

[The Deputy Chairman]

4. P.M.

I have to inform Members that under rule 186(2) of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, the Chairman has allotted time for the completion of all stages involved in the consideration and return of the following Bills by the Rajya Sabha, including the consideration and passing of amendments, if any, to the Bills:

(i) The Legal Tender (Inscribed Notes) Bill, 1964—one hour.

(ii) The Appropriation (No. 5) Bill, 1964—One hour and 30 minutes.

(iii).The High Court Judges  
(Conditions of Service)  
Amendment Bill, 1964—One  
hour.

Now, the Legal Tender (Inscribed Notes) Bill, 1964.

SHEI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): It was read out already.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Was it? Anyway I have informed you of the time granted.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): Is the Appropriation Bill allotted only one hour and a half?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: One and a half hours. The Legal Tender Bill.

#### **THE LEGAL TENDER (INSCRIBED NOTES) BILL, 1964**

THE MINISTER OF PLANNING (SHRI B. R. BHAGAT): Madam Deputy Chairman, I move:

"That the Bill to restrict the negotiability of currency and other notes inscribed with messages of a political character, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The object of this measure is simple and non-controversial. The Legal Tender (Inscribed Notes) Ordinance 1942, provides that the currency note; of the Government of India, the Bank Notes issued by the Reserve Bank of India, and the Government of India one Rupee Notes, which bear inscribed on them any words, representations or messages of a political character, shall not be legal tender, and that the Reserve Bank of India shall not be under any legal obligation to accept or exchange any such note. With a view to avoiding hardship to any innocent holders of any such notes, however, the Reserve Bank of India has been given the discretion to refund, as of grace, the whole or part of the value of any such note.

The Ordinance, as it stands at present, applies only to those territories which, prior to the reorganisation of States, comprised Part 'A' and Part 'G' States. This was because the Ordinance, as promulgated in 1942, was applicable to the whole of what was then British India, and did not cover those Indian States which later on merged with independent India as Part 'B' States. The justification for excluding the former Indian States from the jurisdiction of the Ordinance was probably because some of them had their own currency. Such justification does not exist any longer with the federal financial integration of all the former Indian States and their final integration with the Indian Union. Currency and Bank Notes are now issued in the whole of the Indian Union by the Government of India under the authority of the Currency Ordinance, 1940, and by the Reserve Bank of India under the provisions of the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934. It is therefore necessary to make the provisions of the Legal Tender (Inscribed Notes) Ordinance, 1942, uniformly applicable to all parts of the Indian Union including the former Part 'B' States as well as the territories which have recently merged with the Indian Union.

under the proviso to section *i* of the Ordinance, the Reserve Bank of India is empowered to refund the whole or part of the value of such notes tendered to them, as a matter of grace. The words "in its discretion" in that proviso, however, are likely to impart an idea of judicial exercise of this power by the Bank, thereby detracting from the effect of the words "as of grace" in the proviso. These offending words have accordingly been omitted in the corresponding proviso in the Bill.

The Legal Tender (Inscribed Notes) Ordinance, 1942, promulgated during the emergency caused by World War II, although at that time was meant as a temporary measure, is still in force by virtue of section 1(3) of the India and Burma (Emergency Provisions) Act, 1940. Although the practice of inscribing political slogans on currency notes is neither widespread nor frequent, it is likely that the practice might recur from time to time, and it is therefore necessary that the provisions of the Ordinance should be retained on a permanent basis on the statute book of the country. It is therefore proposed that they should be re-enacted in an Act of Parliament and the Ordinance repealed.

The provisions of the Bill, as I said, are non-controversial and I trust, Madam, that the House will not have any difficulty in accepting this Bill. With these words I move.

*The question was proposed.*

**श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौर-  
ङ्गिया (मध्य प्रदेश) :** उपसभापति महोदया, जो विधेयक प्रस्तुत किया गया है उसका मैं समर्थन करता हूँ। यह बात सही है कि आजादी के बाद भी हम अपने विधान में ऐसी व्यवस्था रखें जिसके अन्तर्गत अगर कोई राजनैतिक दल चाहे कि अपने राजनैतिक प्रचार को करने के लिए नोट को माध्यम बनाये तो वह ऐसा न कर सके। कभी भी यह न्यायसंगत नहीं कहा जा सकता। अंग्रेजों के जमाने में और उसके पहले भी जो लोग अपना महत्व बढ़ाना चाहते थे, जो लोग

चाहते थे कि हमारी पूजा हो, जो लोग चाहते थे कि जब तक संसार कायम रहे हम अमर हो जायें वे यह जरूर चाहते थे कि अपना चित्र या अपनी कोई राजनैतिक जानकारी उन सिक्कों पर या उन नोटों पर जो वह चलायें उन पर कर दें। वर्षों पुरानी बात है इसी महत्वाकांक्षा के पीछे कि मैं अमर हो जाऊँ— हुमायूँ ने तीन घंटे के लिए भिखी को राज्य दिया था और उस भिखी ने अपने आपको अमर बनाने का माध्यम केवल यही समझा कि मैं अपना चमड़े का सिक्का चला जाऊँ जिससे कि जहाँ तक संसार कायम रहे, जहाँ तक इतिहास कायम रहे मैं याद किया जाऊँ और सचमुच हम और आप उसे याद करते हैं और इतिहास में बराबर उसका नाम चला जाता है कि उसने तीन घंटे की राजगद्दी पाने पर सब मशकों को इकट्ठा करवा दिया और उसने अपने चमड़े का सिक्का चला दिया।

तो यह एक राजनैतिक लक्ष्य प्राप्त करना उसका माध्यम था और उसको मिटाने को दृष्टि से हम इस विधेयक में कुछ प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं। अंग्रेजों के पहले भी जो राजा महाराजा थे, अंग्रेजों के काल में भी जो राजा महाराजा थे उन्होंने अपना अपना सिक्का चलाया, जार्ज पंचम आये तो उनका सिक्का चला, उन्होंने अपना नोट छपाया, जार्ज षट्ठ आये तो उन्होंने भी अपना चलाया, एडवर्ड आये तो उन्होंने भी अपना चलाया। अभी तक की परम्परा यह रही कि जो भी राजा बना, चाहे वह जयपुर का महाराजा था, चाहे इंदौर का महाराजा था, चाहे हैदराबाद का नवाब था, सब यह प्रयत्न करते थे कि अपने अपने इसकिप्शंस, अपने अपने चेहरे सिक्कों पर—या अगर नोट चलाये जायें तो नोटों पर—प्रचलित करें। उस समय व्यवस्था कुछ ऐसी थी कि जो आदमी राजगद्दी पर आता था वह अपना सिक्का चलाता था, "आते का बोलवाला" वाला किस्सा होता था और उसके अन्तर्गत जो भी नया

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरडिया]

राजा बना, जो भी नया सम्राट् बना, जो भी सामन्त बना वह सामन्तशाही के प्रतीक के रूप में अपना सिक्का, अपना नोट, चलाता था।

अंग्रेज चले गये, उनकी परम्परा थी अपना राजनैतिक प्रसार करना, यह कि लोग उनकी पूजा करे, चाहे सिक्के के रूप में हो चाहे कैसे हो—आज भी हमारे यहां पर रिवाज है दिवाली में जब लक्ष्मी-पूजन करते हैं तब कई लोग उस समय सब सिक्कों को, प्योर गोल्ड के, चांदी के, अपने सामने रखते हैं—उनको एकत्रित करके उनकी पूजा की जाती है और उन पर चेहरा किनका छपा रहता है जार्ज पंचम का या एडवर्ड सप्तम् का या फिर जो राजा महाराजा हो गए हैं उनका या उदयपुर की रियासत का लन्दन दोस्ती वाला सिक्का प्योर चांदी का जो होता है उनकी पूजा वह करते हैं। वह सब हम में गुलामी की भावना भरने वाला था, जो राजा हमारे यहां राज्य करते थे उनके प्रति हमारी श्रद्धा बने, उनके प्रति हमारा आकर्षण बने और उनसे हम मुक्त नहीं होने पायें यह भावना भरने की दृष्टि वें प्रचलित किये जाते थे।

हमारे यहां भी चर्चा थी हमारा गांधीजी के प्रति पूरा आदर है और लोगों की यह चर्चा चली थी कि गांधीजी का भी सिक्का चलाया जाना चाहिए परन्तु इसी कारण से कि हमारे यहां लोगों के मन में हीरोवशिप की भावना नहीं बने—क्योंकि हमारा राष्ट्र ही सब कुछ है और राष्ट्र के लिए हम सब कुछ अर्पण करना चाहते हैं, किसी व्यक्ति का हम पर कोई विशेष प्रभाव न पड़े क्योंकि भारतमाता ने कई सपूतों को जन्म दिया, कई महापुरुष यहां पर हो गए और कई आगे पैदा होने वाले होंगे इसलिए एक के प्रति ही हमारी सारी निष्ठा नहीं केन्द्रित हो जाए और हम राष्ट्र को भूल कर के केवल उसी की तरफ लक्ष्य न कर लें—

