

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House is adjourned till 2'o clock.

The House then adjourned for lunch at fifty-five minutes past twelve of the clock.

The House re-assembled after lunch at two minutes past two of the clock,

(MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.)

THE BUDGET (GENERAL) 2009-10

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. M. Venkaiah Naidu.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU (Karnataka): Sir, the Minister is not here.

डा. (श्रीमती) नजमा ए. हेपतुल्ला (राजस्थान): सर, फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब यहां होते तो अच्छा रहता।

श्री उपसभापति: उन्हें बुला रहे हैं। The MoS is here.

DR. V. MAITREYAN (Tamil Nadu): There is no pressing work in the other House. The other House has not even assembled.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He was here before lunch.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: We are not trying to score points.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no...

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: But the main Opposition Party is going to debate on the Budget. It is expected of the Finance Minister to be in the House and also the senior Ministers.

डा. (श्रीमती) नजमा ए. हेपतुल्ला: हम लोगों को मालूम है कि आप हम लोगों को संरक्षण देते हैं।

श्री एम. वेंकैया नायडु: आप हमारे ideal हैं।

श्री उपसभापति: मैंने उन्हें बुलाया है, आप शुरू कीजिए।

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am happy to initiate the discussion on the Budget, 2009-2010. Sir, I must humbly say that I am not in agreement with many of the proposals made by the Finance Minister. Of course, I welcome certain initiatives. I will come to them later. Shri Pranab Babu, the Finance Minister is one of the most experienced politicians in the country. He has enough experience and ability also. But, I must also admit, Sir, that it is a great disappointment not only to me but also to the entire country because the country is facing challenges on each and every front and the national economy is facing a stiff challenge. The challenge is not only on account of global financial crisis but also on account of 'do nothing' policy of the Government. That is the biggest worry. In the last five years, the UPA used to blame our Left friends saying that they are creating road blocks, they are acting like speed breakers and, then, we are not able to perform.

Now, those speed breakers or road blocks are not there, the road is free. You have your own majority. Nothing stops you from taking hard decisions whenever necessary. But, Sir, despite the assurance of political stability, the mindset of UPA is not development-oriented. This is our conclusion. Of course, it has some positive aspects and as the BJP has declared in the beginning itself that we humbly accept the verdict of the people and, then, we have decided to function as a constructive Opposition. My Leader in the House here and my Leader in the other House have made it very clear and they have said that, 'we are with the Government whenever Government needs our support in the larger interest of the country'. Sir, the major challenges that are there before the country are: firstly, the biggest challenge is price rise, the suffering of the common man; secondly, the loss of jobs, growing unemployment; thirdly, the agricultural crisis, the happenings in the rural India across the country are really disturbing, and, fourthly, and importantly is the economic slowdown, world wide slowdown and slowdown in India. Also, Sir, the last is internal security. What is happening in Kashmir, what is happening in Chhattisgarh, Orissa, Jharkhand, Maharashtra and in many parts of the country. Whether it is the issue of Naxalism and the issue of insurgency in the North-East and the issue of separatist tendencies raking up their ugly head again in Jammu and Kashmir and the lack-lustre attitude of the Chief Minister. They are the challenges before the country, and, unfortunately, Sir, I must say that this Budget does not address any of these challenges. There is not even one line about price rise. I would have been happy if there is some discussion. There is no mention about it.

Sir, he made a big statement even with regard to jobs. He said that 1.2 crore jobs would be created. What we are getting under NREGA is not job, it is a temporary wage. You are also not assured of job. Sir, Pranabbabu may have presented the first full-fledged Budget as the Finance Minister, but it is not a new Budget of the Government, because the Government is continuing. They have got a renewed mandate. In the President's Speech and also on umpteen occasions they all said about it. I don't want to take time on that count. Sir, the present economic situation in the country is disturbing. If the off-Budget items and the States' deficit are added, the likely actual deficit will be over 13-14 per cent! It is mindboggling. This has never happened in the country. Earlier, the highest was 7.7 per cent. And, Sir, you know the consequences of 1991 where we had to pledge our gold. Today, the Government has a total spending of Rs. 10.38 lakh crores. And, the Government is going to raise only 6.14 per cent by way of taxes and through other income. The borrowing itself is Rs. 4 lakh plus crores! In real terms, it comes to almost 40 per cent of the total Budget expenditure which the Government is borrowing! This is the reality of the situation today. Sir, after having made the country to suffer from the illusion of dream Budgets for the last five years, the exchequer has been landed into a catastrophic consequences. If you refer to the earlier speeches of the former Finance Minister you will know. I don't blame the present Finance Minister for those speeches. But, at the same time, the Government is a collective responsibility. It is the same Government, same party heading a coalition. If you go through them, you will know that.

Sir, the Economic Survey has detailed and outlined the road map for recovery. It has given certain concrete suggestions. It has identified the sectors where incentives need to be given. It has also identified sectors where the Government needs to invest. It has also given a clear-cut road map for the economic growth and the development of the country in the next five years. But, unfortunately, the hon. Finance Minister seems to have not cared for the finding or the opinions of the Economic Survey. Normally, Finance Ministers try to take advantage of the advice given by the Economic Survey, try to take certain cues from the findings and try to take certain hard decisions whenever necessary. But, unfortunately, this time it has not happened. Sir, the Economic Survey, of course, has a huge wish list. You have missed the bus on a number of occasions in the last five years. The big ticket reforms are missing. The Budget has nothing to offer in short-term. Neither any targets fixed for fiscal prudence nor for food security or public sector disinvestment. The hon. Finance Minister did not even mentioned about the far-reaching financial sector reforms suggested by the Survey, which include the Banking Regulation Bill, hiking of FDI in insurance sector, permitting 100 per cent in select insurance companies, Defence and in other sectors. That means, the Survey has not influenced or failed to influence the hon. Finance Minister and his officials to take corrective steps. Sir, I say the Budget is unrealistic, not transparent and unlikely to stimulate the economy. High fiscal deficit, high interest rates, little exemptions, too little incentives and there is nothing more. If one has to describe it in 2-3 lines, this is how one can explain the Budget. Sir, it is a clear case of economic mismanagement by this and the previous Government. The fiscal management in the last five years has been miserable.

Now, I come to what I said in the beginning. Pranabbabu has become the Finance Minister and has presented a full-fledged Budget this time. The former Finance Minister was assuring the nation by saying that everything is fine and said we need not worry. Sir, I quote what Mr. Chidambaram said in Hindustan Times Conclave. He said, "India well insulated from the US financial crisis. There is no cause for alarm. I assure the Indian investors that domestic market fundamentals are quite strong and it is unlikely to face the negative effects of the financial sector collapse in the US. Despite some tightness, Indian economy would maintain a growth close to 8 per cent." I am quoting from what he had said in the Hindustan Times Conclave. Throughout the period, especially in the last one year, he had completely been denying, month after month, that the country was heading for a slowdown. Now, the Government is using 'international slowdown' as an excuse to cover up the consequences of its own mismanagement. In the present economic slowdown, nobody expects wonders from the Finance Minister. I do understand the predicament that he is facing and the problems that he has inherited. It is very clear. But, at the same time, taking this as an opportunity, we thought that a senior person, at the helm of affairs of the Finance Ministry, will evolve a roadmap and will take the country forward. But that did not happen. He did not take bold measures. There cannot be inclusive growth without growth. We are all aware that growth is not possible without reforms. This has been our experience. The previous Finance Minister, Shri P. Chidambaram, while presenting the Budget,

last year, had said, "It is widely acknowledged that the fiscal position of the country has improved tremendously." Please underline, Sir, 'tremendously!'. He further said, "I am happy to report that the revenue deficit for the current year will be 1.4 per cent against the Budget estimates of 1.5 per cent, and the fiscal deficit will be 3.1 per cent against the Budget estimates of 3.3 per cent." This is what he had said one year back in the House. He is more capable in using very sophisticated words and Oxford English, which the people only like Farooqji and others can understand it. I am not a person of that calibre. I am a rural person, coming from a village background, having studied in a street school. He had used the words, "The fiscal position of the country has improved tremendously"! And, he was happy to report that the fiscal deficit had come down and the revenue deficit had also come down. But what has happened, now, within this short period? He is, unfortunately, not there to explain. It has been left to the present Finance Minister. But, as I told you, the Government is a continuing institution. The same party is governing; the same Minister was there in the other Ministry. He also added, "Four years up to 2007-08 have been the best years so far. But, I may say with humility, the best is yet to come". This is what he had said. And, now, he has left that best to Shri Pranab Mukherjee to tackle. Who has to be held responsible for this economic gloom? I don't hold the present Finance Minister responsible individually. But, at the same time, as I told you, I am pressing once again, it is the collective responsibility of the Government. And, the Congress has continuously been in power. Even the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister had been assuring all of us that India would not be affected by the slowdown, as our fundamentals were strong. But nobody is able to explain what has happened suddenly. He said, "My Government, the NDA Government has really taken initiative." And, those efforts started bearing fruits after you came to power!

