon. Member whose name I would not like to take, because he spoke here, abused and went away. He may do what he likes. After all, a person can say only what he is qualified or trained to say. Therefore, I cannot have a grievance about it, and I do make a grievance of it.

19 hrs.

**Mr. Speaker:** It has been observed many a time by my predecessors and even by myself that Members who criticise the Government here or make speeches here should normally be present to hear the reply also. It is a bad practice to make speeches here criticising the Government so strongly and using violent language and then go away without listening to the reply. I think the hon. Members will bear that in mind in future.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** I was also surprised that my hon. friend the Maharaja Sahib of Bikaner . . .

**Shri Karni Singhji:** My name is Karni Singh.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** He should bear with me. I say that it is how he spoke, he spoke as Maharaja Sahib of Bikaner and not as Karni Singh.

**Shri Karni Singhji:** May I humbly submit that I have been in this House for eleven years and I do not think a single man in this House will stand up and say that I spoke as Maharaja except yourself.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** I am saying it this time; I was surprised that he spoke as Maharaja Sahib of Bikaner; I have never found him so before. Even he was excited. Not only excited. He warned me and threatened me of extinction. Well, Sir, he is entitled to do this. On that score, I have no quarrel. But should one take to a measure considering his political career? Should one take to a measure because it is popular or because it is unpopular? Or, should one take to a measure because it benefits the country? After all that is the only criterion that I have before me in all the public work that I have done in my life. I have had many such warnings in my life. I have been receiving some warning letters, abusing letters outside the House also—even threats to kill me. That is not the first time that I have got these threats but I have had them during the last fifty years of my life. I am still alive—God be thanked I shall remain alive as long as God wills. When He Does not will it, I will disappear. Therefore, I am not bothered about it . . . (Interruptions.)

**Shri Karni Singhji:** Sir, may I submit that my objective was not to oppose this measure at all? What I tried to submit to the House was that it was at an inopportune moment. The attention of the country was focussed on the Chinese war. I did not oppose this measure.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** That need not be repeated; I am going to mention it . . . (Interruptions.)

**Shri R. S. Pandey:** This is the appropriate time.

2875 (Ai) LSD—9.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** I request them to bear me if they want to hear me; if they do not want it, they can even forget what I say. But at any rate they will have to give me a hearing. After all they cannot say that they are all wise men and I am certainly senseless as hon. Member Shri Prakash Vir Shastri said:

इस में बुद्धिमत्ता नहीं है ।

It means that. I am prepared to be senseless; let him have all the sense; I wish him all the pleasure of it. I have no objection to it. I am prepared to learn even from him. But let him show better sense in how he wants to improve me.

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : जिन की रोजी आप ने छीनी है, वह सिखायेंगे, मैं आप को क्या सिखाऊंगा ?

श्री मोरारजी देसाई : सिखाने की कोशिश काफ़ी की, धमकी भी दी और गालियां भी दीं

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : जो मेरा कर्तव्य था उस का मैं ने पालन किया ।

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. Let us hear him.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** I am also now carrying out my duty. It has been said that my political career will be at an end; it will be in jeopardy. Well, I have never believed in a political career; I have never believed in any career. When I joined public life, I joined only in order to do whatever humble service I could do to whatever position I was assigned by my leader. And I am content to do so. And if it comes to an end I do not think that I am going to be sorry about it. I will have as much pleasure in sweeping the streets as I have in carrying on as Finance Minister. I do not see any difference between the two. Therefore, that is not a thing which is going to threaten me and frighten me about. Therefore, why try this kind of tricks? I do not know.

[Shri Morarji Desai]

I consider it merely a trick. It is nothing else. That is not the way things can be achieved. I hope God will give me strength enough to be humble about it and not to be frightened by these things. And the Congress had been made of this kind of mettle. I have got this courage from the Congress to which I have the honour to belong. If the Congress was made of softer mettle, as some hon. friends think, it could not have brought Independence to this country, and it will not be able to raise this country to the height to which we all want to raise it.

It is now argued that no law can break any tradition, can make any change, and therefore it is wrong. It is not argued that a change will be very disastrous; it is argued that a religious tradition should not be broken. How is this a religious tradition? Where is it prescribed in religion? My hon. friend, Shri Kamaiah, is in many things a brilliant person. But brilliance sometimes becomes very difficult to contain; and therefore he began to quote and said that I have a heart of gold. I am very thankful to him. He meant it and I do not think that he did not mean it. But that does not mean any great thing because gold is held in that light, and therefore that comparison is made. But it is also said "*Sarve Jana Kanchanam Ashrayante*". Does he believe in that? What is the use of quoting this kind of things? After all, comparison to gold is not a good thing at all to my mind.

It was argued also that this brings in adulteration, when we are against all adulteration. There is no unadulterated gold in any ornament that you see anywhere. After all, unadulterated gold cannot be turned into an ornament. It has to be mixed with something—maybe very little. 24 carat gold also is not pure, hundred per cent., gold. I wonder why my hon. friends forgot this. Whether the adulteration is a little more or less, when it is recognised that it should be there, that

there are different things, why should this kind of thing be argued?