इस दृष्टि से उस समय भी लोगों ने विचार किया, नहीं तो चर्चा बहुत चली थी कि गांधीजी का सिक्का चलाया जाय।

गांधीजी ने राष्ट्र की कितनी सेवा की, गांधीजी ने कांग्रेस दल की भी कितनी सेवा की मगर कांग्रेस दल की सेवा के मुकाबिले में राष्ट्र की सेवा बहुत है, राष्ट्र की दृष्टि से यह सोचा गया, उस समय यह सवाल उठाया गया कि राष्ट्र की बड़ी सेवा की है इसलिये उनका सिक्का चलाया जाए मगर लोगों के मन में कुछ आया और इसको पसन्द नहीं किया। जैसे कि आज भी कुछ लोग, कांग्रेस के कुछ लोग, गांधीजी का नाम लेकर अपना मत प्राप्त करने का प्रयत्न करते हैं—तो यह भावना लोगों के मन में नहीं आये इस दृष्टि से और एक इमो-क्रैटिक, प्रजातांत्रिक दृष्टिकोण को लेकर के यह सिक्का नहीं चला। आज फिर चर्चा चल रही है। नेहरू जी के प्रति हमारी पूरी श्रद्धा है और उस श्रद्धा के प्रकटीकरण के लिए कई भाई यह चाहते हैं कि नेहरूजी के नाम का सिक्का भी चले। अब यह कहां तक न्यायसंगत है। एक तरफ तो हम इस तरह की व्यवस्था कर रहे हैं कि इन नोटों पर कोई भी ऐसा इंसक्रिप्शन नहीं होना चाहिए जिससे कि किसी तरह की राजनैतिक प्रचार हो। यहां तक है : “intended to convey or capable of conveying” इतना हम गार्ड कर रहे हैं और जरा सी भी इससे भनक पड़ती है कि इसका राजनैतिक प्रभाव पड़ने वाला है अगर किसी नोट पर किसी राजनैतिक नेता का चित्र लेंगे तो उससे राजनैतिक गुलामी लोगों के मन में आएगी। अगर नोट पर कुछ शब्द लिखने से कुछ लोगों के मन में राजनैतिक भावना का विचार आयेगा—अगर जरा सी भी ऐसी भावना पैदा होती है तो उसको दूर करना चाहिए। एक

तरफ हम एक उच्च भावना लेकर बिल पेश कर रहे हैं और दूसरी तरफ देश में हवा चल रही है कि नेहरू जी का सिक्का चलाया जाये। उनके प्रति श्रद्धा प्रकट करने के कई माध्यम हो सकते हैं। जैसा कि "त्रिमूर्ति" के बारे में कुछ लोगों का मत है कि जो म्यूजियम बगैरह बनाया जा रहा है वह विचार अच्छा है और कुछ लोगों का कहना है कि इतने बड़े भवन को इतने से काम के लिये रोकना ठीक नहीं है। तो श्रद्धा का प्रकटीकरण अलग अलग तरह से हो सकता है। जिन भक्तों की भावना भगवान के प्रति जितनी होती है उतना ही विशाल मन्दिर वे बनाते हैं। अगर सरकार का यह काम राष्ट्र के लिये बन्धनकारक हो तो यह कुछ न्यायसंगत प्रतीत नहीं होता और इस दृष्टि से यह जो बिल है इसका मैं तो समर्थन करता हूँ मगर इसके साथ ही निवेदन कर देना चाहता हूँ कि जैसा कि देश में हवा चल रही है कि नेहरू जी के नाम का सिक्का चलाया जाये तो वह हमारे लोगों के मन में श्रद्धा के प्रकटीकरण के साथ साथ एक राजनैतिक गुलामी की भावना पैदा करेगा और उससे राजनैतिक लाभ लेने का प्रयत्न अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से सरकार करेगी, यह आरोप बराबर आने वाला है।

इसलिये निवेदन है कि इस बिल के उपलक्ष्य में उस सिक्के के बारे में भी विचार कर लिया जाये जिसका हमने निर्माण करना है। यह भारत देश हमारा है, इस अखंड भारत की मूर्ति का लोगों के मन में भाव चलता रहे इस और प्रयास होना चाहिये जैसा कि आप जो स्कूलों में सभी विद्यार्थियों से गीत कहलवाते हैं :

"जन मन गण अधिनायक जय हे  
भारत भाग्य विधाता"

और उसमें कहते हैं :

"पंजाब, सिंधु, गुजरात, मराठा, द्राविड़,  
उत्कल बंग।"

तो यह पंजाब कौन सा है ? आधा पंजाब पाकिस्तान में है, आधा पंजाब हिन्दुस्तान में है। फिर सिंधु के लिये आप चर्चा करते हैं। सिंधु क्या भारत में है ? फिर क्यों गीत में चर्चा करते हैं ? परन्तु हम यह चाहते हैं कि बच्चों के मन में एक भावना रहे कि हमारा पंजाब भी था, हमारा सिंध भी था, हमारा पूर्वी बंगाल भी था और इसी भावना से प्रेरित हो कर आज हम स्कूलों में "जन मन गण अधिनायक" का गीत बच्चों से कहलवाते हैं ताकि लोगों के मन में भारत माता का पूरा स्वरूप रहे, आज जो हमारी भारत माता का खंडित रूप है जो पाकिस्तान में चला गया है हम किसी रूप में उसको अखंड रूप दे सकें। अच्छी भावना जागृत करने की दृष्टि से हम ऐसा करते हैं। तो इस दृष्टि से हम अपने सिक्कों के द्वारा, यानी नोटों के द्वारा, यह प्रतिबन्ध लगा रहे हैं कि लोगों के मन में वैसी भावना नहीं आनी चाहिये और इसके विपरीत अगर हम चाहते हैं कि यह भावना आनी चाहिये कि हम भारत माता के सच्चे सेवक हैं और भारत माता अखंड है तो पूरे अखंड भारत का चित्र बना कर तो कोई आपत्ति नहीं हो सकती। "तीन मूर्ति" का जो अशोक चिन्ह है उसके लिये किसी को आपत्ति नहीं हो सकती लेकिन अगर व्यक्ति विशेष की परम्परा डालेंगे तो सामन्तशाही की परम्परा कहलावेगी।

इसलिये इस बिल का समर्थन करते हुए मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि जैसा कि देश में हवा चल रही है, अखबारों में निकल रहा है, कि इस प्रकार के सिक्के चलने वाले हैं तो फिर एक बार नहीं सौ बार विचार करके हमें निश्चय करना होगा कि किस प्रकार की परम्परा कायम की जाय। इस तरह विचार करके कदम उठावेंगे तो ज्यादा अच्छा होगा।

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh) : Madam Deputy Chairman, the Bill which is under discussion in this House now is the offshoot of the attempt of the D. M. K. Party in Madras and its supporters to inscribe political slogans on currency notes. When such currency notes were circulated in the State of Madras, I had brought the matter to the notice of this House in the form of a starred question and during the interpellations on that question I had suggested that the Government should prohibit such a practice by statute.

I am glad, therefore, that the Government have taken steps in the matter by promulgating an Ordinance which this Bill now seeks to replace. But in this connection, it is necessary to bear in mind that the Government should not give room to any one to bring the accusation against it that it seeks to use the currency for purposes of political propaganda. I am one of those who yield to none in their admiration for Jawaharlal Nehru. I regard him as one of the greatest men of this century and perhaps when the history of these times comes to be written, he will be recorded as the architect of modern democratic India. But whatever be my admiration for Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, I think it is improper for the Government to allow his effigy to be stamped on coins as long as Jawaharlalji was associated with a particular party and that particular party happens to be the party in power at the present time. It is necessary, therefore, that Government should take occasion to review that decision. If it is not possible, I think it is only proper for Government to see that the first coin which has an effigy is the one which bears the effigy of Mahatma Gandhi who will live longer in the history of this country than any other person. And if that is done, it may be necessary also to stamp the effigies of the late Subhas Chandra Bose and other leaders. Otherwise the Government will open itself to the accusation that they are picking out only certain leaders. They should also honour the

memory of the late Subhas Chandra Bose. Therefore, I hope the Government will make their intention quite clear that it is not their purpose to make use of these coins for the purpose of political propaganda.

I would like to add that if anything should be stamped on the rupee coin or on rupee notes, it should be the kisan of India because the kisan represents the soul of this country, and not that of any other person.

Already the Government have taken suitable steps to commemorate the memory of Jawaharlal Nehru. When a very extensive mansion—I believe the mansion has got 44 acres of land—has been given to the purpose of commemorating his memory, when the public are contributing a very big, a very substantial sum, for raising a memorial in his honour, I see no reason why the Government should come forward with the proposition that they should have the rupee note or coin with the effigy of Jawaharlal Nehru. I hope the Government will take note of the feelings expressed in this House and when the Minister replies to the debate, I would like to have an assurance from him that he would consider the question of bringing out the first rupee coin or the first rupee note with the effigy of Mahatma Gandhi stamped on it. It is the barest duty that we have got to render to the memory of the Father of the Nation.