Sir, let me recall the economic scenario, the great initiatives taken by our great leader, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee – the air connectivity, the rail connectivity, the highway connectivity, the rural connectivity, the T.V. connectivity, the port connectivity, the strengthening of the rupee, the highest foreign exchange reserves, the lowest inflation, no line, no queue, no waiting list, no shortage, no black-market, no rationing of LPG cylinders, as proposed, now. That was the situation. And, you had inherited that. Let me quote from the National Sample Survey, ".....reveals faster increase in employment during 1999-2005, as compared to 1983-1994." The source is the Economic Survey, 2006-07. 'Faster increase in the employment, during that particular period. So, the employment was high, the rupee was strong, the foreign exchange reserves were comfortable, foodgrain situation was also comfortable. I would also like to quote my friend, Shri Chidambaramji, while submitting the Economic Survey in Parliament in 2004, he had, in the very opening sentence, said, "The economy appears to be in a resilient mode in terms of growth, inflation, balance of payments - a combination that offers large scope for consolidation of growth momentum and micro-economic stability." This was the first sentence of the Economic Survey, which was presented by your Government after we

demitted office and you came to power. So, you cannot blame the earlier Government saying that it was all in a mess, and, then we tried our best in the five years and we have failed. We had given you a robust economy. You have also said, Sir, "The economy enjoyed the benefits of relatively low inflation with comfortable stocks of foodgrains, enhanced competition product markets and an appropriate mix of fiscal and monetary policies." And, Sir, about the food management, it says, "Double digit annual average inflation-rate of 10 per cent, between 1991-92 and 1995-96." When our hon. Prime Minister was the Finance Minister, it came down to 4.2 per cent. Sir, the hon. Prime Minister's name is not there in the quote. Don't misunderstand me; I am recollecting just for the sake of refreshing the memory. During 2003-04, the last three years of NDA rule, it came down to 4.2 per cent. This was admitted in the Economic Survey by the Finance Minister. He said, "comfortable supply situation, remarkable price stability, investment of foodgrains in different parts of the country- despite 2002 poor monsoon, there was a drought in 14 States at that time, we demonstrated the relevance of food security system – and lastly, Sir, while presenting the Budget on 8th July, the Finance Minister admitted that the achievements of the NDA Government were, the economic fundamentals appeared strong and the balance of payments was robust. That was the situation. This was what you had inherited. And, what is it that you have done in the last five years? Now, the Finance Minister says proudly, of course, we are proud, that we are going to spend more than Rupees ten lakh crores. As an Indian, as an ordinary person, forgetting the political affiliations, we are all happy that India is able to have a Budget of Rs.10,00,000 crores plus and that is being presented by our hon. Finance Minister. But, at the same time, Sir, out of this, we are going to spend Rs.6,18,834 crores for the non-Plan Revenue Expenditure, which is totally unproductive - Interest payment, pension subsidies, establishment charges, etc. and, Sir, the Plan Expenditure is only Rs.3,25,149 crores – not even half of the total non-Plan expenditure. How can anybody rationalise this, or explain this? Then, the debt service burden is Rs.5,68,400 crores; interest payments alone is Rs.2,25,500 crores. Sir, it is mind boggling, if you have to pay that much of interest. If you borrow Rs.10/- you have to pay Rs.3/- as interest and out of every Rs.10/- you want to spend, you have to borrow Rs.4/- from the market. This is not an acceptable situation. As I said in • the beginning itself before Pranabbabu came, I am not an expert, I come from a humble village background, I have little common sense in politics, with some knowledge in agriculture, because that is the basic culture of our country, but, unfortunately, these figures, Sir, are really disturbing. I must admit today in the House, Sir, normally, I speak extempore on any subject in the House except on the WTO, NPT, CTBT, GDP, etc. I tried my best to understand some of it in the last few days. I have gone through the articles written by important people, the economists; I have gone through each and every editorial of the newspaper also; I must also admit I have consulted with some of my other well-wisher friends also, but I am not able to understand it personally. Sir, after I said, it is the beginning of the year; the Government has just started functioning; I don't find fault with them for each and everything, but, at the same time, what is the direction? How are you going to meet the

expectations? That is the issue and on that there is a great disappointment in this Budget. Sir, this year, it will borrow Rs.4,00,996 crores—around Rs.1,100 crores for every day. Rs.1,100 crores every day of this year! How can anybody expect us to service the debt? What are the resources? There are great eminent people sitting here, Sir Bimal Jalanji is here and Sir Rangarajanji is also here, I will be very happy if they speak in the House and indicate some of us and give re-assurance to the people of the country that there is nothing to worry, nothing to worry. Okay. Even then, we would try to understand it also. But for an ordinary person, as I told you, coming from a village background, I am not able to understand how this is going to happen. Sir, if the Government is going to borrow more than Rs.4,00,000 crores, then, there will be pressure on the banks, there will be pressure on the public money. Then, what will happen to the private borrowers? I saw the other day, the hon. Finance Minister held a meeting and assured people saying 'nothing to worry, private people will also get money.' From where? The interest rates will go up. In an economic jargon, my friend, Arun Jaitley, was telling me, just now, that there is a phrase called as 'hedging out.' The people normally would look to the Government. The banks would also normally like to place their funds in bonds of the Government, rather than putting it in the private sector, which is facing difficulties. Then, how do you expect the private sector to function and then bring the so-called stimulus in the market and also take care of the employment generation or infrastructure creation?

Sir, out of the extra expenditure of Rs. 1,20,000 crore, proposed in 2009-10 Budget over the previous year, Rs. 44,000 crore are going to go on account of Sixth Pay Commission. If I am wrong anywhere, I will be very happy to be corrected by the Finance Minister. Then, Rs. 33,000 crore will go for extra interest, Rs. 10,000 crore will go for non-Plan grants to States; and, Rs. 10,000 crore for contribution to the IMF's loan to PSUs. These add up to Rs. 97,000 crore. Sir, because of the fall in the fertilizer subsidy and allied items by Rs. 29,000 crore, this gross extra expenditure gets reduced to Rs. 78,000 crore. But not a single rupee out of this is stimulus to counter the slowdown. It is only the Plan allocation of Rs. 42,000 crore that includes the extra provision he had made for the NREGA. That will pass the test of stimulus. The other things are all marginal, according to me. Sir, the bulk of the massive expenditure increased due to the interest payments, defence, subsidies, salaries and pensions. Even the economic expert, former Adviser, Shri Shankar Acharya, opines the same. The people expect the Finance Minister to take the nation into confidence, utilise this opportunity, avail the caution and advice given by the Economic Survey and then frankly place before the nation the roadmap he intends to do, which he is not doing. It is a great disappointment. Shri Pranab Babu is known for his frank views. He does not care and I read somewhere that he said, 'it is his last election, That is not an important issue for us. Even otherwise, normally, he doesn't care; he is very frank. But

on the Budget, he did not take the country into confidence and frankly explained what are the pros and cons. Sir, he said that 'extraordinary situation requires extraordinary steps.' Sir, I would like to know where are those extraordinary steps. What are the extraordinary steps? Except that you are going to spend extraordinarily and you are going to borrow extraordinarily, I don't find anything extraordinary in the Budget. That is why I said in the beginning itself, before Pranab Babu came to the House, that though I admire him, he has disappointed me and he has disappointed the nation.

Sir, some experts are warning that the country is moving towards a stagflation. I wish it doesn't happen. I don't want to frighten the people and I am not an expert also. But, at the same time, there are indications that the situation is going to be deteriorating. Sir, he has not outlined how the Budget is going to take care of the deficits. The States also require Rs. 1,50,000 crores. That means, the total market borrowing in 2009-10 is four times higher than the amount envisaged in 2008-09 Budget, taking even the States' borrowing requirements also. Sir, together, taking the fiscal deficit of the States and Centre, it is going to reach 12 per cent of the GDP. In the first two months, the Centre and States borrowed Rs. 1,89,691 crores, that is, 82 per cent more than compared to the same period of the last year. The Budget, Sir, with the additional expenditure by Government will draw funds from the market, and, subsequently, it will squeeze funds for the private sector. I have already talked about it. Sir, the Chairman of the State Bank of India, after he met the RBI Chairman, came out and told the Press, 'when the credit growth picks up and all the Government borrowings take place, it could stabilise there or harden, So, an indication has been given by the principal banker. Sir, then our Finance Minister wants to ride out the slowdown through more spending and more borrowing as raising interest rates can hamper growth. This is not an answer at all. Sir, now how the RBI is going to act, that also has to be seen. How is it going to facilitate the private sector? If the RBI doesn't act in a manner it is expected to and goes by the FM's risk, the robust growth will not pay off. Sir, there is no mention about the Raghuram Rajan Committee Report on Economic Reform. There is no mention about sectoral targets. There is no mention about sectoral targets. The conventional course adopted by the Finance Minister has been to give push to reforms, so that economic activity can be generated. That has been the practice so far. Conscious of the fact that the trickle down effect is slow, reforms have two major advantages. Some trickle down would take place in terms of generating employment and reducing poverty, and enhanced revenues in the hands of the Government could be used for social sector and poverty alleviation programmes. But in this Budget, the Finance Minister has decided to abandon reforms completely. I do not know if that is the view of this Government. He came out with the Budget of the 1960s. Sir, that spending at the bottom would have a trickle up effect and automatically improve the situation is his wisdom. If he proves to be right, we would be more than happy. You may win a political point, but we would be more than happy in the larger interests of the country. Then, Sir, it is said that trickle up effects would be faced with

inadequacy of investments being made and the possibility of huge leakage would further dampen its desired effect. It is not that easy. Even if he intends to spend Rs. 100 and tries to send it through the direct pipeline, how much of it goes to the common man is everybody's knowledge. I do not blame this Government or that Government or even the Government in the States, but that is the reality of the situation.