One can argue many things, but one should argue sensibly. That is all I have to say. After all, it must have some meaning in it. By "sensibly", I do not mean that the argument was senseless. I only want to say that it must have some value in it. It must explain its meaning. If that is not done, what is the good of doing that?

Let us examine why this has been done. That is a question which has been asked of me. It is primarily brought in to remove smuggling of gold which is hitting this country economically in a very bad way and for several years past, and it is growing. As prosperity grows, the lure for gold increases, and more and more gold goes and is being smuggled and more and more foreign exchange is getting lost. I am being asked for the last four or five years, in consultative committees, outside, and even here, what I have been doing to check this smuggling; why I am not taking steps in respect of gold. We did take some steps two years and more to check this. That was the first step that we took. We tried to locate the smuggling; we tried to find out the *modus operandi* of it, and we found that unless this smuggled gold is paid in foreign currency it could not be brought in. No amount of rupee payment will be able to buy gold in other countries. Therefore, there must be a method of getting that foreign currency. At that time, going into it, we found that there was a lot of our own currency which were current in the Persian Gulf. It was a legal currency by arrangement between us and them, and we were legally bound to transform whatever currency, whatever Indian currency was presented at the banks there, into foreign exchange, into pounds or dollars. That being so, the smugglers got rupees which they got transformed into foreign exchange in those banks under the name of the currency going on in the Persian Gulf. It took quite some time before we could take this decision, because it

meant a question of relations between the Persian Gulf countries and ourselves. There was a question of their taking it ill. Therefore, we had to be very careful about it. We considered this question for a long time. First we decided against it. Then we found that whatever may be the case we cannot go on considering merely feelings in this matter or our prestige alone when a matter of this type is concerned. Therefore, we decided, after consulting them—the British Government was also concerned in this—and with the agreement of everybody we stopped that circulation and we prescribed special notes for the Persian Gulf. That stopped smuggling for about four months or six months. But, immediately the smugglers found another method, and they were taught this by some friends from here who used to go out on foreign travel without getting any foreign exchange. We were wrong, I think, in allowing many people to go out on foreign travel without giving any foreign exchange. But we did so. We had not sufficient foreign exchange. Therefore, we allowed only on business, and we did not want to stop anybody from going out if he could go with friends or other people. But we found that this was misused. They paid rupees and bought pounds, and this was the method which was then taught to the smugglers. The smugglers now took pounds from Indians who used to transfer those pounds to India for the relatives and other people. They paid those pounds there, brought gold here and sold it for rupees and transferred those rupees here to the relatives of those people and their friends. It is an easy way of doing it. That is what they found and this is what goes on, from wherever it is done.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** It has gone on for many years?

**Shri Morarji Desai:** It has been happening for the last three or four years. Money that is obtained legally also, in underinvoicing and over-invoicing, is also utilised for this purpose.

It was a problem how to stop this. We had to stop this. There was only one method whereby the prices could be brought down and smuggling could be completely stopped. That method was to import as much gold as was required in this country and sell it here so that nobody could smuggle gold if we sold it at Rs. 52:60 at which we would get it or even by increasing the rate by Rs. 5 or Rs. 10 more for costs. Then there could be no smuggling. But could we afford to buy Rs. 50 crores to Rs. 60 crores worth of gold every year? And, it will be rising every year when it is sold like that, because there is a glamour for gold. Even my friends here think that there should be this glamour for it and they do not want to get out of it. This is what they are saying and they are frightening me. They are all my friends. I do not say they are my enemies. They are all my well-wishers. Even they are so much lured by gold and its tradition that they think that I am doing something sacriligious. Sir, far be it, from me to do anything which is sacriligious. If I want to take away this lure of gold, it is only because unless this is done this country will be suffering in two ways.

I came to this conclusion eight months ago. I had said always that I was thinking about it in the last four years as to what was to be done. Eight months ago I found out the causes, I found out the *modus operandi*. I found out that if I had to stop this smuggling, this economic drain in two ways, I had to take certain steps. One of the two ways of stopping this economic drain was to stop the straight drain of Rs. 40 crores to Rs. 60 crores of rupees by way of foreign change destroying our prestige in our currency in those countries. That has got to be done. The other drain which had to be stopped was the very uneconomic investments in gold in this country which was due to the long established custom and tradition. It has covered up the minds of my hon. friends there and made them dis-

[Shri Morarji Desai]

courteous, excited and violent. What else it would not do? Let us examine what gold is doing to us. It is argued that gold ornament is a safety for the womenkind and in times of adversity it can be easily utilised. My hon. friend, Shri Prakash Vir Shastri went so far as to tell me that it is a religious thing, that a father gives away his daughter bedecked by ornaments and then alone the religion is observed or carried out. I cannot see a more perverse interpretation of religion than this. How can there be any injunction by religion which compels a father to give his daughter away in marriage to the son-in-law for the benefit of the son-in-law, bedecked by gold ornaments? We have passed a law against dowry. Why have we done so? Because we consider it an evil custom of oppression. And nothing can be a more evil custom than this. Therefore, we have got to fight it. But, how are we to fight it? He went so far as to say that I am going against the custom of writing on the tongue of every child with a gold *Shalaka*. I never had that luxury. He may have been born in that luxury. My tongue was not written or engraved like that by any gold *Shalaka* or even silver *Shalaka*. That is not the custom everywhere. How many or how few families do it? I would like to know how many families use ornaments. If every family in this country has gold, we need not work for the economic upliftment of this country.