With these words, I support this Bill.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : Why Mahatma Gandhi?

SHRI A. D. MANI: I would rather like Mahatma Gandhi's effigy on the rupee for all time, because he represents the spirit and soul of India and not that of any political leader or political party.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: One clarification, Madam. This debate has turned into a field which has no relevance to-

this Bill because this Bill refers to the rupee notes.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Anyway, Mr. Ghani will make his relevant remarks.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: It is in connection with the using of slogans inscribed on the notes.

AN HON. MEMBER: Maybe but then you are using this for purposes of political propaganda.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): No, it is not.

شری عبدالغنی (پنجاب): مقدم  
دہشتی چھوڑیں \* مسٹر بھگت بڑے  
دہشت بھی ہیں اور ہمارے مسٹر  
بھی نہیں میں یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا  
ہوں کہ ابھی انہوں نے فرمایا کہ  
اس بل سے ان کا کیا سمجھتا ہے -  
مستحق خوشی ہونی کے اگر اس یک  
میں کوئی نام دیتا ہے تو اس  
کس کے نام کا سکے جاری کرنا ہی  
ہو تو وہ ایس - آر - ڈاں کا نام کا  
جاری کیا جائے - انہوں نے اس  
کریشن پر قبضہ کر لیا کہ جو کریشن  
آٹھ برس سے چل رہا تھا - آٹھ برس  
سے لوگ جلا رہے تھے اور سڑے  
بزرگ دانت جواشو لٹل نہرو اس پر  
پورا ڈال رہے تھے - Interruption -  
میں تو یہ سہہ مقدم \* کہ  
جب کہ سونا کے علم میں آ گیا  
کہ وہ نوٹ بھی جن پر کسی کا  
سکہ نہیں، نہ اورنگ زیب عالم گہر  
کا سکے ہے نہ اشوک کا سکے ہے نہ

چندرگپت کا سکے ہے نہ گاندھی بابا  
کا سکے ہے - جب یہ سرکار کے علم  
میں آ گیا کہ کروڑوں روپے اس  
کا پڑا ہے تو وہ ان تمام نوٹوں کو  
بدلتے لے لئے مسٹر داس کی تصویر  
چھاپ دے تاکہ چیف مسٹر بھی  
دریں اور یہاں کے جو مسٹر ہیں  
جو کہ کھلم کھلا الزام آپس میں  
لگا رہے ہیں وہ بھی دریں تو ایسا  
نوٹ ہونے والا نہیں - مستحق پنڈت  
جی سے بڑا پیار ہے پیار تھا اور  
پیار رہے گا کیوں کہ میری زندگی  
ان کے ساتھ رہی ہے - لیکن یہ  
خیال دماغ میں جب سرکار لائے  
گئی جیسا کہ وہ اپنے بہو مست کے بل  
پر شاید سکے جاری کرنا چاہے تو  
ان کے دماغ میں بھی آئے گا کہ  
پنڈت جی کی تصویر کروڑوں کے  
داموں پر لٹکتی ہو تو انہیں وہ  
سکتی تو اس سکے سے ہر وہ تصویر  
کانگریس کے حق میں جانے والی  
نہیں ہے اور کانگریس کا اس سے کوئی  
فائدہ ہونے والا نہیں ہے - وہ سمجھتی  
ہے کہ ہر گونہ ہر قصہ میں اس  
تھنگ سے اس سکے کے بہانے سے  
پنڈت جی کی تصویر کو پہنچائیں  
تو اس سے کوئی فائدہ ہونے والا نہیں  
ہے - میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس سے  
آپ کے خلاف ایک نفرت کا جذبہ  
پیدا ہوگا - آپ نہ صرف یہ کہتے  
ہیں کہ ہم انگریزیشن چاہتے ہیں

[ شری عبدالغنی ]

ہم تو بڑا ملاپ چاہتے ہیں لیکن آپ کی سب حرکتیں ایسی چلتی ہیں کہ جس سے پارٹی کا پروپیگنڈہ ہو چاہے پختہ جی کتنے ہی بڑے ہیں لیکن دیش ان سے بہت بڑے ہیں قوم ان سے بہت بڑی ہے۔ اور آپ خواصخواہ ایک ایسے مسئلہ کو جو نہیں اٹھنا چاہئے وہ آپ دیں میں اٹھانا چاہتے ہیں کہ اس پر بحث ہو کہ جو کرپٹ آدمی ہے اس کو پناہ دی جائے۔ یہ بات صحیح ہے یا یہ بات صحیح ہے کہ جو لوگ چاہتے ہیں کرپشن کے خلاف اس مسئلہ میں اس دیش میں اگر سب سے بڑا واقعہ ہوگا تو ایس۔ آر۔ داس کا فیصلہ ہی ہوگا۔ اس لئے اگر سرکار چاہتی ہے کہ ان تمام نوٹوں کے رجائز قرار دے دیا جائے ان کے بدلے دوسرے نوٹ جاری کئے جائیں تو ان میں ایس۔ آر۔ داس کی تصویر بذاتی جائے کیونکہ جواہر لال نہرو تو پروٹکشن دیتے رہ کرپشن کو اور ایس۔ آر۔ داس نے کرپشن کو زخم کیا۔ آپ خفا ہو جائیں گے لیکن میں نے پختہ جی کے ساتھ اپنی زندگی گزارا ہے میں نے ان کے ساتھ قربانی دی ہے مجھے ان سے بڑا پیار تھا اور وہ مجھے بڑا پیار کرتے تھے لیکن پیار کے معنی یہ نہیں ہیں دیش کا پیار دیش کی طاقت دیش کا مکہ ہے۔ آپ

کو یاد ہوگا کہ جب حکومتیں بدلتی ہیں تو اسمالین کی قبر تک اکھاڑ دی جاتی ہے ان کا ایک ایک نقش تک اکھاڑ دیا جاتا ہے اور آپ نہیں مانتے ہیں کہ اس آنے والے الیکشن میں آپ کا برا حال ہونے والا ہے۔ اس کے بعد جو نقش آپ بڈائی گئے اس کو ہم اکھاڑ دیں گے ہم اس کو دھتے نہیں دیں گے آپ کے دماغ میں یہ بات چمکی چاہئے۔ الیکشن دور نہیں ہے۔ آپ کا اس طرح کا خیال ایک بڑے خیال کو کہ دیش ہمارا ایک ہے اس دھنگ سے لیٹا چاہتے ہیں۔ صحیح بات یہ ہے کہ اس دور میں جب کہ ایک ایک انچ زمین کے لئے لوگ تڑپتے ہیں اور پریشان ہوتے ہیں آپ اتنے بڑے مکان کو ..... ٹھیک ہے پختہ جی کے لئے مجھے بڑا ادب ہے۔ مگر آپ کو کہا ادھرکار ہے کہ آپ بیٹھے بیٹھے جیسا چاہیں شہنشاہ چلی کی طرح جتنے مقبرے مغلوں نے بنائے اسی کے مقبرے آپ بھی بناتے چلے جائیں جن میں کوئی سائنس نہ ہو۔ پختہ جی کہا کرتے تھے کہ سائنس اتنی بڑھ گئی ہے مگر تم کتنے یاڈل ہو کہ پرانی بات کرتے ہو۔ آپ تو مغلوں سے بڑے بڑے ہیں۔ میں نے مقبرہ دیکھا اکبر اعظم کا شاہ جہاں کا مقبرہ تاج محل دیکھا آپ انہیں بتوں کو پھر دھوانا

چاہتے ہیں یہ بات میری سمجھ میں نہیں آتی - انہوں نے اس وقت جو کچھ کیا وہ بات سمجھ میں آ سکتی ہے کہ مزدوروں کو روٹی دینے کا انتظام ہو جائے گا اور ساتھ ہی ساتھ لاکھوں روپے کی عمارت بھی بن جائے گی - اس طرح کی بات تو میری سمجھ میں آ سکتی ہے - کہ یادگار بھی رہ جائے گی اور لاکھوں غریب لوگوں کا روٹی کا بندوبست بھی ہو جائے گا لیکن آج اس تکت پر جو سکھ ہم پختہ جی کا بنانے جا رہے ہیں، ایک مریٹا بڈا کر جیسے یہاں بڑے بڑے مکانات بنے جیسے کہ مغلوں نے بنائے ہیں ہم بھی اسی طرح کے بنائیں تو کیا آپ سمجھتے ہیں کہ آپ کی یادگار قائم رہے گی - میڈم ڈپٹی چیئرمین - ان گدیوں پر بیٹھنے والے بھائیوں کو یاد رکھنا چاہیئے کہ جو مغلوں کے بچے تھے وہ آج تانکے چلاتے ہیں کپوتر اڑاتے ہیں پتنگ اڑاتے ہیں اور سڑکوں پر دھکے کھاتے ہیں یہی حشر آپ کا بھی ہونے والا ہے - لیکن اس کے پہلے کہ یہ حشر ہو اس حرکت کو جس سے دیش کا اور دیش کے نام پر دعبہ آتا ہے