Sir, the Finance Ministers earlier and the UPA have always been talking of economic reforms. I would like to know one thing here. You have been in power for so many years since independence. The Congress has ruled the country for the longest number of years. That they have ruled and ruined is a different matter! But, at the same time, you have no excuses. We had been in power only for five to six years. I have already mentioned what we have done in those five to six years. But, was that long period not sufficient to reduce poverty considerably? Was it not sufficient to tackle the problem of unemployment? Was it not sufficient to tackle the regional imbalances? Was it not sufficient to have a level-playing field for the private sector *vis-a-vis* the Government sector? Do you need more time? As we see, Air India is now asking for a big package. There is no problem in giving them big packages. My friends from Hyderabad, including my friend who is President of the Congress Party in Andhra Pradesh, were travelling from Hyderabad to Delhi. It took them four hours and two or three times they felt they were gone! But, fortunately, they came back. ...*(Interruptions)*... वह ही mechanical problem थी, कल भी मुम्बई-कोलकाता फ्लाइट take-off करने के बाद थोड़ी-बहुत चक्कर मार कर वापस आ गई, वह भी mechanical problem थी। उसके पहले भी एक दिन ऐसा ही हुआ वह भी एक Mechanical problem थी। Mechanical problem केवल वहीं हो रही है। मैं किसी एक संस्था की आलोचना नहीं कर रहा हूँ। It was given sufficient time and we had expected that Air India would improve its functioning, increase its efficiency and even compete with others. Enough time has been given already. We should give time to the public sector also. Public sector is also equally important in this country. We are not against the public sector. But there has to be a healthy competition. How long will it take? I am of the considered view, whether you agree or not, that the Government has no business to be in business. Government making chicken biryani, running hotels, producing cycles and motorcycles and telling people they incurred loss because we did not prepare proper biryani; please, pay some tax - - all this is not acceptable. Those days have gone; those days of Government running hotels and other private businesses have gone. Steel factories and big infrastructure projects were set up. Late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru had the wisdom at that time to set up industries. At that time there was no IDBI; there were no international financial agencies; there were not enough private money in the country. He had set up different industries in different parts of the country; it was a wise move. That is a good thing; we are not opposed to that. But today, with the private sector coming in in a major way and

with many international agencies to fund your projects, is there any need for the Government to go and try to burn its hands? This is another important thing, Sir.

सर, बिजली, सड़क, पानी, सिंचाई, शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य, स्व-रोजगार, इन सब विषयों के बारे में इतने साल में हम लोग क्या कर पाए, क्यों नहीं कर पाए, targets क्यों नहीं meet कर पाए? इसका समाधान हमसे ज्यादा आप लोगों को देना पड़ेगा। इसका कारण यह है कि हम सत्ता में केवल 6 साल रहे। You cannot say in six years, the bijli has gone, water has gone and roads have become narrow. World class roads were built by our Government and they were a great addition; India's image has gone up because of the connectivity revolution brought in by Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee. Sir, we have reports; I would seek the guidance of Shri Pranab Mukherjee and his team of officers here. According to the N.C. Saxena Committee report, 50 per cent of India's people live in poverty.

How this figure has come? Shri Arjun Sengupta Panel says that the poverty is 80 per cent. Eighty per cent poverty in India after 62 years of Independence, after so many Five Year Plans! What is happening to our system? I am not trying to criticise him. I am trying to enlighten myself. I would like to be enlightened by the hon. Finance Minister about these figures. How can there be that much variation? Our Planning Commission says that 27 per cent people of the country are living below the poverty line. That is the situation. Sir, fifty-plus years you have been in power. So, you have no excuse. For the last five years you have been in power. You have no excuses. Sir, the Finance Minister gave a small para No.55 about the organised and informal sector of our economy which, Pranab Babu himself concedes, accounts 92 per cent of employment and absorbs the bulk of the annual increase in our labour force. It is a good statement. But where is the provision? What are the steps to take care of 92 per cent - - weavers, fishermen, goldsmiths, blacksmiths and so on. People and goldsmiths are saying what is this branded jewellery. We don't prepare it; we don't manufacture it. Duty exemption is given to branded jewellery. I have no grouse against Tata or Ambani or Singhania or anybody. They are also part of our country. I am very clear on that. They are also adding to our wealth. If they follow the rules, fine. If they don't follow the rules, action has to be taken against anybody whoever it is. But the issue of the matter is that you give priority to branded jewellery. Pranab Babu was telling that women would not be happy with my other measures, but they will be happy by this branded jewellery. I asked my wife. She said, what is branded jewellery? I have to explain her. She said, "We go to the goldsmith in our place and try to make ornaments of our likings and choice. That provides them employment and that also provides satisfaction to women. Then it really helps us." I don't think that this exemption to branded jewellery is going to help the common man and these 92 per cent people. Sir, you left them with one para. I am not saying that have ten paras and don't do anything, and that is going to help anybody. But my point is that it

speaks of the intention of the Government and priority of the Government. Per capita income of the common man in the last five years has fallen from 7.3 per cent to 4.5 per cent. Sir, what the foreign media experts are saying? I am not saying that you must go by their comments or statement. But you are expecting investment and you are in a different regime now where you have liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation. You are living in such type of regime whether you like it or not. So, one has to take care of the public opinion of the world also. The World Bank says 4 per cent growth looking optimistic... Prem Shankar Jha. Sri Shankar Acharya says, it is timid on economic reforms and imprudent on fiscal management. The Wall Street Journal heading, "A Budget for second-tier developing nation," Comments about the budget, "That was, in sum, a pretty dreadful spectacle." BBC comments, "The market is worried about the new Government. What it will do to fund its increasing deficit." "India's BBB-minus sovereign rating, placed on the negative outlook in February .." by Standard and Poor's analyst Takahar Ogawa. All these things are going to affect our growth and our economy. The country needs big dose of investment from business and also from the Government, and the Government's hands are very tight. For business people, there are no incentives to invest in the present atmosphere and the present scenario. It is not that Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee or the BJP or the Finance Minister at that time brought money from their pocket and built these roads. When roads project was initiated, I remember very well, there was some opposition. People said, what is this? How do you borrow and then what is this BOT and then this toll gate? How many times one has to stop between Chennai to Kolkata? Then answer was, how many hours are you travelling from Chennai to Kolkata? How much advantage you are going to get with regard to fuels, with regard to time, etc. Sir, today the result is before us. We have world-class roads and people are happy. They don't bother to pay toll for a particular purpose,

Sir, even the Pradhan Mantri Grameen Sadak Yojana was a very good programme initiated by our Government. I am happy that you said, you are continuing, and, I hope that you will put in more money for the Pradhan Mantri Grameen Sadak Yojana though there is no toll-gate; because there is no gate, that is why, you cannot have toll also in the villages. Ordinary road are there. People are saying, you are thinking of highways; there are highways here but no-way in the villages. You have a bye-pass to the towns, no pass in the village. We have to give more priority to the rural roads. I am happy that the Finance Minister said about it. I hope that you will translate it into action.

Sir, coming to countering the effects of the global economic shocks, we expected a judicious combination of tax-cuts and increase in spending to tackle the situation. On the last day of polling, your Government, your Ministers were telling us that the growth rate would be at 8.7 per cent. I have the press-cuttings with me; if you want, I can show also. Now, they are admitting that it is 6.8 per cent. Within one or two months, how could this happen. You tried to make people believe that

everything was fine. Now, suddenly, you are saying, things have changed because of the international situation, it has been fashion for the Congress Party that whenever they are in trouble, they would accuse foreign hand, forgetting their own hands and forgetting what did they do in this country.

Sir, coming to the direct tax exemption, we, the BJP wanted the exemption limit to be raised to Rs. 3 lakhs, and, Rs. 3.5 lakhs in case of women and ex-armymen. Finance Minister has given a meagre amount of Rs. 10,000/-, Rs. 15,000/-. It is peanuts, Sir. In the present situation, where you have the Sixth Pay Commission's recommendations accepted, ordinary employee has to save. How much money is he saving? Sir, as per one figure, it is going to be Rs. 129/- per month for people who are getting exemption of Rs. 15,000/-. For people who are getting Rs. 10,000/- exemption, this amount is Rs. 86/- per month. Sir, eighty-six rupees per month exemption, is it a big hike in the present day situation? What do you get for Rs. 86/- today in the present market; not even three kilograms of sugar. Sir, this is another great disappointment. We expected him to be generous to the common people.