**श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री :** मैं के सम्बन्ध में आप कब से प्रमाण पत्र देने लगे ?

**श्री मोरारजी देसाई :** जब से आप देने लगे तब से ।

**श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री :** आप की बात तो एक दिन भी नहीं हर सकती । हमारे धर्म के सम्बन्ध में प्रमाण-पत्र हमारे ऋषि दे गये हैं जोकि हमारे धर्म सूत्रों में लिखे हुए हैं वह ही आगे भी होंगे ।

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. Let us hear him now.

**श्री मोरारजी देसाई :** मैं धर्म की व्याख्या आप से लेने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूँ ।

**श्री रा० शि० पांडेय (गुना) :** हमारे ऋषियों के पास तो एक तोड़ा सांनाना नहीं होता था । लंगोटी पहना करते थे और अपरिग्रही थे ।

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. Why should they get excited? Let us listen to the reply now.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** Why should my hon. friend get excited if I speak about religion? I do not get excited if he interprets religion. He has every right to do so, as he thinks. Rishis and *munis* are dead and gone. The writings are there. They can be interpreted according to the light and sense of everybody.

**श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री :** यही तो मुसीबत है ।

**श्री मोरारजी देसाई :** मुसीबत हर एक के लिये है, सिर्फ आप के लिये नहीं है ।

Why should it be the privilege of my hon. friend? Is it because he is called a Shastri? I do not think it is the privilege of any person to propound religion to anybody. I think those days are gone in this country when only Shastris will propound religion.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** What about your colleague, the Home Minister, Shri Shastri?

**Shri Morarji Desai:** My hon. colleague is a qualified Shastri; he is not a shastri by heredity. He is Lal Bahadur. Shastri is the title he has got because he is qualified. He is qualified to speak about it, because he has

learn it. But heredity is not a qualification for saying that.

श्री प्रकाशबोर शास्त्री : अध्यक्ष महोदय, शायद मोरारजी भाई को यह पता हो या न हो कि मैं शास्त्री किसी जापानी स्कूल से ले कर नहीं आया हूँ। संस्कृत यूनिवर्सिटी का मैं स्नातक हूँ जहाँ बिल्कुल २४ कॅरेट के सोने के समान शुद्ध प्रमाण-पत्र दिये जाते हैं। मैं वहाँ से शास्त्री हूँ।

श्री मोरारजी बेसाई : २४ कॅरेट का सोना शुद्ध सोना नहीं है। आप भी शुद्ध नहीं है।

I am prepared to accept the qualification of my hon. friend. I did not know that he was a Shastri not by heredity, that it was not his surname and that it is also a qualification. I am certainly prepared to grant his qualification. I have respect for it, and I have no objection to it. Yet, I am not prepared to take from him my interpretation of religion. That is for me to do. I do not think anybody should take it from anybody else. It would be a bad day for anybody to take religion from anybody like that and get into superstitions.

Therefore this is a matter where one has got to examine with patience and objectivity. Let my hon. friend examine it with objectivity. Why is he excited even now? Excitement does not keep the senses calm and then one loses the capacity to judge. Therefore, I am saying, let there be objectivity about it. He would not make me excited by any chance because then he will succeed and I will lose. I do not want to do that. I want to argue. It is possible that I am not able to convince him. That also is possible. He can hold his view and I would perfectly grant that he is honest about it. I have no quarrel about that. But why does he not want to grant that I am honest in what I believe? Why does he want to think that this is done with some motive or with some purpose or completely carelessly, uselessly or senselessly? After all, God has given sense to everybody and every-

body acts according to the sense that is given to him. If it is given to me to be the Minister of Finance—for which I am not obliged to him; I am obliged to the Congress and to my leader—I have got to act according to my tenets which I have got from the Congress and I am going to work according to that. Therefore this measure has been brought to remove this foreign exchange drain and that can be done only if the lure of gold disappears. If the lure of gold remains, it can go on happening.

How is that to be done? It is said that no law can do it. We have passed many laws in this country to change many customs and they have been changed. The other day I gave the illustration of rupee notes and rupee coins. When the notes were introduced, everybody wanted rupee coins and not notes. But now what has happened? Now everybody takes only notes and nobody wants the rupee coins because they consider them a burden.

There was the custom of sati. No religious custom was considered more than that. But sati was abolished by law. If it had not been abolished by law, it would never have been abolished. It was a monstrous custom. It may originally have been a very great thing for a sati, but all the satis that were happening were happening only by custom and by operation. Therefore, it was abolished.

Then, take other cases, as many cases as you like. We have abolished the evil custom of debarring daughters from inheriting their fathers' property. That was a great onslaught on the Hindu Law and custom. That was also considered religious. People were threatened about it at that time.