آپ سے میری مراد یہ درخواست ہے بڑی نمونہ کے ساتھ بڑی عاجز کے ساتھ کہ آپ اس خیال کو قطعاً مٹا دیں جو کریشن کے یا بلیک مارکیٹ کے کسٹمرز ہوں چاہے وہ اپوزیشن کے ہوں آفیشیل پارٹی کے ہوں رجواڑوں کے ہوں کارخانہ داروں کے ہوں تاناکا کے ہوں بڑا کے ہوں ان کے بارے میں وہ کیا کرنے والے ہیں - اس وقت میری وقت نہیں دیا خیال نہیں آیا آپ نے میری طرف دیکھا نہیں - میں صرف یہی کہنے والا تھا کہ وہ + پرسنٹ آپ نے کہا ہے وہ صرف کانگریس نہ لے جائے + پرسنٹ - کہ انہوں کو سرکار بتا دے کہ فلاں جگہ فلاں روپیہ پڑا ہوا ہے اور فلاں نام میں لگا ہوا ہے - کیونکہ سرکار کے سرسبز بڑے ہوتے ہیں تو اس طرح سے کانگریسوں کو نیا وظیفہ دینے کے لئے یہ چیز نکالی گئی ہے - کوئی حرج نہیں یہ بھی لے لھجئے کیوں کہ آگے اور بہت کچھ لیا ہے - میری عرض ہے کہ نظام سکھ بنانے کی کوشش نہ کیجئے - نہ یہ کوشش کیجئے کہ اس قاعدہ سے اپنے کانگریس کا پرچار کریں آنے والے الیکشن کے لئے - سادھرن طریقے

[شری عید الغنی]

سے دیس کو پھار کھجئے - دیس کو  
ہوا مائے سب کی عزت و اعزاز کرتے  
ہوئے ان کا خواہ مخواہ نام اس طرح  
نہ لائے - پلندت جی کا سکھ جاری  
کر کے آپ ایک خیال لوگوں میں  
یہ پیدا کرنا چاہتے ہیں کہ وہ بڑے  
تھے وہ بہت بڑے تھے اور دوسرے  
لوگوں میں اتنی ہوائیاں تھیں اس  
طرح کا یہ سلسلہ چلنا شروع ہو  
جائے گا - اس لئے میں دب سے  
عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اگر ایسی  
بات آپ کے دماغ میں نہیں ہے  
تو ٹھیک ہے - آپ نے ان کا ٹکٹ  
چالو کر دیا اسٹامپ لگ کھا جس سے  
غالب کا یا راج رشی کا ٹکٹ چل  
کھا ویسے ہی پلندت جی کا بھی چل  
کیا ٹھیک ہے وہ ٹکٹ لگ کھا اور  
اسٹامپ اس پر لگ گیا اسی کو  
کافی سمجھئے اور آئندہ قدم بڑھانے  
کی کوشش نہ کھجئے - کھجئے تو  
پھر اس کے لئے دو طرح سے تہاڑی  
کرنی ہوگی - کچھ لوگ تو آپ کی  
تعریف کریں گے کچھ لوگ آپ کی نندا  
کریں گے - مہدوا یہ ہیں کہ آپ  
ایسا موقع نہیں دیں گے کہ پیلاک  
والے خواہ مخواہ پلندت جی کے نام پر  
کسی قسم کی لے دے کریں -

†[شری अब्दुल گنی (پنجاب) : مہڈم  
ڈپٹی چیئرمین، میسٹر بھگت بڈے بھگت  
بھی ہیں اور ہمارے مینسٹر بھی ہیں۔ میں یہ  
اُجڑ کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ابھی انہوں نے  
فرمایا کہ اس بیل سے ان کا کیا سمبندھ  
ہے مجھے خوشی ہوتی کہ اگر اس یوگ میں کوئی  
نام دینا ہی ہوتا اور کسی کے نام کا  
سیککا جاری کرنا ہوتا تو وہ اس آوار  
داس کے نام کا جاری کیا جاتا۔ انہوں نے  
اس کارپشن پر کھجا ہڈایا کہ جو کارپشن  
آٹھ برس سے چل رہا تھا۔ آٹھ برس سے لوگ  
چلتا رہے تھے اور میرے بوجھ پر جواہرلال  
نہرے اس پر پربا ڈال رہے تھے۔

(Interruptions) میں تو یہ سمجھتا تھا،  
مہڈم، کہ جب کہ سرکار کے ڈھم میں آگیا  
کہ وہ نوٹ بھی جن پر کسی کا سیککا نہیں  
ہے تا چورنگیہب آلامیور کا سیککا ہے،  
نا آشوک کا سیککا ہے، نا چندرگپت  
کا سیککا ہے، نا گاंधी بابا کا سیککا  
ہے۔ جب یہ سرکار کے ڈھم میں  
آگیا کہ کروڑوں روپيا उसका  
पड़ा है तो वह उन तमाम नोटों को बदलने  
के लिए मिस्टर दास की तस्वीर छाप दें  
ताकि चीफ मिनिस्टर भी डरें और यहां के जो  
मिनिस्टर हैं जो कि खुल्लम-खुल्ला इल्जाम  
आपस में लगा रहे हैं वह भी डरें। तो ऐसा  
तो होने वाला नहीं है। मुझे पंडित जी से  
बड़ा ही प्यार है, प्यार था और प्यार रहेगा।  
क्योंकि मेरी जिन्दगी उनके साथ गुजरी है।  
लेकिन यह खयाल दिमाग में जब सरकार  
लाएगी जैसा कि वह अपने बहुमत के बल पर  
शायद सिकका जारी करना चाहे तो उनके  
दिमाग में भी आयेगा कि पंडित जी की  
तस्वीर करोड़ों के दिलों पर, तख्तियों पर  
कायम नहीं रह सकती। तो उस सिकके से भी  
वह तस्वीर कांग्रेस के हक में जाने वाली नहीं  
है और कांग्रेस का इससे कोई फायदा होने  
वाला नहीं है। वह समझती है कि हर गांव,  
हर कस्बे में इस ढंग से, इस सिकके के बहाने  
से, पंडित जी की तस्वीर को पढ़वाएँ तो

†[ ] Hindi transliteration.

इससे कोई फायदा होने वाला नहीं है । मैं समझता हूँ कि इससे आपके खिलाफ एक नक़रत का जज्बा पैदा होगा । आप न सिर्फ यह कहते हैं कि हम इन्टीग्रेशन चाहते हैं, हम तो बड़ा मिलाप चाहते हैं लेकिन आपकी सब हरकतें ऐसी चलती हैं कि जिससे पार्टी का प्रोपेगन्डा हो । चाहे पंडित जी कितने ही बड़े हों लेकिन देश उनसे बहुत बड़ा है, कौम उनसे बहुत बड़ी है और आप खामखाँ एक ऐसे मसले को जो नहीं उठाना चाहिए वह आप देश में उठाना चाहते हैं कि इस पर बहस हो, कि जो करप्ट आदमी है उसको पनाह दी जाए । यह बात सही है या वह बात सही है कि जो लोग चाहते हैं करप्शन के खिलाफ इस हिस्ट्री में, इस देश में अगर सब से बड़ा वाक्या होगा तो एस० आर० दास का फ़ैसला ही होगा । इसलिए अगर सरकार चाहती है कि इन तमाम नोटों को नाजायज़ करार दे दिया जाए, उनके बदले दूसरे नोट जारी किए जाएं तो उनमें एस० आर० दास की तस्वीर बनाई जाए क्योंकि जवाहरलाल नेहरू तो प्रोटेक्शन देते रहे करप्शन को और एस० आर० दास ने करप्शन को नंगा किया । आप खफा हो जाएंगे लेकिन मैंने पंडित जी के साथ अपनी जिन्दगी गुजारी है । मैंने उनके साथ कुरबानी दी है । मुझे उनसे बड़ा प्यार था और वह मुझे प्यार करते थे । लेकिन प्यार के माने ये नहीं हैं कि देश का प्यार, देश की ताकत, देश का सिक्का है । आपको याद होगा कि जब हुकूमतें बदलती हैं तो स्टालिन को कब्र नक़ उखाड़ दी जाती है, उनका एक एक नक़श तक उखाड़ दिया जाता है और आप नहीं मानते हैं कि इस आने वाले इलेक्शन में आपका बुरा हाल होने वाला है । इसके बाद जो नक़श आप बनाएंगे उसको हम उखाड़ देंगे । हम उसको रहने नहीं देंगे । आपके दिमाग में यह बात जमनी चाहिए । इलेक्शन दूर नहीं है आपका इस तरह का ख्याल एक बड़े ख्याल को, कि देश हमारा एक है, इस ढंग से लेना चाहते हैं । सही बात यह है कि इस दौर में जब कि एक-एक इंच