You have removed the surcharge. It is fine. We welcome it. But only people who are having income above Rs. 10 lakhs, are happy, and, people, who are having income above Rs. 2 lakhs, are unhappy. Where is your focus? Where is your thrust? Are you concerned about the common man, middle-class, salaried people or are you concerned about other people. I have no quarrel. I welcome the step; even removal of surcharge is a bold step. I must admit it. But people will be watching it. They may not understand. Kalavatis may not understand this economics; that is your fortune. But, at the same time, a reasonable number of people understand what has been happening, and, which direction the Government is going.

You have removed the Fringe Benefit Tax. Now, there is a doubt. The Fringe Benefit Tax is now abolished for the employer and passed on to the employee. The employee has to pay the tax in future. I would be happy if the Finance Minister clarifies this point during his reply. On the one hand, you have given benefit to the employer, and, on the other, the employer has been burdened by raising the Minimum Alternative Tax, MAT, from ten to fifteen per cent.

Sir, people expected the service tax on renting immovable properties to be abolished, and, people also thought that you would give some incentives to tourism, tax holidays for hotels and other things, which will improve the tourism aspect in the country. There is another disappointment, Sir, about one-rank, one pension. I also seek the guidance and enlightenment from the Finance Minister because of the divergent versions. Some of the people came and met us also. The Finance Minister announced that long-standing demand of the armed forces with regard to one rank-one pension has been accepted. Sir, it appears that two minor dichotomies between the pre-1996 and post-1996 retirees have been rectified pursuant to the order of the Supreme Court. Am I correct? The Finance Minister can enlighten us. The most important demand was that those retiring after 1.1.2006 should

be given parity with those retiring before 1.1.2006. This demand seems to have been not accepted by the Finance Minister. This is the apprehension amongst the Armed Forces' retired people. I will be happy if while responding, the Government comes out with a clarification.

Sir, there is another disappointment also. When Shri L.K. Advaniji wrote a letter to the Prime Minister, there was a debate; firstly, the Congress Party ridiculed it but, subsequently, they also joined the debate, and, the Prime Minister himself said that within 100 days, we would initiate steps to unearth the black money, to get back the black money from Swiss Banks and other tax heavens. Not even a word on it is mentioned by you. With regard to internal black money also, no concrete steps were suggested by you. That is another disappointment.

Sir, the people thought that the lessons learnt in the 1980s on deficit financing, which landed the country in a fiscal mess and eventually grew into a crisis of balance of payments in 1991, would be kept in mind while formulating our fiscal policies. That has not happened.

We had a breakdown in 1991 and one of the reasons was fiscal mismanagement between 1986 and 1991. What was the deficit at that time, Sir? It was 7.7 per cent. Today, the combined deficit of the States and the Centre is going to cross more than 12 per cent.

Sir, please remember, because of the crisis only, all political parties came together, and Parliament in its collective wisdom passed the FRBM Act in 2003. It was said, 'it is necessary for the country that the gross fiscal deficit as a proportion of the GDP should be brought down from 6.2 per cent in 2002 to 3 per cent in 2008. The revenue deficit must be eliminated by 31st March 2008. And a healthy surplus of revenue account must be built up, that was the tone and tenor of debate at that time. What happened to that? It was a collective decision, not a decision of the BJP Government or anybody else. You seem to have given a go-by to that.

Now the biggest challenge is the fiscal deficit as well as the revenue deficit. The revenue deficit is the difference between the revenue receipts and the revenue expenditure. Incredible as it may sound, the revenue deficit for 2009-10 is budgeted to go up to an astonishing 412 per cent from the estimated 70 per cent of the fiscal deficit of 2008-09 as against 41 per cent of 2007-08. This is the highest revenue deficit since the reform process began in 1991. I am quoting this from an editorial of an economic newspaper. You can say The Economic Times. If they are wrong, we will be happy. You can disprove us. How do you meet this? From domestic market, or by borrowing from overseas or by printing money. These are the three alternatives. If there is some other alternative, and if you can really bring it out, we will be more than happy. But each one of these three alternatives will have effect on interest rates. The revenue deficit does not result in creation of assets. It will add to the interest rate and repayment burden without creating a source of payment.

Sir, someone asked, 'what is fiscal deficit?' One man said, 'fiscal deficit is, you borrow some money and purchase a house and live there.' He said, 'revenue deficit is you borrow money, eat, drink, be happy, and watch your midnight cinema.'

The other day one of the valuable Cabinet colleagues suggested, to contain population, it is better to watch cinema up to midnight. ...*(Interruptions)*... Yes, television is better. Because going to cinema is not safer and it cost money. ...*(Interruptions)*... I do not want to score political points with anybody and do not want to get detracted also.

Sir, it took us three years to get our revenue deficit from 4.39 per cent of the GDP in 2001 to 2.59 per cent of the GDP in 2005-06. Your fiscal plan suggests that it will bring down revenue deficit by the same margin within one year. How are you going to achieve this? Where is the magic wand? Please enlighten us also.

Agriculture, as I told you earlier, is the basic culture of our country. People in the rural areas are very, very unhappy. I am not talking about one Government. Massive suicides are taking place. There is migration taking place in the rural areas. People are leaving agriculture. If they will continue leave agriculture at this rate, what will happen to agriculture I am afraid?

Sir, a politician's son wants to join politics. Many have come to politics whether they have the capacity or not. A doctor's son wants to become a doctor. An actor's son, even if he is not good looking, is becoming an actor. A teacher's son also wants to become a teacher. A businessman's son wants to become a businessman. But no farmer wants his son to become a farmer. This is an irony. This really pains me.

I come from a village. I feel proud that I am an agriculturist. I used to walk 3 km. a day to go to school. I know the problems of the rural areas. Why are they not able to do justice to them? We have forgotten the recommendations of the Swaminathan Commission.

Sir, laborious efforts have been made by the Commission. They made a very good report after painstaking efforts. The Government did not even bother to inform us as to what action has been taken or what is the follow-up on the recommendations of the Swaminathan Commission. The hon. Finance Minister said that he was happy to announce that people who pay promptly will get one per cent interest exemption. It is very good. Sir, I salute you. But, what about the people who are not able to pay at all. When people are not able to repay the loan, that's why they are committing suicides. If they are in a position to pay back the loan, then, there is no question of suicides or leaving agriculture. You should have taken the initiative and gone by the recommendations of the Swaminathan Commission and the requests of all the farmers' organisations including your party people. Everybody said that interest rate for agriculture has to be brought down to four per cent. Some States are implementing it. In Karnataka, my Government is implementing it. The Andhra Pradesh Government is also trying to implement it. ...*(Interruptions)*... Okay. Our friends are saying that it is being implemented. Let us agree. Let us not quarrel on it. The Madhya Pradesh Government is also implementing it. In some States, it is three per cent. But, at the national level, you must think

whether it is possible for the States to bear the expenditure. Can they repay or subsidise the money to the central bank? It is not possible. Then, you also said that you have raised credit limit to Rs.3,25,000 crores. Sir, we welcome it. But, at the same time, even the Radhakrishnan Committee report says that out of eleven crore farmers, not even ¼th are getting institutional credit. That is the reality of the situation. People are borrowing from private sources. The Radhakrishnan Committee has also made a recommendation that we must cover as many areas as possible. The other day, the hon. Finance Minister said that he will open more branches and that the banks have been mandated. Sir, Rs.3,25,000 crores is not a budgeted amount. This money is given by banks. They are performing their responsibility but, what is the relief that the Government is giving? If you are saying 'four per cent, then, you will be bearing the remaining thing. It was 16 per cent during your earlier regime. Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayeeji had brought it down to nine per cent and subsequently, to seven per cent. You are continuing with seven per cent. I am happy about it. But, at the same time, seven per cent will not hold good now with the rising prices and rising cost of agricultural inputs. There is a need to have more dose of credit to the rural people. Also, taxation limit has to be brought down. There is a saying in Telugu.

Rythu lenide rajyam ledu.

All the people sitting here including those sitting on the Congress benches have given speeches and come up to this place. But, what has happened?

Rythu lenide rajyam ledu.

That means that if there is no farmer, then, there is no country. That is the translation of it. But, unfortunately, Sir, our investment in agriculture is going down. There is no mention of farm income insurance scheme. There is no mention of introducing a pension scheme for aged helpless farmers. Technology, productivity, remunerative price, crop diversification, etc. need special attention. Enough money is not given to them. The allocation to irrigation sector is also not much. There is no stress on seed development or the availability of good seeds. These are the areas where I expected the Government to pay more attention. A re-look at the SEZs is also very much required. Some of the SEZs have done well. But, others have become real estate projects. We should never allow the private operator to convert the SEZ into a real estate proposition. Exports have gone up. I do agree, but, at the same time, we have to have a revisit and then, have a fresh look. Sir, about the fertiliser subsidy, the less said, the better. Mr. Vivek Devrai gave history of 22 occasions on which the Prime Minister said that subsidy regime should be changed. Now, the Finance Minister, in his speech, said that he will also think about alternative methods including direct transfer of money and direct provision of subsidy to the farmers. Sir, when? This was said 23rd or 24th time. This has to be really addressed to. Then, the RBI should also focus on including food processing under the priority sector lending. Mega food projects which were initiated by us need to be expanded. Sir, the biggest issue,

as I told you, is about the mismatch between WPI and CPI – not the CPI of Mr. Raja, but the real CPI which is harassing us. It is the Consumer Price Index. ...*(Interruptions)*... He is a senior colleague. He has his own ideas. I salute him. He never change parties. I am sure about it. ...*(Interruptions)*... That is a weakness of the BJP and Communist people in this country. Some people ridicule you saying that you fellows stick to the same party, what is happening here, etc. But, we feel proud.