The law of monogamy has been introduced. That was done by law. The law of divorce has been introduced. More than that, there was the custom of child marriage in this country. Children were married, all on the ground of religion.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** But many great social reformers had prepared the ground for it.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** Let my hon. friend have some patience. I wish he gets more patience.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** I am listening to you very patiently.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** He invariably loses it at times. He has a lot of patience but he loses it sometimes.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** I never lost patience. I was never excited. I only told you that they had prepared the ground for it.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** That is what I am saying. Therefore, it is futile to argue that things cannot be changed by law. These are customs which have got to be changed by laws and destroyed by laws because without the law nothing can happen. Mahatma Gandhi began a crusade for removing untouchability. It was considered that it had the sanction of religion. But that also could not be destroyed until the law was passed.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** The law has been successful because of Gandhiji.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** It is going on. It is also an educative process. I do not believe that I am going to succeed immediately within two months. But it is the process whereby the education of the country begins and it will go on. I am quite sure, whatever my hon. friend, Shri Chaudhuri, may say or whatever others may say about its being ill-fated or ill-planned, I have every hope that this will succeed and it is succeeding even today. For that I have only to quote my hon. friends. They say that all the goldsmiths are out of employment. If smuggling has not stopped, as they say, and gold is coming in, certainly all the goldsmiths are employed because they must be working on all that gold. Then how are they unemployed? What is the

use of arguing like that? The fact that they are un-employed shows that they are getting no gold. It is absolutely there. What is the use of arguing like this? But, they do not see the fallacy of their argument in the heat of the passions by which they are governed, the passion of gold.

**Dr. M. S. Aney:** Their starvation is your success?

**Shri Morarji Desai:** If in the process of it, any people are starved, I am very sorry for them. I am intensely pained for them. I am trying to take steps to see that they get employed. Government gives such help as I can. My hon. friend is such a learned person. He is always a most studious person. I suppose more than him there is nobody who is a more attentive Member in this House. I have the highest respect for him, even though I do not agree with him in several views. That is bound to be. There is perhaps a difference of 20 years between him and me. Naturally, therefore, he has more wisdom than I have. I may differ on account of my ignorance. Sometimes he may differ on account of the conservatism that he may have on account of 20 more years. These are all things possible. But, I have the highest respect for him, and therefore I want to win him over in this matter. I do not think he is a person who is not amenable to argument. If we argue with him for an hour colly I am quite sure that he will accept my position that nothing different can be done than what I have been doing today. I have no doubt about it in my mind.

If I were not so convinced, I would certainly give up the order. I do not believe in prestige. Prestige is the bugbear of lawyers.

**Shri Narendra Singh Mahida:** We all want you to be more sympathetic to goldsmiths.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** I have every sympathy with them. I have no bugbear of prestige. Any person in office or power, who, on account of prestige

refuses to change any action when it is found it is wrong, I would say, he does not deserve to remain in that office, because he is not a good public servant. That is what I believe in. I also believe, at the same time, that anybody who is in public service, who wants to do service to the people, should not be afraid of the agitation not of one or two or a thousand but of 5000 or 50,000, and if he thinks that it is in the interests of the country, he must be prepared to be stoned and killed but not yield. That is what I have believed in. This is what I believe in in the matter of public service and public life.

My hon. friend the Maharaja Saheb of Bikaner said that I have broken—he has charged me with a very heinous thing—the unity in this country which was forged. Which is the unity which he has forged? Would he have talked in the manner he talked if there was unity? Would the hon. Member Shri Bagri have talked in the manner he talked? This is not the first time. He has been talking like this ever since the emergency has arisen. Would the Congress have been condemned, abused and criticised in the vulgar manner in which it is criticised? The leader of the Congress, the Prime Minister, the way he has been criticised—would that have been done if there was that real unity which is claimed by my hon. friend? I do not want to speak about it. Because, it is we along who are believing in unity and not my hon. friends over there. When they have charged me... I am going to do that.

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi:** That is too sweeping and unfortunate.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** I am bound to say that; I am charged with it. Let nobody be excited about it. I have every right to give my view. I do not say that everybody is like that.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath.** I suppose he does not charge the entire opposition.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** am not charging the whole opposition, nor even a whole party. I am talking of people. Some people will never want that kind of unity. What is the use of saying this kind of a thing that I am breaking this unity? How can this unity be broken? Is unity to be maintained by doing wrong things or by patronising wrong attitudes, or by making wrong promises? I do not think that that unit will save this country.

We are at a very critical stage in our country when we have to defend our freedom, when we have to defend our integrity. I do not say that if I get all the gold, I will defend my country better than without that. Even if I do not get any gold, I will certainly defend my country and with success. That is not the stake at issue. What is at issue is prevent the drain on the economic life of this country through the drain of foreign exchange and the senseless sinking of all surpluses and savings into gold which remains locked up in their houses. Now, as regards those people who they say are getting succour at times of adversity what do they get? They get half the money, with perhaps 25 or 30 per cent or hundred per cent interest to pay. And what have we seen? Many of the moneylenders have become very rich, and all those who have pawned with them have become paupers. This is the result of this gold business.