जमीन के लिये तड़पते हैं और परेशान होते हैं, आप इतने बड़े मकान को . . . ठीक है पंडित जी के लिए मुझे बड़ा अदब है मगर आपको क्या अधिकार है कि आप बैठे-बैठे जैसा चाहें शेखचिल्ली की तरह जितने मकबरे मुगलों ने बनाए उसी के मकबरे आप भी बनाते चले जाएं जिनमें कोई सेंस न हो । पंडित जी कहा करते थे कि साइंस इतनी बढ़ गई है मगर तुम कितने पागल हो कि पुरानी बात करते हो । आप तो मुगलों से भी बड़े हैं । मैंने मकबरा देखा अकबरे-आज़म का, शाहजहां का मकबरा ताजमहल देखा । आप उन्हीं बातों को फिर दोहराना चाहते हैं यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती । उन्होंने उस वक्त जो कुछ किया वह बात समझ में आ सकती है कि मजदूरों को रोटी देने का इन्तज़ाम हो जाएगा और साथ ही साथ लाखों रुपये की इमारत भी बन जाएगी । इस तरह की बात तो मेरी समझ में आ सकती है कि यादगार भी रह जाएगी और लाखों गरीब लोगों का रोटी का बन्दोबस्त भी हो जाएगा । लेकिन आज इस टिकट पर जो सिक्का हम पंडित जी का बनाने जा रहे हैं, एक मड़ीया बना कर जैसे यहाँ बड़े बड़े मकानात बने जैसे कि मुगलों ने बनाए हैं हम भी उसी तरह के बनाएं तो क्या आप समझते हैं कि आपकी यादगार कायम रहेगी । मैडम डिप्टी चेयरमैन, इन गदियों पर बैठने वाले भाइयों को याद रखना चाहिए कि जो मुगलों के बच्चे थे वह आज तांगा चलाते हैं, कबूतर उड़ाते हैं, पतंग उड़ाते हैं और सड़कों पर धक्के खाते हैं । यही हथ्र आपका भी होने वाला है । लेकिन इसके पहले कि यह हथ्र हो इस हरकत को जिससे देश का और देश के नाम पर धब्बा आता है । आपसे मेरी मुअदबाना बरख्वास्त है बड़ी नम्रता के साथ, बड़ों आजबों के साथ कि आप इस ख्याल को कतघन हटा दें । जो करप्शन के या ब्लैकमार्केट के केसिब हों, चाहे वह अपोजीशन के हों, आफोशियल पार्टी के हों, रजवाड़े के हों, कारखानेदारों के हों, टाटा

[श्री अब्दुल गनी]

के हों, बिड़ला के हों उनके बारे में वह क्या करने वाले हैं ? उस वक्त मुझे वक्त नहीं दिया, ख्याल नहीं आया, आपने मेरी तरफ देखा नहीं। मैं सिर्फ यही कहने वाला था कि वह १० परसेंट आपने कहा है वह सिर्फ कांग्रेस न ले जाए। १० परसेंट कि उन्हीं को सरकार बता दे कि फलां जगह फलां रुपया पड़ा हुआ है और फलां काम में लगा हुआ है क्योंकि सरकार के सोसिज बड़े होते हैं। तो इस तरह से कांग्रेसियों को नया वजीफा देने के लिए यह चीज निकाली गई है। कोई हर्ज नहीं यह भी ले लीजिए क्योंकि आगे और बहुत कुछ लिया है। मेरी अर्ज है कि जाम सिक्का बनाने के कोशिश न कीजिए। ना यह कोशिश कीजिए कि इस ढंग से अपने कांग्रेस का प्रचार करें। आने वाले इलेक्शन के लिए साधारण तरीके से देश को प्यार कीजिए, देश को बड़ा बनाइए। सबकी इज्जत व एजाज करते हुए उनका खाम-खां नाम इस तरह ना लाइए। पंडित जी का सिक्का जारी करके आप एक ख्याल लोगों में यह पैदा करना चाहते हैं कि वह बड़े थे। वह बहुत बड़े थे और दूसरे लोगों में इतनी बुराइयां थीं, इस तरह का यह सिलसिला चलना शुरू हो जायेगा। इसलिए मैं अब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि अगर ऐसी बात आपके दिमाग में नहीं है तो ठीक है। आप ने उनका टिकट चालू कर दिया, स्टाम्प लग गया। जैसे गालिब का या राजश्री का टिकट चल गया वैसे ही पंडित जी का भी चल गया। ठीक है वह टिकट लग गया और स्टाम्प उस पर लग गया इसी को काफी समझिये और आइन्दा कदम बढ़ाने की कोशिश न कीजिये। कीजिये तो फिर उसके लिए दो तरह से तैयारी करनी होगी। कुछ लोग तो आपकी तारीफ करेंगे कुछ लोग आपकी गिन्दा करेंगे। मेरा यकीन है कि आप ऐसा मौका नहीं देंगे कि पब्लिक वाले

खामखां पंडित जी के नाम पर किसी किस्म की ले-दे करें। ]

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): Madam Deputy Chairman, while discussing this Bill we have to go to the root of the problem. Why has this Bill been brought forward? This, I am told, has been brought forward because the DMK people and their supporters in Madras used these one rupee legal tender notes as a means of their own propaganda. That was necessary, Madam, because they came to know that the ruling party was using money to induce the voters to vote for them. Naturally, in their own turn, in order to propagate their own ideals, propagate their own election slogans they used these notes distributed by the ruling party. So, it was a case of tit for tat and probably that was an ideal tit for tat.

SHRI V. C. KESAVA RAO (Andhra Pradesh): I think the hon. Member is wrong. The DMK distributed the notes with its own slogans stamped on them.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: If they had published these notes, there was sufficient legislative power to curb. If the hon. Member knows about this, he should also know that there is enough legislation in the country to curb a forgery or the issue of a forged note. He contradicts himself while saying that they printed these notes. They did not print these notes which were printed by the Reserve Bank of India but which were distributed by the ruling party for the purpose of inducing the voters to vote in its favour. Naturally, advantage was taken of this by the DMK who stamped them in its favour. So, the root of the corruption is traced to the door of the Congress Party, not to the door of the DMK. Now, Madam, a controversy has been raised in the House regarding the

desire, the over-anxiety, of the ruling party to bring forward a new coin with the image of the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on it. It is nothing separate from this. Both these have to be taken together. If the ruling party is trying to justify the stand, the leader of a political party, howsoever great he may be—we have all respect for him; there is no doubt about it—cannot be brought into the currency. It is only the Head of a State who can be brought in like that. I have never seen anywhere in the world a case where the Head of the Government or the Prime Minister has been brought into the currency. It is something unique in India. I think in their over-enthusiasm—I do not know the source from which this suggestion has emanated ....

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: As you are speaking I dare not interrupt. But don't you think that he was the greatest national leader after Gandhiji who kept the country united.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I have absolutely no doubt about it. My friend, Mr. Akbar Ali Khan, while interrupting brought in the name of Mahatma Gandhi but did the ruling party forget all the time Mahatma Gandhi? As he says Pandit Nehru was next to Mahatma Gandhi. Why did not the ruling party think of bringing Mahatma Gandhi's effigy in the currency? I would have been the happiest if he had been brought in because he was above all politics.

شری عبدالغنی : کیا نیتا جی  
سیدھاش چندر بوس نہیں تھے جاہلوں  
نے ان سب کو شکست دی ؟

[ श्री अन्वुल गनी: क्या नेताजी सुभाष  
चन्द्र बोस नहीं थे जिन्होंने उन सब को  
हारिस्त दी ? ]

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Misra, please carry on and finish.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Any national leader who is acceptable to all the parties like Mahatma Gandhi or Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose could easily be brought into the currency but not a gentleman howsoever great he may be, as I said, who headed the Government of a particular party for the last 17 years. Therefore I have my objection to it. And if the ruling party is thinking of bringing his effigy into the coin then I do not And any objection in anybody stamping anything on the notes.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL (Delhi): Madam, I had no intention of intervening in this debate and taking up your time but unfortunately the trend of two or three speeches has been such that it calls for attention from some other elements in the House who are thinking sanely on this point. It is very unfortunate that on a Bill which should not have raised any controversy this issue has been raised, and

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: And the Bill does not deal with it.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: Yes, the Bill does not deal with it. The name of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been brought in by those friends who till yesterday were trying to vie with each other in paying tributes to him and were trying to tell us that they loved him, trying to tell us that" they thought of him as the greatest Indian leader that this nation has ever produced, but in a way they stand unmasked today. We see them in their true colours with their true voices be-

•j-[ ] Hindi transliteration.