We feel proud. Win and loose sometimes happens. It is not a Twenty 20 cricket match. You win and, then, roar; when you lose, then your effigy is burnt in the streets. That is what is happening in the cricket.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY (West Bengal): We do not change the capitals also!

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Okay. Sir, the common man is paying more because of this jugglery between WPA and, then, consumer price index. Today, Sir, I request you to please— I do not know who gets provisions at your house, the hon. Finance Minister. There must be somebody, family members or servants or somebody else; even you don't know that person. We don't have that much time. We may go to other market. We may not be able to go to this market, this vegetable market or that vegetable market. Wheat - it was Rs.9/-; today, it is Rs.17-Rs.23. Atta - it was Rs.10/-. Now, it is Rs.18/-. Rice - it was Rs.10/-. Now, it is Rs.48/-. Sugar - it was Rs.14/-. Today, it is Rs.27/-. This is not my figure. I was just carrying a clipping of a Congress-supporting newspaper of Andhra Pradesh, the other day. Fortunately, they highlighted it as the lead story "Sukkal lo Sakkara" (TELUGU) That is a reality. ...*(Interruptions)*... That is a reality, Sir. If you tell us, 'No, no, no. Diabetes is increasing. Reduce your consumption of sugar', ...*(Interruptions)*...

DR. T. SUBBARAMI REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Who is responsible for sugar? It is the circumstances!

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: If everything is left to circumstances, then what for are you and me here?

Sir, Moong Dal – it was Rs.24 at that time. Now, it is Rs.64/- Arhar Dal, Sir. This is a very, very protein food, according to the articles written by many newspapers. Many people were vegetarians or many were converted into 'vegetarian'. Doctors also told me that you have eaten sufficiently for this life – about non-vegetarian, become vegetarian. That is the advice given to me.

The Arhar Dal, Sir, what we call "kandi pappu", it is sold at Rs.80/- a kilo. ...*(Interruptions)*... My friend Sayeed Azeez Pasha is saying that it is Rs.90/-. I do not want to raise the price-rise here in the House, but, at the same time, Sir, I am guided by... ...*(Interruptions)*...

Sir, Rajmah, it was raised from Rs.28/- to Rs.60/-. ...*(Interruptions)*.. Mustard oil - Rs.30-Rs.35 to Rs.67/-. Milk - Rs.26; LPG cylinder - Rs.300/-; petrol - of course, Rs.44/- for that some

international excuse! And cement - it was Rs.125/- during our regime. Today, it is Rs.245/- . I do not want to go further into gold, silver and all other items, they are not the issues ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRIMATI VIPLOE THAKUR (Himachal Pradesh): In which year was it Rs.26/-?

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: It was during 2001 and 2004 of NDA. ...*(Interruptions)*... Now, days have changed. When we have grown, our age also has grown up! But I thought price-rise also will grow by age, not at the alacrity of 100 per cent or 200 per cent! Vegetables - I need not say much. Sir, vegetables in my part of the country, Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, vegetable tomato is sold at 40 paise or Re. one per basket, not a kilo. ...*(Interruptions)*... And, then, by the time it goes to Bangalore, and, then, comes to Delhi, it is Rs.16/-, Rs.20/- because it is perishable, and we do not have enough refrigeration system to transport those things. You have been talking about it, but you were not able to do enough; our Government also made efforts for preserving perishable items - cold storage chain, rural godowns chain. We have to focus more on that and more and more incentives for food processing, for preservation of the perishable items have to be given; nobody is going to object. If you give concessions to some big, big people like branded jewellery, people may raise eyebrows. ...*(Interruptions)*... But if you give concessions to these food processing units, Sir, which will add to the assets and wealth, and also improve the health of agriculturists, nobody is going to raise any objection.

About NREGA, the hon. Minister said '144 per cent increase'. I am not able to understand that. I have been working out, calculating; I am not that much expert in Mathematics. Sir, the increase is only 6.4 per cent. If you go by the Revised Estimate, he said "From the present 45 days, it will be extended to 100 days." And you also said, "From Rs.80/-, because the prices have gone up, it will be enhanced to Rs.100/-." If you go by that calculation, the increase is 6.4 per cent. NREGA - सब समस्याओं के लिए NREGA. NREGA is good for every purpose. जब काम मिलेगा, NREGA में काम करेगा। बाद में क्या करेगा, मरेगा क्या? 40-50 दिन के बाद क्या करना है? ...*(Interruptions)*... And are you creating assets? Sir, we must have a relook at it, and we are here to support you. This NREGA programme has to be replanned to see that it also helps to asset-creation, rather than just giving only wage employment temporarily.

I don't want to take the time of the House to explain what many people are doing because the Chair has given me some time. The time has been allotted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your party has got time, but your party has to stick to that.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Sir, the CAG says out of 3.81 crore households listed under the Scheme, only 22 lakhs, that is, six per cent, are getting mandatory and legally available ten days. This is not my report. This is the report of the CAG. The details about the success stories, list of beneficiaries, the list of */a/* card holders, the number of days they worked, the amount of money they got, etc., have to be exhibited publicly in every village. Make it mandatory. Some States are doing it.

Namo Narain Meenaji is aware of it. Rajasthan has, to some extent, done it. I, as Minister for Rural Development, tried to ensure that process, but not met with much success because there was some resistance. But that has to be done.

For JNNRUM, you had allocated Rs.23,548 crores. Do you know how much money was utilised? Only an amount of Rs. 8,250 crores was utilised because matching grant was not available with many States. This is an area of concern, Two-thirds of the Central allocation were remained unutilised. What is the reason? This has to be studied.

Regarding food security, the increase in the Budget is Rs.8,862 crores more than what has been spent last year. Now, you are saying that a Food Security Act is going to come. Do you mean to tell us that the country has to wait for the Food Security Act to come? Till such time will there be no rice at Rs.2 per kilogram? When are you going to start this? What is the finance provided for that? Our Chattisgarh Government is giving rice at Rs.2 per kilogram. The Tamil Nadu Government is giving rice at Re.1 per kilogram. The Andhra Pradesh Government is also giving rice at a subsidised rate. The Karnataka Government is also giving rice at a subsidised rate. But the States' resources will be affected in the long term. This is the duty of the nation. Food is a fundamental right. I am happy that you are going to make the Food Security Act. You bring it at the earliest. But make provisions in the Budget so that the people get benefit, Don't ask them to wait.

Under the Annapoorna and Antyodaya Yojanas people are getting more. But you are trying to reduce it. Under the Annapoorna Yojana we are giving 10 kilograms of rice free. What is going to happen to this scheme? Under Antyodaya, our Government was giving 35 kilograms of rice at Rs.2 per kilogram. Now you are increasing it to Rs.3 per kilogram and reducing it to 25 kilograms. Is it the concern for aam admi? आम नागरिक के लिए यह कदम आप उठा रहे हैं? क्या यही आपके मैनीफैस्टो में लिखा है? इसके बारे में सरकार के पास क्या समाधान है? सर्व शिक्षा अभियान, mid day meal scheme में अभी बढ़ोत्तरी नहीं हुई है। आपने जो फिगर्स पिछली बार दी थीं, उतना ही allocation है। आपने कहा है कि अलीगढ़ मुस्लिम यूनिवर्सिटी का कैंपस मुर्शिदाबाद और मलापुरम में extend करेंगे, हमें इसमें आपत्ति नहीं है, लेकिन आप बनारस हिंदू यूनिवर्सिटी के बारे में भी सोचिए, उसको आपने क्यों छोड़ दिया? The Banaras Hindu University is also a prestigious institution. Why are you not establishing branches of the University? I think, the Madras High Court or some other judgment said that universities could not even establish branches. I don't know. Someone told me. I will be verifying it. If this is the case, then you are opening a new issue where there will be controversy. Tomorrow people will talk about the Banaras Hindu University.

Then, regarding health, the total expenditure on health, as a proportion to the total Budget Expenditure, has declined from 2.11 per cent in 2007-08 to 1.97 per cent, I got the figures. I don't

know whether the CMP, the Common Minimum Programme, is there. Sitaram Yechuryji, is it there?