My hon. friend Shri Bishanchander Seth made a severe castigation of the Gold Control Rules. And what did he say in the telegram that he sent me when I promulgated these rules? He seems to have forgotten it. I shall just read it out for your knowledge. He says there:

“SHRI MORARJI DESAI UNION FINANCE MINISTER NEW DELHI ACCEPT MY CONGRATULATIONS TODAY FARSIGHTED AND REASONABLE BROADCAST CONCERNING HOARDED GOLD AND SETTING ALL INDIA GOLD CONTROL

[Shri Morarji Desai]

BOARD KINDLY ACCEPT MY SINCERE SERVICES AND KNOWLEDGE IN THIS FIELD FOR NATIONAL EMERGENCY PLEASE INCLUDE MY NAME IN PANEL."

Of course, he sent me some objections afterwards. He raised some objections afterwards. After the objections also he wrote to me another letter, in which the following is the last paragraph. And this was the last thing that he said there:

"अन्त में मुझे यह लिखने में संतोह रहा है कि स्वर्ग के संभ्रमों में जो परम्परागत भारतीय जगत्, विश्वतः महिलाओं, में फैल रही है, आप के इस विषय में निश्चय निश्चय बड़े समय में नगण्य हो जाएगी।"

श्री बिशन चन्द्र सेठ (एटर्नल) : मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि मैं ने यह भी लिखा है कि जब तक आप इस काम का करने बाजों का साथ नहीं देंगे तब तक काम ठीक नहीं चल सकता है। तब ही आप का ठीक एडवाइस मिल सकती है, कि किस तरह से इन चीजों का आप लेंगे। आप शायद उस बात का भूल गए हैं।

श्री रा० शि० पांडेय : आप की बधाई स्वीकार है।

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Let us proceed now.

Shri Morarji Desai: I feel that I have been wise in not taking him on the board, because after knowing the advice that he had, if I had taken him on the board, he would have scuttled the board; nothing else would have happened.

श्री बिशन चन्द्र सेठ : जब आप जानते थे तब स तार की ल्यू क्या रह जाती है। अगर आप फील करते हैं कि हम इस के खिलाफ थे तब तो इस तार को सुनाने का कोई मौका ही नहीं था।

श्री मोरारजी देसाई : मौका था इसी लिए मैं ने सुनाया है।

श्री बिशन चन्द्र सेठ : मैं समझता था कि अगर आप मेरी सविस्तर लगे तो इस के रूप में परिवर्तन हो जायगा।

श्री मोरारजी देसाई : परिवर्तन मैं नहीं चाहता हूँ।

He did not say that he would enable me to change the whole thing and bring a new thing. He never told me that. He only said this is his telegram that this was farsighted, and that the mothers would lose the fondness for gold,

निश्चय-निश्चय बड़े ही समय में।

This was what he said.

If this is the attitude of opposing a measure a measure like this, what can I do?

श्री बिशन चन्द्र सेठ : अभी हमारे मिनिस्टर साहब ने कहा कि हम चाहते थे कि किसी दूसरे के का इस्तेमाल करें। हम ने दूसरे के इस्तेमाल किया तो उस की खिन्नालदर हो रही है। जब कोई बात साफ साफ कही जाती है, तब वह आप को नागवार लगती है। मैंने आप की खुशामद नहीं की। मैंने ता गद्दी कहा था कि आप हमारी बात मान लीजिए।

श्री रा० शि० पांडेय : आप की बधाई स्वीकार है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : दूसरे माननीय सदस्यों को दखन देना नहीं चाहिये।

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** I would never have mentioned this telegram and his statements if he had not challenged me about it. He said that he had offered to be a member of the board and I did not take him. That was what pinched me.

**Shri J. P. Jyotishi:** It is good that you have warned the country against such persons.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** Therefore, I had to mention it. Otherwise, I would not have mentioned these things. Why should I have to mention these things? Since he himself mentioned it, I had to come out in explanation as to why I did not take him in the Gold Board. Otherwise, I would not have mentioned it at all.

This smuggling of gold, as I said before, can be stopped, therefore, only if I go on spending every year Rs. 40 to 60 crores in foreign exchange in buying gold outside and selling it here.

This will go on mounting. Therefore, we cannot do it.

The other question, therefore, remains, that unless this fascination for gold disappears, nothing can be done. Therefore, I had to prevent ornaments of gold being made, and that is why I came down to the 14-carat gold, because it would consume less of gold in the beginning and then people will go down to costume jewellery, as they have done in almost all other countries.

My hon. friend said that I am trying to impose the traditions of the West here. What are the traditions which I am supplanting? I am not supplanting any spiritual traditions, I am not supplanting any traditions of truth, I am not supplanting any traditions of sacrifice in this country. But in the matter of dress, in the matter of food and so on, things have gone on changing always. My hon. friend's is

not dressed as his father was or his forefathers were. My dress is not the same as that of my ancestors. We are all changing. Only my hon. friend, Dr. M. S. Aney, keeps the same dress for the last many years. But we see only one turban here. That turban also will not be seen after ten years—I am quite sure of that. That is the change which takes place.

**Dr. M. S. Aney:** They have already changed.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** Everything will go on changing.