LSHri I. K. Gujral] cause this shows that all that we have been hearing from them for the last four months was all pretension. It was an effort to deceive the nation because it was understood by the three or four sections which have spoken today that if they did not get up and pay compliments to Pandit Nehru the nation would not let them live. Because of their utterances today we can understand they pretended that he was their favourite, they all loved Nehru and that . . . (Interruptions.)

SHRI A. D. MANI: On a point of order, Madam. He is accusing the Members who spoke on this subject of pretence. We never had any pretence. When a person dies it is conventional that we pay tribute to his memory. There is no question of any pretension.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: A friend here while speaking—Madam, you will remember and Mr. Mani will remember—just now tried to liken Pandit Nehru with Stalin and he also forecast that the memory of Pandit Nehru will be erased like the memory of the Mughals. I think every Indian's head would hang in shame when tomorrow he will read this in newspapers if the newspapers report this. We are today forgetting that Pandit Nehru was not only the Prime Minister of this country but he was one who played a very great role in bringing freedom to this country and after winning freedom of this country he not only consolidated the freedom, not only unified this nation, but he also brought to us this forum of democracy where we have the courage to get up and even talk against him. He brought to us that secularism which makes us all, irrespective of whatever section we come from, to talk about him in a language which, I feel, is derogatory to the status of this House.

We know, Madam, about those who are talking of Gandhiji today and try-

ing to remind us of Gandhiji that at the time of his death their association with him was of a different type. We have heard them making similar remarks about him. It is not old in our memory when our friends stood there and talked about Gandhiji in almost the same language which they are trying to use about Jawaharlal Nehru today. Madam, I never imagined that four months after his death there will be some people in this House and in this country who will not have so much self-respect as to get up and talk in this language about that leader of whom we feel proud not only in this country but all over the world. Today, Madam, it is a shame for us that there should be some one amongst us who should this occasion and tell us that commemoration of Nehru's memory is furthering a political party's cause. (Interruptions).

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: What else is it?

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: During the last session when these friends swore by him and paid homage to his memory I thought that in his death we had forgotten all controversy when he was unanimously acclaimed as the national hero. And national hero he was. And if today we want to commemorate his memory in the form of putting his effigy on a coin or elsewhere it is to inspire those generations who are to follow us; those generations will remember that in our lifetime we produced a man of whom not only India but the whole world was proud because he showed a new way of life, a new way for the common man to live in freedom and to keep his head high, a new way to the world to preserve peace and if there is anybody who feels agitated by these and who thinks that the Congress Party is so narrow-minded as to think that by putting the effigy of Nehru on the coin the Congress Party can win or lose elections, then he does not know the politics of this country. He does not understand

that the roots of the Congress are very much deeper. I know that these friends who are challenging us today will fight the elections two year? hence. We will accept their challenge in two year's time when the challenge comes. We have accepted the challenge in the past not once, not twice but three i times and you know from their num- I bers here what place they have in the hearts of the people of the country and the place that this party has in the hearts of the people of the country is because of the prgress made, because of faith in socialism, because of secularism, because of democracy, because of the unity of the nation, because of the principles that we stand for. Those who try today to run down Pandit Nehru and try to find faults with us do not look at their own houses and I will not try to divert the attention of the House to these matters at all.

I will only say this. Madam, in all solemnity, in all seriousness, let us bow our heads in shame that there are some amongst us who choose this opportunity to run down the great man of whom we are all proud and who shall always live in our hearts and inspire the nation.

SHRI D. P. KARMARKAR (Mysore): Madam Deputy Chairman, like the earlier speaker over there, I am provoked to say a few words about seme-thing that was sought to be brought into the discussion of this Bill but which is really extraneous for the purpose of the Bill and which certainly cannot be allowed to pass unnoticed. If for a moment those friends who made—if I may say so with your permission—those ungracious remarks about the subject of the proposal, namely, our late revered leader will ponder—I will detach myself for the moment from the fact that I have always been all these twelve years on this side of the House—I would say ( without offending them that they were i extremely uncharitable, unconsciously ; uncharitable, I should say, in their j enthusiasm to support what they '

thought was their own cause. I would beg of them to forget for a moment that he belonged to us and for a moment pause on what they have said. What is the proposal? The proposal is to put *on* one rupee coins something that is in a sense fleeting and ephemeral, the portrait, which is bound to be in the hearts of our countrymen, whether they belong to the Congress Party, the Communist Party, Socialist Party or any other Party for a long, long time to come. I have absolutely no doubt about that.

I have had naturally the privilege of scanning very carefully the tributes that were paid to the memory of our departed leader. I thought in my mind that the best tribute, in a sense the best-worded, if I may say so, was the one that came from the President of the United States of America. The other one perhaps a little more touching came from Premier Khrushchev. And if I remember aright, of all the literature that I have had the privilege—and it has been so extensive—to read about the life of our great departed leader—I would beseech them to read it if they have not read it—the best possible appreciation in recorded literature if I may say so without fear of contradiction, was from the pen of our colleague, Prof. Hiren Mukerjee, so many times opposed to him in his ideology and other activities. It appeared in "The Illustrated Weekly of India". Now, we are told that he belonged to a Party. There is no doubt about it that he belonged to a Party. He said he was proud to belong to the Congress Party because that Party brought freedom to India, that Party brought what you call the dream to fulfilment, fulfilment of socialist democracy in India.

Ultimately, when we come to the essence of things, our friends really should be thankful that he belonged to a political Party. They might shout from housetops: "Well Pandit Jawahar-lal Nehru belonged to a Party and his views are partisan views and so the people should not accept them." They

[Shri D. P. Karmarkar.] should try their best to throw out, if they like, the Party that calls itself as the Indian National Congress. But it is one thing to say that and another thing to remember that ultimately what we are enshrining in the coin is not a political party. Political party is too small a thing as compared to what is inside, what is behind that inscription. Are my friends opposite opposed to that also, the portrait on the coin? The first idea that will spring to the mind of everyone without exception whatever is not going to be that he belonged to the Indian National Congress or he belonged to a political party or he belonged to the present time. It will bring to our memory, to the minds of our children, to everyone who handles the coin, first and foremost the idea which he himself some years ago said, He did not say: "I would like to be remembered as the leader of the Indian National Congress". He did not say: "I would like to be remembered as the man who fought for the freedom of India". He did not say: "I should be remembered as the man who fought for the country". He did not say: "I should be remembered for my versatility". He did not say: "I should be remembered for my contribution to the international cause". He did not say: "I should be remembered for my scholarship or for anything else". He did not say: "I should be remembered for my personality". He said all that he would like to be remembered was for this: "I am content if posterity says of me, 'Here was a man who loved India and her people, Congress, Communist, everyone alike. All the 43 crores of Indians, my countrymen, I love, and here was a man who received the unstinted affection of my countrymen'. That is all that he wanted to be inscribed.

Now, that is precisely the image that we want to bring forward and I am quite sure in my mind that it will be healthy for our friends opposite, every day, morning, noon and evening,

to remember the one man who was pure in his mind, who was charitable in combat and of all people who was a lover of freedom not only for India but a lover of freedom for the world. Ultimately to those of our friends who have been here for some time and who have had opportunities of either watching or knowing about how political parties function—I do not make any exception whatever—I say this. If my friends will believe, I do not speak as a partisan. I speak as a humble student who has had opportunities of seeing and hearing things about parliamentary life. I have yet to see before my mind's eye another political leader who was as charitable to his opponents as Jawaharlal NBhru was.

He was a gentleman *par excellence*. I wish my friends, those of us who were present on that day, on the last day of that Session, would remember it. It is a thing which I can never forget, which I can never erase from my mind's eye. Those of you who were here in the House would doubtless take it as a precious possession of their life. He was there and he was replying. He knew that the proper courtesy for a Minister replying to a question was to rise and reply. Even if one was on the deathbed, he should rise and reply. He made an effort to rise. He rose once, he rose twice. There were numerous supplementaries. He never worried about it. He never showed impatience. When my friend, Mr. Bhargava, suggested from there: Let the Prime Minister sit and reply, he said in a low tone. There are courtesies to the House. I would like to have another example of any political leader in the whole country, when he was almost in his last days, when he could not rise and sit, who would have said: "Well, there are courtesies, there are proprieties to the House" as a democrat. (*Interruption*) I wish my friend listened to me a little quietly and pondered over whatever he said. I know that some people are proof against all feelings. It is not a ques-

tion that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was a partisan. "He has really been Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the man who fought during the whole of his lifetime, till the last day of his life. I have known Members of Parliament of India and have watched the faces of people on this side. I have watched the faces of Communist Members. I have watched the faces of Opposition Parties. There was not one face which was not sad on that day. Let us remember that. Why was it? Did they go to his house or the cremation ground? Why was it that Members rose in this House? One of the best speeches that I had heard in my life was from one of the Opposition leaders, Mr. Vajpayee, one of the most eloquent, directly from the heart. Did he pay that tribute as a political leader? Today the coin may be ours, may be the coin of the Government that is there today. If our friends there wait, tomorrow it will be their coin and they can adopt it without any difficulty. In fact, if there is any personality which they can adopt for their own purposes, a real democrat, it is his. I have seen something of this.