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: No, it is not there.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA (Jharkhand): The CMP is not there. The CPM is there. SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: I thought that the CPM is not there, but the CMP is there.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Without CPM, there is no CMP.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: The CMP has committed that 2-3 per cent of the GDP will be provided to health. The total spending comes around one per cent of the GDP. There are six lakh Anganwadis, but the requirement is 17 lakh Anganwadis. The number of children covered is 3.4 crores. There are 14 crore children in the country. It is also a big issue. Can we think of adopting the Ladli Laxmi Yojana of Madhya Pradesh? When a girl child is born, you deposit an amount of Rs. 18,000 and by the time of her marriage she will get Rs. 1,18,000. Can we also think of emulating the Andhra Pradesh scheme of Arogyashree? I have no problem, simply because some Congress Government has done it, I shouldn't emulate it. I am not blind. I am very clear. I said it openly. Of course, some Congress men in my State may try to take advantage of it saying that Mr. Venkaiah Naidu supports Arogyashree. I ask: Should I support "Anarogyashree"? I support it. What is wrong? The point is that there is a scheme which has to be implemented throughout the country. I don't want to take the time of the House by explaining the finer details of the Arogyashree. The Ladli Laxmi Yojana and Arogyashree are important things because they involve girl child as well as the health of the rural people. So far as the textile sector is concerned, the Secretary said that 25 lakh jobs have been lost. What are the incentives you are planning to give? It is an important issue. The textile sector is one sector which provides jobs to 35 million people in this country. Please give them lower interest rates. If you compare it with China, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, South-East Asian countries, our interest rate or the cost of credit is high. This is what they are saying. I would like to the Finance Minister to look into it.

I come to pharmaceutical industry. It also needs concrete steps. The indigenous medicine developers need to be given incentives. You have reduced import duty on cancer related medicines. That is not going to solve the problem because the Indian medicine is going to cost less than that medicine. So, please give money for R&D and also encourage the indigenous pharmaceutical sector in this country so that we, ourselves, are able to develop the medicines which are required for our people because we have huge population.

I come to infrastructure. Infrastructure is one area which is neglected. I do not want to go into it. My friend, Shri Arun Jaitley has talked about Golden Quadrilateral, North-South-East-West Corridor.

What is the position today? I must also inform the House that the Golden Quadrilateral was started and then completed. Now it is coming up for up making or repairing after eight or nine years. That is not being done. This is an important aspect which has to be kept in mind.

With regard to the National Highways, any negligence will be criminal in nature. The Railways are plagued with outdated technology. Average goods train's speed is 22 kilometres and of passenger train is 50 kilometres per hour now, in the 21st Century. The berths of various ports are overcharged. It takes 20 days in India; whereas, it takes a few hours in Singapore. The peak hour deficit of electricity is 13.8 per cent. The Prime Minister said that he would have a Committee. I am happy. The PMO said that they would monitor all the roads and other infrastructure projects. Last time, responsible people were not given this responsibility of managing these infrastructure projects. I do not want to go into the details because some of them are not here.

Secondly, you have to take care of the delays. The Commerce Minister, Shri Anand Sharma, said that there was huge improvement in the last one month and the decline has come down from 33 per cent to 29 per cent. He calls it huge. If it is one per cent decline, we can understand. The decline has come down from 33 per cent to 29 per cent. He is saying it huge.

The export sector needs a major stimulus package from the Government. But there is no such provision in the Budget.

Sir, oil exploration is another important aspect. The Bay of Bengal has become the great new northern sea of Asia. The Government Departments should not quarrel over what is natural gas, what is mineral and what is this and what is that. We have to give more impetus to infrastructure. Now natural gas is also an important infrastructure in view of the problems we are facing. They have to be given the needed support, Sir.

In regard to the IIFCL, the Finance Minister said that Rs. 1,00,000 crores would be provided by the IIFCL. I recall the earlier experience. The State Bank of India and the HDFC had earlier tried it, but they could not succeed. We all have seen that. I think certain norms have to be relaxed. I hope the Finance Minister would look into that.

Another big disappointment, personally to me and to the countrymen and many hon. Members is, there is no mention about river-linking project. The Ganga-Cauveri is going to be a big boon to the entire country. Sir, Rs. 5,38,000 crores is not a big amount for a country like India. These rivers should be linked. You have to plan that. There is a problem of drinking water in India. People are saying that there are going to be water riots in future. We have to give top priority to the river-linking project. I hope the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister would give needed attention to that.

So far as production of power is concerned, we have to increase it. You can see what is happening in China. Power is a big problem in this country. I am not talking about political power, I am talking about other power.

The real estate sector needs to be given more impetus. People expected the Government to increase the rebate on repayment of housing loan to, at least, 2.5 lakhs per annum on interest and principal, from Rs. 1 lakh to Rs. 2 lakh. This has not happened. The interest on housing loan should be brought down. In this House I asked the Finance Minister, "Why are you increasing the rate?" He said, "No, no, already more than 40 per cent of the money is going to the housing sector. What is wrong in it?" It is a big problem for the people, the lower and the middle-class sections of our society.

Then, coming to disinvestments, you have talked less about disinvestments. That is okay. At the same time, what is the environment today? Are we in a position to attract the required response of the people, having bound itself by the illogical formulation of the remaining 51 per cent with the public sector? If monetary shareholdings of the public sector are to be off-loaded to the market without any sign of change in management and stake-holding of the public sector, the offer is going to be non-attractive to the investors. How are you going to solve this problem? You are feeling shy to talk about disinvestments. I do not know the reason; now, Rajas and Yechuries are not there with you.

Then, Sir, the internal security situation is disturbing. Kashmir is again boiling. The Separatist Forces are raising their ugly heads. What happened in Chhattisgarh yesterday? We hear from newspaper reports that an S.P. and 40 policemen have been killed. What is happening in different parts of the country? It is a matter of great concern, and the Government needs to give more and more support to our security forces and also give moral support to them. We should not bend our head before the Separatist Forces which are trying to raise their ugly head once again in Kashmir. Kashmir is an integral part of India. There is no question of any compromise on Kashmir. That is the stand taken by the Indian Parliament, and we all stand by it. And the Government has to send such signals.

Then, coming to National Identity Card, I welcome the step. I hope that the initiative taken by the Finance Minister will bear fruit within a short time, and that it will be a reality.

Now, coming to my suggestions, I would request the Government not to discriminate States. This is not a good thing. Please do not play politics with the security of the people. The Gujarat Control of Organised Crime Act (GUJCOCA) was sent to the Central Government, and the Government has simply sent it back to the State. You have a similar Act in Maharashtra. Simply

because that State is ruled by Congress (I) and the other State is ruled by the BJP, you do not want such an Act for the State of Gujarat. Why should you play politics on such a sensitive issue? I request the Central Government not to play politics on such a sensitive matter. There are complaints of discrimination; Karnataka is complaining that they have been discriminated with regard to even disbursement of the Natural Calamity Relief Fund. Madhya Pradesh feels the same way in the matter of coal allocations and power allocations. Orissa is also crying over the fact that they have not been given their due share. The other States are saying that a step-motherly treatment is being shown to them. Andhra Pradesh is saying that a motherly treatment has not been shown with regard to various projects related to Railways. That is the position. I request the hon. Minister to pay attention to one particular project. Karnataka Government has set up a High-power Committee under Dr. Nanjundappa to assist the process of regional imbalances of the Gulbarga region, that is, Bellari, Raichur, Kopal, Gulbarga, Bidar, and parts of Hyderabad, which were earlier ruled by the Nizam. These are the most backward areas. The Nanjundappa Committee has stated that 21 out of 39 backward parts of Karnataka lie in this area, and they have said that the Human Development Indicators are below the average. A total outlay of Rs.31,000 crores is required. The State cannot give that much money. A sum of Rs.2,489 crores were allocated in the last year's Budget. I would request the Centre to kindly understand the agony of the people of this region and then address the various issues. Our Finance Minister is a well-learned person. He had presided over the Telengana Committee. What has happened to that Committee? There are issues relating to Telengana, Rayalaseema, Vidarbha, the KBK in Orissa, and that of Jammu versus the rest of the State of J&K. Such regional imbalances are not good for the unity of the country. Even when we take the Gorkha issue, pertaining to Darjeeling, there is a feeling of neglect. So, we have to address these issues on priority. We must come out with a concrete plan. The Chief Minister of Bihar is saying that the land of Kautilya - the hon. Finance Minister has also mentioned 'Kautilya' a number of times in his speech - has not been given its due. Thirty lakh people have been displaced because of Kosi floods; four hundred people are dead; 3,050 people are missing; 3 lakh houses have been destroyed. Now what is the assistance given to Bihar? There is no problem that you have given money to West Bengal. You must give them more, and we welcome it. We are happy that political differences did not come in the way. At the same time, the same thing should apply to Bihar also, which has faced such a big natural calamity. So, we must have a time-bound action plan to develop the backward regions of the country.

Now, Sir, Karnataka wanted to have a hub of NSG. In spite of being a hub of I.T.s, an IIT has not been given to Karnataka. There is heart burning amongst the people of Karnataka on this issue. Now, they want to have a hub of the NSG unit. That also has not been given to them.

Then, Sir, as regards Polavaram project of Andhra Pradesh, people expected that the REGP funds would be provided for this project, which is a multi-purpose project. This project would benefit lakhs of farmers in the area. There is no mention of it in the Budget.