Therefore, these are matters where a change ought not to be objected to. Why should it be objected to?

**Mr. Speaker:** I am sure the Finance Minister is not referring to my turban.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** I call it a I do not call it a turban.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Pheta.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** Safa or Pheta. I do not call it a turban. Only Englishmen can call it a turban. I do not think that will disappear as long as the Sikhs keep their things. But if they lose it, I do not think there is anything sacrilegious about it. There are some people among the Sikhs who do not keep beards or moustaches. They are not irreligious. They have not lost their religion. I would not say that they have lost their religion. This may be quarrelled with some of the Qurns of the Sikhs. After all, reforms have got to face all sort of ignominy.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Obloquy.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** No reform has been effected without the reformer having to suffer. I am prepared to suffer in this matter in my reputation. But I do not want my parent body to suffer in any way. This is a matter where I have not been led up the garden path by anybody. This is a matter which I have thought of consistently and have come to these conclusions. It has not been done in a

[Shri Morarji Desai]

hurry. I decided this eight months ago. After that, I have been making rules. I have been examining all the various implications and consequences of it, and then have formulated these.

It was argued: why did I allow the jewellers to sell their ornaments for a month and why did I not give the same facility to the goldsmiths? If the goldsmiths had any ready-made ornaments, they had the same facility. I did not allow the jewellers to make any gold ornaments during that period. How could I allow the goldsmiths to do that? It was asked: why did I not warn the goldsmiths beforehand so that they could have already taken steps to counter the whole action? How could I do it? Yes, it has suddenly put them in a difficulty. I am very sorry to have been the instrument having done so. But if in the interest of the country one has got to do it, one has got to do it. I do not say that the number of 5 lakhs is a small number. When I say that the number is exaggerated, I do not say that 5 lakhs is a small number. I would not call even 5,000 a small number if it comes to unemployment. Even if one man is unemployed, I would not consider it a small or insignificant thing. So where is the question of small number? But some things are inevitable. What am I to do?

I do not know why my hon. friend, Shri D. C. Sharma—Professor as he is—launched himself into this. That is what I do not understand. But that shows the liberty with which Congressmen think. That is a tribute to the democracy in the Congress body. I am quite sure he will also learn a lesson from this, whether this was thoughtfully done or was thoughtlessly done. I am only trying to persuade him to see that this was not thoughtlessly done. What is it going to achieve? It has already achieved something. Smuggling has gone down. There may be a little smuggling. The only thing is it has to be kept up.

Then there are questions which are asked: why have you not put a ceiling

on possession? If for taking the primary step I am attacked in this manner, I do not know what my friend the Maharaja Saheb of Bikaner would have said if I had taken all the steps together. He would have said something else altogether.

**Mr. Speaker:** This word "together" might be very significant.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** It is significant. These orders are not going to remain where they are, and there are going to be various steps taken as time goes on. I have said that often, but let me assure everybody that I do not want to take away the gold of anybody, whether they are Maharajas or whether they are any other people. There are some people who would be very happy if I take away the gold of Maharajas and nobody else. That is what my hon. friend Shri Banerjee would want to be done. He has jealousy of all people who have some money, but if he gets money, then he will not show it. These are all matters in human nature. What can I do about it? But one cannot go on doing that. Let there be no suspicion about it. There is no question of taking away anybody's gold, but when the prices go down, they are bound to sell it, and if they sell it, Government will buy it at the value. If they do not want to sell it, let them keep it. Why do I want to have it? It is in safe custody there. Why should I be their safe custodian, I do not know. Therefore, if it is with them, I do not mind. It is in the country.

Then people thought I was going to drain the country of gold. Why should I drain it of gold? But we do require money. This will be a credit. It is not a question of selling away Rs. 200 crores and then afterwards what is one going to do. But if that remains here as a security, as we have got Rs. 118 crores worth of gold, a little more than that, if I get Rs. 500 crores more worth of gold, it will increase my security better, it will

increase my credit better. What is the use of selling it out? I do not want to be bankrupt in this country. Far be it from the Finance Minister of this country, whoever he is for the time, to think of bankruptcy or desperate measures. This country is rich enough in every way, even though momentarily it is poor. But it is rich enough in its potentialities, and there is no reason for any Finance Minister to be afraid of bankruptcy at any time or think of it. This country is marching ahead, there is no question about it in my mind. Therefore, I do not think that any such steps are under contemplation, but certainly steps are being considered, they are already there in my mind. They will be taken as time comes on, so that those who are trying to circumvent it will learn a lesson, they will suffer. Let my hon. friends not have then any sympathy for them. That is all that I am asking them to do. Otherwise, if they again show sympathy for them, this unity will be broken, and for it the responsibility will be that of the Maharaja of Bikaner and nobody else. That is all that I want to say.

**Shri Karni Singhji:** What would I be responsible for?

**Shri Morarji Desai:** For the breaking of the unity.

**Shri Karni Singhji:** I do not think you quite understood me. What I told yesterday was that if we took steps that went against the feelings of the people, there was a fear that we might jeopardise the unity that we had built up because of the war. I do not think the Finance Minister has read through my speech, and since I have not received the copy of it today myself, I am not in a position to read it out.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** I am glad my hon. friend has corrected me, but I heard him very definitely. He said it was broken, not that there was a fear. If he had only said there was a fear, I would not have said anything.