When there was a fear of a general strike some three or four years back, the Government had resolved, that some concessions should be made. Some of his colleagues in the Cabinet said: "Well, if we announce it now, it will strengthen your opponents". He said: "Damn those things. If I am to do justice, I must do it now." He was not a small man. He is going to live not only in this century but for centuries to come, if our countrymen are true to him. He is one of those persons who will go down in history, as in the case of Abraham Lincoln, who was shot down from the gallery by someone. As they say in Galsworthy's drama, well, here is a man who died, but he has earned immortality. Whatever our friends might say, I am quite sure in my mind that in their heart of hearts they cannot but honour Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. They cannot but worship that man. Ultimately parties

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come and parties go. The Congress of today which calls itself progressive may be a back number tomorrow. These are like the tides. We children playing in the tide always have a personal view. But sometimes at least we must rise above parties. The Congressman must rise above the Party. Therefore, he should remember Jawaharlal Nehru as a man whom we honour, who inspired him in his life, who inspired our countrymen for generations together. His philosophy, like that of Buddha's philosophy, is for all time. It holds good today. It will hold good tomorrow. It will hold good for all time to come, because it is a philosophy like the following: —

That is how it strikes my mind. I do not want to indulge in any polemics. I do not say any harsh words of my friends outside. People in Parliament are free to say what is reasonable, are free to say what is unreasonable. It is parliamentary prerogative, it is democracy. I do not blame them. I do not blame them if for a moment they look upon this issue as a party issue. People are not going to say that for the next elections in 1967 this rupee should become current and therefore it is on this the election: is going to be held. It is nothing like that. People are not going to be influenced by it. I am quite sure in my mind that if the late President for whose image I have no objection, if his spirit is anywhere near, it would commend that far earlier than many of us, let Jawaharlal Nehru be on the rupee, be on the exercise book, be in your heart because that way the future India will be inspired.

Madam Deputy Chairman, I really did not want to enter into any controversy. This is something beyond controversy. This is something which a man has to feel, and all my humble request—it is not an emphatic or assertive request, it is not an offensive request—my humble request to my friends would be to separate Jawaharlal the permanent from Jawaharlal

[Shri D. P. Karmarkar.] the evanescent, the Congressman, to separate Jawaharlal the force which has directed the constructive forces not only in this country but in the whole world and always imagine that what will be enshrined in the coin is the . Jawaharlal of eternity. Gautama Buddha had an evanescent face. Ultimately history has recorded that what he died of was some rotten piece of flesh. We do not remember that. We remember Gautama Buddha's humility and for us Gautama Bunddha is the humane man. He is the man who tried for the deliverance of mankind. When we put it on the coin or the postage stamp, let us remember that ultimately we are doing something—we cannot show that we are putting it in our heart—which is a humble symbol of something which is the innermost feeling, I am quite sure, the innermost feeling of every one of my friends there. I am not so blind as to say that they do not appreciate that. If all their anxiety was that political capital should not be made of a coin, I am quite sure in my mind that they are right. Political capital should not be made of a coin. It cannot be made. All that is meant is that it is a nation's homage to someone to whom it is paying that.

Madam, one more word. I entirely reiterate what my friend has said that it will be very difficult for us to find any other country on the face of the world where, if they had such a man, anyone would have had the heart to say that this is party matter, that this is politics, this putting it on the coin. I am quite sure in my mind that the future generations will preserve this rupee as a souvenir, for generations together, and I am also quite sure in my mind that if the friends who object to it are to consult their children about it and say: "Well, boys, here are the Congress people who want to put this image on the coin; is it right or wrong?", I am prepared to take any bet whatever that the children will say: "Well, Daddy, they have done the

right thing." I have no doubt about I it because ultimately it is the human heart that it has appealed to I think there is nothing wrong in it.

I hope I have not spoken anything provocative. My friend over there is anxious to rise. If I have hurt him in any manner, I beg his pardon. I did not mean to hurt. All that I want to plead with him is to think about the matter, to forget in such matters that one is a partisan or that it is a party matter. Thank you.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI) J Madam, I do not think I will spoil the effect of a good speech by making another. There is one explanation that I owe to the House, perhaps even to the other also, in connection with the efforts to commemorate in a very small way the memory of a man who lived for his country.

Madam, I initiated the idea. It is entirely my fault. But when I did so—I wish hon. Members will agree with me and will not doubt my *bone fides*—I did not think that I was trying to do anything for the Congress Party. I thought that everybody in the country felt the same way as I did about Jawaharlal Nehru. It is the little that we could do for him. For our own satisfaction we put his image in a place where perhaps for years to come it will be staying. I can assure the hon. Members that I never thought of being a Congressman, never thought of gaining any credit for the party. In fact as my colleague, Mr. Karmarkar, mentioned, one of the best speeches, probably the best speech, in the other House made after Jawaharlal Nehru passed away was by Mr. Hiren Muker-gee and I am glad to hear that the best speech that was made here was by Mr. Vajpayee—not members of the party but people belonging to the public, who were able to assess at any rate in a moment of grave crisis Jawaharlal Nehru at his true worth. Of course I do not want to hide the fact that to

many of us Jawaharlal was part of our life. We are here because of him, and we continue here because we feel that he has commanded us to slay. But none the less we do not want to capitalise on his memory. I do not think I would ever go and address any political platform and say: "We are the children, the political children of Jawaharlal, therefore you must support us". No. Jawaharlal's name cannot be used for sordid purpose because Jawaharlal has passed from being Prime Minister of India into immortality. In fact when I was in London recently, Madam, in the luncheon I

was sitting near Lord Attlee. He 5 P.M. told me—and he is a man who

genuinely feels for India and he knew Jawaharlal—the most impressive ceremony that he had ever seen in his life—he could not attend but he had the picture of it, as his wife died •on that day—was the ceremony held in Albert Hall when more than six thousand people, people who ruled over us, people who have oppressed us, just mourned for the death of a man who they thought was a citizen of the world. We would be failing in our duty to our country if we did not honour the citizen of the world, not a citizen of India. I had been the perpetrator or the originator of this crime. If it is a crime, I would like to assure the House that I had no intention of using the name of Jawaharlal, using the coin in which Jawaharlal's effigy is there for any purpose of the party. I hope hon. Members would accept this assurance.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: But the country has the highest respect for Mahatma Gandhi as well. Is he going to put his effigy also on the coins?

SHRI T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI: The world has seen many prophets, many great men. It is wrong to compare one with the other. Each one is great in his own way, and Jawaharlal is great in his own way. There is Jesus the Nazarene, there is Christ,

there is Buddha; there is Krishna; there is Rama; there is Mahatma Gandhi. But Jawaharlal belonged to the earth. He was of the earth and earthy, and that is why we loved him all the more.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That the Bill to restrict the negotiability of currency and other notes inscribed with messages of a political character, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

*The motion was adopted.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up the clause by clause consideration of the Bill.

*Clauses 2 and 3 were added to the Bill.*

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

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Madam, I move:

"That the Bill be returned." *The question was proposed.*

شری عبدالغنی : میڈم ڈپٹی  
چیئرمین - میں اس آخری اسٹیج  
پر زیادہ کہنا نہیں چاہوں گا پسند  
بھی نہیں کروں گا لیکن میں یہ  
سے ایک بار سرکار کا دھیان اس  
اور دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ دھکیوں سے  
کوئی کام نہیں چلے گا - متجارتی کے  
ہل سے کام نہیں چلے گا - جو یہ  
سمجھتے ہیں کہ پلڈت جی سے زیادہ  
پیار کرتے ہیں - میں سمجھتا ہوں  
کہ اس وقت یہ پلڈت جی کی توہین  
کرتے ہیں - اگر وہ سمجھتے ہیں کہ  
ایک روپیہ کے نوٹ پر تصویر آنے  
سے پلڈت جی کی شان بڑھ سکتی

[شری عبدالغنی]

ہے پلندت جی کی سکھ پر کوئی  
چھاپ لگنے سے پلندت جی کا مان  
بڑھ سکتا ہے - مجھ سے زیادہ انہوں  
نے پلندت جی کے ساتھ کہاں سے  
گزارا ہے ؟

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh):  
All this is irrelevant.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: On a point of  
order, Sir . . .