Sir, I have two points more left. I am sorry that I have taken a little more time. I would then like to say about the Sri Lankan Tamils. Sir, when I speak about Sri Lankan Tamils, I speak with agony and pain. Going by reports that have emanated from Sri Lanka during the conflict, what has happened is horrible. The Tamilian people were put to torture, harassment and all that. Now, that is past history. You fight LTTE; we have no problem; we have no sympathy for LTTE which has taken the life of one of the leaders of our country. In spite of political difference of opinion, you cannot accept this. Terrorism has no place. But, at the same time, in the name of crushing the LTTE, you have tried to displace the Tamilian population and harm their interests. Now, there is a fear. Mr. Rajapakse has made a commitment; there is a beautiful interview by C.N. Ram with the President of Sri Lanka; also, the other day, the Times of India carried a full page article about what is happening in Sri Lankan camps. I do not want to take the time and also do not want to place all of that on record in view of the sensitivity of the diplomatic relations we have with Sri Lanka. You have rightly announced a Rs. 500 crore-package but, please, see to it that it reaches the needy and there is no discrimination on the basis of race or religion or place, East or North, and see to it that Tamilian people also feel that they are part of it. We are not in favour of an *Eelam*. I am happy that the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister has said that now *Eelam* is a matter of the past and the interests of the Tamilians are uppermost in the minds of everybody. That is fine. We also have been saying that within the constitutional framework of Sri Lanka, the aspirations of the people of Tamil Nadu have to be respected. We have a special relationship with Sri Lanka. We must use our good offices to see to it that Sri Lanka adheres to the agreement that they have reached with us earlier, the 13th Amendment and, then, people are given relief without any discrimination.

The last point, Sir, is about the population control. The point is: 'Follow a non-coercive, incentive-based and gender-sensitive approach for population stabilisation'. Come with some concrete steps. This is my suggestion.

Sir, some of the comments that I have made may appear to be very harsh. But I cannot help it because the situation is very harsh outside. People have been put to hardships. They are suffering. They are weeping. People are saying, "People are weeping and the Government is sleeping". They are not able to understand the concerns of the common man. I hope you understand it. You have no problems. You have no shackles. You have a comfortable majority. If you want to do something good, take our support for granted. There is no problem on that count. We wish that you continue in

power for five years. Do good things. But do not repeat what you have done in five years and make statements like the one the Finance Minister was making, 'there was tremendous improvement in the finances of the country'. We have all experienced what is 'tremendous'.

I am thankful to the Chair and thankful to the House for giving me sufficient time and also for giving me a patient hearing without the usual disturbances.

DR. ABHISHEK MANU SINGHVI (Rajasthan): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, hon. Members, as I rise to discuss the Budget of 2009, having heard my friend with rapt and close attention, I ask myself what is the Budget supposed to be and what it is supposed to do, because unless we clarify that confusion in our minds, we might ask the wrong questions and, therefore, get the wrong answers. Unfortunately, some of those wrong questions have been asked by my friend.

Budgets really mean many things to many persons. For the corporate, they deal with corporate taxes; for the *aam admi*, they have *roti, kapada and makaan* issues; for those wanting to make a killing in the stock market, they have a different facet; but, Sir, I think the Budget has to ultimately do three things, according to my definition of an ideal Budget. First, it has to reflect the philosophy, the vision and the thinking of the Government of the day. Second, it has to deal with the macro-economic essentials of the country. And third, it has to put the country, India, on a firm, prosperous foundation for the future.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I shall endeavour to show, over the next 45 minutes to one hour, that this Budget acquits itself most creditably on all these three basic objects. I make it bold to say that if you decode, the genetic code of this Budget, if you decode ABCD of this Budget, you will get 'A' for aggressive in its approach, 'B' for big, bold and beautiful and 'C' for comprehensive and contextual in its coverage. And 'D' most importantly, daring and different in detail. And, that is why I say, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, with respect, that some of these extreme phrases used by my friend, Mr. Naidu, 'sleeping and weeping', 'do nothing policy', 'mindset of the UPA-Congress not development oriented, 'ruled and ruined'. Well, I leave it to you to judge whether this is not mere exaggeration, it is not correct, I can only ascribe it to my friend's great fondness for a talent which he has uniquely viz. alliteration, but not based on facts, not based on truth, not based on reality. This is a Budget, Sir, which is employment oriented, which is poverty alleviation oriented, which is a programme for the economic upliftment of the population at the bottom of the pyramid and for the generation, above all, of demand. And, I shall demonstrate that straightaway. Let us get down to the nitty-gritty. The first aspect, the much talked about aspect, clearly, a fiscal deficit, a high fiscal deficit, and there has to be a method in the seeming madness. And let me assure you, the Prime Minister, the Government of the day, the Finance Minister have a great method, much less of madness and much more of

method. Before I come to the fiscal deficit in some detail, please remember the Finance Minister is presenting this Budget at a critical time for the global economy and for the Indian economy. He is presenting it, to just note some figures, when the global economy, when most of the developed countries of the world in the global economy are having an increase in world output of less than one per cent as opposed to two-and-a-half per cent last year and three-and-a-half to four per cent in the three years preceding it. So, something must be wrong somewhere, if the world economy is down to one-fourth in terms of output alone. This Budget comes at a time when the developed world saw an actual decrease in output by significant percentages, millions of jobs lost and despite injection of huge stimuli, the most optimistic projections suggest a growth of 0 to 0.2 per cent. Remember, this 'do nothing', 'sleeping Government' has given you a 6.7 per cent growth. So, Mr. Naidu has to give some credit somewhere. This Budget is given at a time when this last year's meltdown has been officially rated by experts who know more in these matters 'as the worst recession since 1945', barring the previous Great Depression, the worst one. And, remember, I am now dealing with fiscal deficit. Monetarists and Freedmanist Gurus have been vocal cheerleaders of a deregulated and a free market economy. But, even at the peak of this philosophy of thought, during the Ronald Reagan era, during the Margaret Thatcher era, India had never subscribed, even partially to the glory of the Freedmanist dream, to the ideal of an unregulated or deregulated economy. Our foundations, as we all know, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, are based on the sure and solid foundations of the Nehruvian Mixed Economy, which my friend has rightly admitted, stood us and stood us in good stead. In his 'Locus Classicus,' John Maynard Keynes, at the other end of the philosophical pole from Freedman said, in a significant sentence, and I quote, "Private sector decisions sometimes lead to inefficient macro-economic outcomes." The current crisis is a classic proof of that. As the crisis unfolded, decisions by the private sector, which is what Keynes said, over-leveraged investment banks, profit thirsty mortgage institutions' those were the decisions by the private sector, mostly foreign. The next part of the sentence, he had said was, 'led to inefficient market outcomes'. That is what happened; that is what happened in the meltdown and in the decline.

So, who is here to lecture us, Sir, on fiscal deficit? Will the USA lecture us, the Mecca of capitalism, which has a 12.5 per cent fiscal deficit and which injected stimuli of 1.5 trillion – remember, a trillion is a thousand billion – US dollars? They are lecturing to us about stimuli and our fiscal deficit. The greatest nationalisation on earth took place in the Mecca of capitalism because 60 per cent of General Motors is now owned by the American Government. They injected over 50 billion, not millions, into General Motors and they own 60 per cent of it now. Who will lecture to us - UK with a fiscal deficit of 15 per cent, not 12.5, and stimuli of over 30 billion US dollars? There are other figures I have, I will not tell you, I will not go into it to save time -Germany 641 billion, and so on. The

Brazilian President in March this year put it rather well, when he said and I quote him, "This is a crisis caused by white people with blue eyes and before the crisis, they looked as if they knew everything about economics." Once you have caused a crisis, how is it that huge injections, large fiscal deficits in the West, are extremely good, are desirable, but they are creating stagflation in India. Why is the sauce good for the goose but not good for the gander? Why is it that something, which is virtuous there, is suddenly seen as a vice in India? A fiscal deficit of 6.7 per cent as a calculated decision is now seen as a vice. This Finance Minister was faced, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, with two choices. The first was that he should worry about recession; he should worry about the fiscal deficit as recommended by Mr. Naidu and his friends, he should tuck his legs into his blanket so that the toes do not even project a little bit out side the blanket and have a sound sleep while being called 'timidity personified'. The other choice he had was to boldly create schemes, which would pump money and spending power and demand into the hands not only of us, the more privileged classes, but into rural India, into the *aam aadmi*. Yes, the Finance Minister chose the latter. He chose a path perhaps less travelled but the only path apposite in the contemporary context. He dared to be different. And far from criticising him, I think, the House should compliment him. There is a saying that those who risk nothing risk everything, I commend to my learned friends here the turtle. Remember, the turtle makes progress only when sticks its neck out, not when it retires into its shell, as is the recommendation by the Gurus on fiscal deficit. The Finance Minister did not have to answer Mr. Venkaiah Naidu Standard and Poor, he had to answer the poor of India not Standard and Poor, not the IMF. Why do the IMF and the Standard and Poor call and accuse us of structural fiscal deficit, but they only call 12.5 in US and 15 per cent in UK fiscal deficit? India is a structurally fiscal deficit because we are supposed to have among other things subsidies- oil, petroleum, and food, but subsidies in USA are ignored, huge farm subsidies are ignored, unemployment social security benefit and support systems are ignored and, therefore, we are supposed to be guilty of structural fiscal deficit. But when each developed country of the world is fighting its way out of recession by -big huge injections of money, they are not accused of any vice. Let our friends in the Opposition, let Indians, and let this hon. august House along with the economists of the world not fall into this trap of selective criticism of India for doing something, which is unique and necessary in our current context. I compliment the Government, I compliment the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister for boldly daring to be different, for undertaking fiscal measures to increase public expenditure and to boost demand in the infrastructure sector. It is ultimately there where the engine of growth lies and it is from there that the engine of growth will propel us out of both recession and the fiscal deficit bugbear. It is, of course, wrong to suggest that the Finance Minister has been oblivious to the issue of the fiscal deficit. It is only a question of spacing out the fiscal deficit and not dealing with it immediately or in one year. People tend to ignore, for example, the statement annexed to the Budget, which the Finance Minister has presented, the so-called Medium Term Fiscal Policy