**Shri Karni Singhji:** I hope the Lok Sabha will circulate my speech.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** Then I will stand corrected, but I am quite sure he will himself admit when he sees that because I know he is truthful enough to admit his mistakes. I have no doubt about it. In the heat that is what he spoke. I have never seen him speaking in that tone. He is always very quiet, calm and serious in what he says.

**Shri Karni Singhji:** Is it a quality for a Member of Parliament to be quiet?

**Shri Morarji Desai:** To be quiet in speaking, I did not say quiet in the meaning of being silent. I did not say that. But to be quiet is a great virtue. To be excitable is no virtue. I do not think my hon. friend wants to be excitable. When I give him a virtue, he is quarrelling with me!

Then the question of pawn brokers came up. Let me first deal with the goldsmiths. When it is said that all the five lakhs of goldsmiths are idle, I am afraid there again it is a wrong statement. All the five lakhs do not deal in gold. There are many who deal only in silver. They could not be out of employment; there is no ban on silver. Silver has not been taken away; nothing has been done about it. All these ornaments are not touched at all.

I was told the other day when I went to Lucknow by a friend that he accepted all that I said and that he was in favour of gold control order. But he also said that goldsmiths in the hills have become unemployed. He himself said that in the hills there is very little gold and they use only silver ornaments. Then, I asked: how are these goldsmiths unemployed then? Then he had no answer to me. But there are many people like that.

Then again, those who deal in gold do not deal in gold only; they deal in silver also and silver fashion goes on increasing. Therefore, where is the question of their being idle? My hon.

[Shri Morarji Desai]

friend Shri Bishanchander Seth deals in gold; he is not idle. There are many like that who are not idle. What is the use of involving everybody and whenever the question of imaginary un-employment comes, my hon. friend Shri Banerjee becomes the greatest advocate . . . (Interruptions).

श्री बिशान चन्द्र सेठ : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं मंत्री जी से कहना चाहूंगा कि उन की जा इतला है वह गलत है। वे इस बात पर विश्वास करें। मैं खुद डील करता हूँ, मैं कहता हूँ कि उन की जो इतला है वह गलत है। इस देश में लाखों आदमी बेकार हो गये हैं। मैं महज दिखाने के लिए यह नहीं कह रहा हूँ, मेरा विश्वास है कि वास्तविकता यही है।

Shri Morarji Desai: I am only showing by facts what is happening. He is only giving me an assurance by words. Are these facts controverted? Is it not true that there are many goldsmiths who deal only in silver? They are not goldsmiths they are silversmiths but they are all included in this category of goldsmiths. They are not unemployed. But as I said, even if only one is unemployed I should like to help him.

I have written to the State Governments that they should help them and their children by books, by fees, by training and if these people want to be trained in any profession or in any other ways, money should be spent on it. If they want loans for buying sewing machines or other machines and things like that, loans should be advanced to them and I am prepared to give these amounts to the State Governments.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: By what time will these arrangements be finalised?

Shri Morarji Desai: When the agitation dies out. Till then it is impossible to deal with a question like that. What is happening today? There are several goldsmiths who

have informed me that 14 carat gold can be turned into any ornament. There is a gentleman here whose name I gave in order that others may learn from him. He came to the House yesterday, here. What happened to him? He was attacked by members of his tribe outside the House, filthily abused and man-handled. He had to seek the protection of the police. He has written to me; here is his statement. I have received such statements from other people also. Are these the methods to be employed? These people get encouraged because of the advocacy which is taken by several hon. friends of mine. Not that they want to encourage this kind of thing. Let me make it clear. I can never think that my hon. friends for whom I have respect can ever take to these methods. But they must also see the consequences of the encouragement they give to wrong people. They are not good causes. If causes like this are taken up and developed into national causes as they say, Sir, this country will have no future left. My hon. friends also will be doing harm to their parties by taking up wrong causes. They may threaten me that I will lose in the elections. I have been threatened like that several times at every election. In the last election also the Congress was threatened with extinction. Well, the people knew better and they showed confidence. They are a great people. It may be that sometimes the Congress may get out of elections and may get defeated. The Congress has not the monopoly of it and we should be perfectly willing to do so. But these are not the ways in which one can put out the Congress. The more they try to do like this, the worse will be their fate. And the better will be the fate of the Congress. But this is not good for us also because we like to be told and corrected in the proper manner and not to be made indifferent to criticism. But when there is perpetually wrong criticism one becomes indifferent.

That is also a human foible. I do not say that this is justified, but after all, we are all weak people. I cannot say we are very strong people. My hon. friends cannot say that they are very strong people. All of us are equally human. Therefore we suffer from all these foibles, and that is why I am saying that when wrong causes are taken up and agitated over and pleaded for then it is not the cause which prospers; it is not the right cause which will become ill-fated or ill-planned. But it is the agitation which is ill-fated and ill-planned, which will vanish. I have no doubt about it in my mind.