شری عبدالغنی : اگر آپ کے من  
میں یہ نہیں ہے اس بل کا یہ مقصد  
نہیں ہے میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ آپ  
پہلے اپنے آپ کو دھوکا دیتے ہیں  
اور دنیا کو بھی دھوکا دینا چاہتے  
ہیں - اس لئے میں سمجھتا ہوں  
کہ اس وقت ہمارا حق ہے کہ ہم  
یہ آواز اٹھائیں کہوں کہ پلندت  
جواہر لال نہرو یہ مانتے تھے کہ اگر  
مہاتما گاندھی سوچ میں تو میں  
ایک ذرہ ہوں - آج آپ صرف ایک  
جذبات سے کھیل کر یوں دہانا چاہتے  
ہیں کہ جو اس طرح کی صحیح  
بات کہتا ہے یا صحیح بات کہتے  
کی کوشش کرتا ہے وہ غدار ہے وہ  
جرات نہیں کر سکتے اور کہتے ہیں  
کہ ایک آواز کسی کے خلاف اٹھی  
اور ہم آواز اٹھائیں گے - پلندت جی  
خود ڈیموکریسی کے حامی تھے -  
پلندت جی کی یہ اچھا تھی کہ یہاں  
ڈیموکریسی رہے اور ڈیموکریسی کا  
مطلب صرف یہی ہے کہ اس موقع

پر اگر بل غلط آ رہا ہے - اگر اس  
بل کا جو مقصد ہے اس سے قوم  
کو نقصان پہنچتا ہے تو ہم دلیری  
سے کہیں گے جو ہمارے من میں  
آئے گی - آپ یہ سمجھتے ہیں کہ ۲۵  
پرسنٹ ووٹ لے کر یہاں گدیوں میں  
بیٹھ کر جن کو ۵۵ فی صدی لوگوں  
نے اعتماد نہیں دیا جن کو صرف  
بادی کے لحاظ سے دیکھا جائے ۲۰  
فی صدی لوگوں نے ایذا اعتماد دیا  
وہ یہاں دھمکیاں دیتے ہیں کہ یہ  
لوگ وہ ہیں جن کو کل جراثمت  
نہیں تھی اور ہم کو جراثمت تھی -  
آج بھی ہے اور ہم اس بات سے ڈرتے  
نہیں چاہے ہم قتل ہو جائیں -  
اس لئے کسی سکھ پر صرف یہ  
کہہ کر کہ اس کا پولیٹیکل مقصد  
نہیں ہے میں اس پر یقین نہیں  
کرتا - میں کمرار کر صاحب کی بڑی  
عزت کرتا ہوں کجراں تو میرا بیٹیجا  
ہے وہ کچھ بھی کہتا رہے اس کی  
دھمکیوں سے مجھے کوئی خوف نہیں  
ہے - آیا ہے تھک ہے اور حرج کی  
بات نہیں ہے لیکن ہم دونوں کی  
باتوں میں نہیں آتے - میں ہاؤس  
کے سامنے یہ بات رکھنا چاہتا ہوں  
کہ کانگریس سرکار نے یہ بڑی  
بھول کی ہے اور یہ بھول ایسی ہے  
جو مسئلے والی نہیں ہے اس کو قوم  
نہیں بھولے گی اور یہ بھولے گی تو  
(Time bell rings.) -

دس از ویری اسپورٹلٹ بل ۴۰ اس  
کا آنے والا مورخ فیصلہ کرے گا کہ  
ہمارے بھگت اور مسٹر گجراں تھیک  
تھے یا مسٹر ملی یا غنی تھیک  
تھے۔ آگے آگے ملی اور غنی تھیک  
نکلے اور اب بھی ملی اور غنی  
تھیک نکلیں گے۔ اور ان لوگوں کی  
شکست ہوگی آنے والے الیکشن میں  
ضرور شکست ہوگی۔

†[श्री अब्दुल गनी (पंजाब): मैडम डिप्टी चेयरमैन, मैं इस आखिरी स्टेज पर ज्यादा कहना नहीं चाहूंगा, पसन्द भी नहीं करूंगा। लेकिन मैं फिर से एक बार सरकार का ध्यान इस ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि धमकियों से कोई काम नहीं चलेगा। मैजोरिटी के बल से काम नहीं चलेगा। जो यह समझते हैं कि पंडित जी से ज्यादा प्यार करते हैं, मैं समझता हूँ कि इस वक्त यह पंडित जी की तौहीन करते हैं, अगर वह समझते हैं कि एक रुपये के नोट पर तस्वीर आने से पंडित जी की शान बढ़ सकती है, पंडित जी की सिक्के पर कोई छाप लगने से पंडित जी का मान बढ़ सकता है। मुझ से ज्यादा उन्होंने पंडित जी के साथ कहाँ समय गुजारा है ?

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): All this is irrelevant.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: On a point of order, Sir . . .

†[श्री अब्दुल गनी: अगर आपके मन में यह नहीं है, इस बिल का यह मकसद नहीं है। मैं समझता हूँ कि आप पहले अपने आपको धोका देते हैं और दुनिया को भी धोका देना चाहते हैं। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि इस वक्त हमारा यह हक है कि हम यह आवाज उठाएं क्योंकि पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू यह मानते थे कि अगर महात्मा गांधी सूरज हैं तो मैं एक जर्जर हूँ। आज आप सिर्फ

जज्जवात से खेलकर यूँ डराना चाहते हैं कि जो इस तरह की सही बात कहता है या सही बात कहने की कोशिश करता है वह गद्गार है। वह जुरायत नहीं कर सकते और कहते हैं कि एक आवाज किसी के खिलाफ उठी और हम आवाज उठाएँगे। पंडित जी खुद डेमोक्रेसी के हामी थे। पंडित जी की यह इच्छा थी कि यहां डेमोक्रेसी रहे और डेमोक्रेसी का मतलब सिर्फ यही है कि इस मीके पर अगर बिल गलत आ रहा है अगर इस बिल का जो मकसद है उससे कौम को नुकसान पहुंचता है तो हम दिलैरी से कहेंगे जो हमारे मन में आयेगी। आप यह समझते हैं कि ४५ पर सेंट वोट लेकर यहां गद्गियों में बैठकर जिनको ५५ फी सदी लोगों ने एतमाद नहीं दिया। जिनको सिर्फ आबादी के लिहाज से देखा जाये २० फी सदी लोगों ने अपना एतमाद दिया वह यहां धमकियां देते हैं कि ये लोग वह हैं जिनको कल जुरायत नहीं थी और हम को जुरायत थी। आज भी है और हम इस बात से डरते नहीं, चाहे हम कत्ल हो जायें। इसलिए किसी सिक्के पर सिर्फ यह कह कर कि इसका पोलिटिकल मकसद नहीं है मैं इस पर यकीन नहीं करता। मैं करमरकर साहब की बड़ी इज्जत करता हूँ। गुजराल तो भेरा भतीजा है। वह कुछ भी कहता रहे उसकी धमकियों से मुझे कोई खोफ नहीं है। आया है ठीक है और हर्ज की बात नहीं है, लेकिन हम दोनों की बातों में नहीं आते। मैं हाउस के सामने यह बात रखना चाहता हूँ कि कांग्रेस सरकार ने यह बड़ी भूल की है और यह भूल ऐसी है जो कि मिटने वाली नहीं है। उसको कौम नहीं भूलेगी और वह भूलेगी तो उतका ले डूबेगी। Time bell rings "दिस इज वैरी इम्पारटेंट बिल" इसका आने वाला मोरिफ़ फैसला करेगा कि हमारे भगत और मि० गुजराल ठीक थे या मि० मणि या गनी ठीक थे। आगे आगे मणि और गनी ठीक निकले और अब भी मणि और गनी ठीक निकलेंगे और उन लोगों की जिम्मेदारी होगी। आने वाले इलेक्शन में जरूर जिम्मेदारी होगी। ]

†[ ] English translation.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: Madam, I am very sorry that this Bill has raised an unseemly controversy. For that unseemly controversy, the Opposition must bear complete responsibility. And I am sorry that a man of the stature of Mr. Mani should have raised that controversy. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru . . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I never expected it from Mr. Mani.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: . . . was one of the greatest statesmen that the world has seen. And the British newspaper 'The Guardian' described him: "A great man of the age passes away." Eloquent tributes were paid to him by other countries. We know that there is a distinction between the Prime Minister and the President. We are honouring Jawaharlal Nehru not as Prime Minister of India but as **the** architect of Indian freedom, as the man who had supplied us with ideals for the future of this country.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: But Mahatma Gandhi was also great or even greater.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: Mahatma Gandhi had a religious mind, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had a secular mind,

and the greatness of Jawaharlal . . .  
(Interruptions).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order. Let him express his opinion.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: Mahatma Gandhi did not make the same appeal as Jawaharlal Nehru did because Jawaharlal Nehru's greatness lay in the fact that he had a completely secular mind and his greatness with his countrymen was not based upon any appeal to religion. I would therefore say that Mr. Karmarkar has spoken on behalf of the party with great ability. We have no desire to utilise Jawaharlal Nehru's name for base purposes but we shall not allow Members of the Opposition to say things which are hurtful to our sentiments.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is;

"That the Bill be returned."

*The motion was adopted.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at ten minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 29th September 1964.