Then there is the question raised by my hon. friend Shri Prakash Vir Shastri, that all works of art are going out of existence. This is happening only temporarily, just now, when things have to be stabilised. There is absolutely no intention of allowing this to go out of existence. I have told all those people who came and saw me that we are going to make arrangements to get these prepared in bonded warehouses so that they can be prepared and exported. They can be sold here to tourists also for foreign exchange. These things can be done. I also want to explore if silver goods can be made, goods of art, and if they can be exported. Many of these people can turn themselves into this and can get more money out of it, and these can be exported. I want to explore that possibility also. I can explore these possibilities only if I am allowed to explore these possibilities. But if I am abused, which it is perhaps their privilege to do, how am I going to do anything? I will certainly not abuse in return. Why should I have to do so? I have no boil in myself; those who have boils in themselves can abuse me, but why should I have to do so? Therefore, that way, nothing will be served. But I would certainly like to help; I want co-operation in this matter so that we can find today ways and means whereby we can certainly settle all these problems. But let it be understood that this is not

an order which has been hastily thought of. It is not an order which is going to do any harm to the country. It is on the contrary, an order which will do great good to the country, and its economy, and it will change also the wrong economic habits which have been ingrained and which have become wrong today. I do not say that they were wrong in the hoary past. They are wrong today. All other facilities are available for people to invest their monies which can be useful on a rainy day. There was no insurance in the earlier days; there was no banking facility in the earlier days; there were no savings certificate in the earlier days; there were no loans; there were no savings banks. But today these are all there. If a person, instead of putting his money into gold, in order that it may be useful on a rainy day, puts that much amount as a premium on his policy he will get the whole amount with interest when the term is over, and if, God forbid, the man passes away his dependants will get the full amount without even paying one-fourth of that amount and that will be a security for his own family. Instead of propagating these things and changing wrong customs, my hon. friends try to threaten me and frighten me. Well, I may assure them that they are not going to succeed, and I am not going to threaten them or frighten them in return. Therefore these things ought to be considered differently.

There was another question, namely, that the pawn-brokers are not being allowed to return the gold ornaments which were pawned to them. That is true at present, but that also requires to be properly arranged and settled. If a person is only a pawn-broker, it becomes easy to allow him to return the ornaments that he has got when the amount is received. But many of these people are both dealers and pawn-brokers. They have gold which they are dealing with. There are these pawns which are with them as mortgaged ornaments. If I allow

[Shri Morarji Desai]

them to be returned just now, the other things will be returned and these things will be turned into something else. Because this is what is being done. I have got to be careful. I know it is some inconvenience to these people. I am very sorry for it. But, in the national interest, I would only beg of them to bear with this inconvenience. I will certainly remove this inconvenience as soon as they enable me to do so by giving up agitational methods and taking to co-operation in this matter so that their good is achieved and the nation's good is achieved. This is the co-operation which I request by hon. friends to give me. This is the co-operation which I request all those who are affected by this to give me.

Sir, there was a run for purchasing ornaments for a month from 10th January to 9th February. It was a mad rush, that is all I can say. But why was that mad rush there? It was because of the fondness for gold, because of the attempt of some of my friends who went on saying that this was a wrong thing. So some people thought that things would disappear and they could take away as much gold as they could at that time. But my enquiries have shown that many people have been duped. They deserved to be duped. They went and purchased ornaments thinking that they were of 22 and 24 carats whereas several of them were not even of 14 carats. Well, they will begin to repent at leisure. Sir, I had a friend who went to Hong Kong once. He wanted to buy gold from there. He went to one of the most prominent men there and bought gold from a properly established shop. He bought gold and came back to Bombay. He kept it in his box. After a month he took it out to show to his friend. But the moment he took it out he found that it was of brass. This is what happens in the dealings in gold.

Let us not be encouraging people to invest more and more on gold. Let

us destroy this lure of gold as fast as we can. And, that is what this Government is doing. Instead of supporting me in this matter, I am being threatened with dire consequences. I am prepared to take the consequences. If my disappearance enables this cause to prosper I am prepared to do so with the greatest satisfaction, but if that does not do so and if the execution of this order in a proper and peaceful way and the carrying out of these arrangements is going to benefit this country not only now but permanently, I will be highly thankful to my hon. friends if they help me in this matter. If they do not help me, I am not going to curse them as they curse me. I am not going to find fault with them. I am only requesting them for co-operation. I will certainly go on single-handed even if I have to go on like that, because this is a matter which, I believe with complete certainty and conviction, if given up, will ruin the country. What happens now? Rs. 50 crores to Rs. 60 crores of savings are sunk in the ground with no benefit either to the persons concerned or to the country. We want to develop fast. How are we going to develop fast unless we deploy all the savings on attempts to increase our production? It is also to help that that it is necessary to destroy this custom and tradition which has grown into superstition.

Sir, I request for co-operation in this matter from all my friends including my hon. friend, Shri D. C. Sharma.

**Mr. Speaker:** The discussion is over and the House stands adjourned to meet again tomorrow at eleven o'clock.

19.59 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, March 7, 1963/Phalgun 16, 1884 (Saka).*