Statement, MTFPS presented to Parliament with the Union Budget. There – as Mr. Naidu himself noted – is a commitment to start working on it from October and to bring it down to somewhere around five and a half per cent in 2010-11, and, ultimately, to four per cent in 2011-12. So, why do you question that as something unthought of. You are entitled to tweak our ears if we are too far off the mark, but, there is an awareness and a reasonably thought out promise. But, a balancing of huge kick-start now coupled with a spacing out of fiscal deficit over the next four years is a bold, different and commendable policy. There are times when such a counter-cyclical fiscal strategy with a firm intention to come back to the path of fiscal rectitude in the near future is necessary.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) in the Chair]

There are times when a kick starting of the economy by additional fuel injection is necessary but the extra fuel can be easily recovered by spacing the recovery over the life of the vehicle and by improving the running of the vehicle manifold. Without the strength to endure the crisis, as the Chinese Philosopher put it, one will not ever see the opportunity within. It is within the process of endurance that opportunity reveals itself. Friends, the big picture of this Budget, is first, the bold, conscious, fiscal deficit issue. The second, big-ticket picture is clearly the inclusive programme of the Congress-led UPA. If the deficit issue is the B and the D of my ABCD – bold and daring the inclusive programmes are the A and the C, the aggressiveness and the comprehensive contextual coverage. It is vital to remember that the single most dramatic shift in identity, in thinking, in philosophy, in approach between 2004 and the previous Government, the single, biggest most dramatic shift was in the approach to these comprehensive inclusive programmes. Why do you not find such unique unprecedented programmes before 2004? That is a unique, significant stand of the Congress-led UPA Government. You know about the names and the acronyms and I will not go into the details again, from the NREGA to the Bharat Nirman to the JNNURM to the Bima Yojanas and so on and so forth. They are there in each of our CMP's. They are there in our manifestoes. So, whether there is CPM or not, the manifesto remains. They are there in the President's Address each year. So without going into those programmes let me make a few different points about the second big-ticket picture of this Budget, the inclusive programmes. First, these programmes, the NREGA, the Bharat Nirman and so on and so forth were created, invented, promoted, implemented by us. Can the Finance Minister afford to give birth to a child and then not nurture it, through infancy, through adolescence on to adulthood and strong adulthood? Can he leave these programmes in the lurch with indifferent allocations or insufficient allocations? If these allocations are to be maintained and strengthened for the very, very inclusive nature of these programmes there is bound to be in such times some degree of fiscal deficit. If there is, so be it, because it is a promise we have made to the people of India. It is a promise which we have not necessarily made to the foreign economists who preach to us or to the economists in India, but, it is a promise to the people of India and between a

choice of cutting back on education, health and other similar programmes there is no choice. It is a Hobson's choice.

Second, there are, apart from these well-known old acronyms, significant new additions to the inclusive list. Perhaps, in the whole long list, these are ignored or less noticed. A National Food Security Act is not a small thing. And, to answer Mr. Venkaiah Naidu's point, it is required to have a legislative framework, because we are not merely given as, by the way, Mr. Venkaiah Naidu might not have noticed that the BJP in Karnataka said this in its Manifesto, but did not start giving food security for two years even after coming into power. But, this is not only a promise to give food. It is a promise to demand a legal right to food. A legal right to food is coming into this country for the first time and that requires a very strong legislative framework, which, by the way, is about to come in a short-while from now. Instead of criticising it, Mr. Naidu, would you like to tell the House why, in all these years of non-Congress Governments, not only from 1998 but in 70s, nobody else have a thought of it. Why did not, for example, think even a modified version of it at the Central level?

Sir, there is the Pradhanmantri Adarsh Gram Yojna. This is a new scheme. Sir, 44,000 villages with SC/ST population of over 50 per cent are covered. Sir, 1,000 villages of those are going to be a part of the pilot project. It is going to be expanded. An initial allocation of Rs. 100 crores was made. These are only the new inclusive list.

Sir, Swarna Jayanti Gram Swarajgar Yojna, is, now, modified. It is not a new programme. It is significantly modified to call now as a National Rural Livelihood Mission. I want to say here that no Government in India has done as much for SGHs, which now come under this programme, as the UPA Government – both in its previous incarnation and in this incarnation – did. The objective of this programme is to ultimately cover all the 50 per cent rural women.

National Mission for Female Literacy, Bima Yojna and, of course, Mr. Sengupta's Unorganised Sector Social Security Scheme are all have to be supported by Budget.

Sir, third one is this. These are our known transparent commitments, as I said, in our Manifestos and the Common Minimum Programmes. We went to the people with it. We got elected on it. We don't have to be apologetic about it. The hon. Finance Minister cannot betray the mandate and cannot plead theories of fiscal deficit. Our promise was to those who elected us and this is a method of fulfilling that promise. Of course, some of us should be happy that it is not only how much we spend, but how we spend it – a subject to which I will come in a moment. You have seen the examples of how we are spending it. At least, we are not squandering large amounts of money on endless processions of statues. Before I conclude on inclusive programmes, let me give you a

striking difference of philosophy and approach. A comparison between 1999 and 2004 on inclusive programmes versus a comparison between 2004 and 2009 on inclusive programmes only in terms of Budgetary allocations. Very quickly, I just give you some figures. Sir, on Health and Family Welfare, between 1999 and 2004, there was an increase of 45 per cent. I am taking 4 or 5 of inclusive sectors and comparing their Budgetary allocations from the previous Government and this Government. There was only 45 per cent increase on Health and Family Welfare then and we have 106 per cent now. The entire five years or four-and-a-half years is covered. On Education, there was a 41 per cent increase then and we have 182 per cent now. Sir, on Rural Development, there was a 114 per cent increase then and now we have an increase of 323 per cent. On Women and Child Development, we had only 70 per cent increase then and now the increase is 182 per cent. On Water supply, we had only 52 per cent increase then and now we have 158 per cent increase. And, on welfare of SC/ST/OBCs, it was a mere 7 per cent – it is important – and we have 187 per cent now. These are hard, cold and undeniable figures. That is the meaning in the change in philosophy, a change in approach and a change in allocation.

The third big picture is General Sales Tax. Yes; you can quibble about when it will come into force. Will it start by March next or not? But the important thing is the Finance Ministry's focus on it.

As you know, it will lead to considerable reduction in rates; as you know, it will lead to considerable uniformity; and, as you know, it will, for the first time, be closest to a common market in India for sales-tax rate. Well, this is a Budget that focuses on that and makes a fairly specific commitment. I might add that the main criticism that the time is not enough to do amendments, legislative or constitutional, to keep the timeline of March, next year is not correct. A similar thing was said about the VAT. I would request my friends, sitting on that side, particularly the BJP, to please not to make it into a self-fulfilling prophecy. Remember the sequence of dates in the VAT. The BJP talked about the VAT in 2000, in its manifesto. But, unfortunately, it did nothing till 2005, five long years of their own Government. We introduced it in April, 2005. After our introduction, the BJP States, in particular, I will name them, Uttaranchal, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Chhattisgarh, did not implement the VAT. And, on 1st of January, 2008, the VAT was applied to the whole country, after the last few BJP states had fallen into line. Please don't repeat that history for GST, and, then, the entire argument of objection to the GST will go away. So, do not make it a self-fulfilling prophecy.

The fourth big picture is disinvestment. I prefer to call it peoples' ownership of public sector assets. These are better words than 'disinvestment', that's a significant difference between our definition of disinvestment and your definition, or, the definition implemented by the learned former Minister of Disinvestment, sitting in the House, now.

Sir, few policies are more controversial than the strategic sale of key public sector assets to a few lucky private companies. The auction-based sale of companies is fraught with price issues, inherently fraught with price issues. To be very brutally frank, they are occasionally called 'sweet-heart deals', below market price. That is why, and certainly for the UPA, the offering of public sector shares to the public through stock market by dislodging some proportion of shares is the preferred route to privatisation. I congratulate the Finance Minister for this. And, he has put two significant safeguards, in accordance with the UPA philosophy. One, retain, at least, 51 per cent in Government's hands, and let us see when good public sectors are partially off-loaded, you will find a long queue of people wanting to buy. Don't be doubting Thomases in advance. Two, banks and insurance remain in the public sector. Perhaps, Mr. Venkaiah Naidu is right when he says that the Government should not be in the business of business. It is really a difference of philosophy, a difference of approach. Our approach, our perception of these issues is different. But since the Congress believes, and has always believed, in *aam aadmi*, I would suggest to the hon. Finance Minister: (a) that the major percentage of shares, to be offloaded, be earmarked for the small investors, which should be a clause in the actual programme of disinvestment; (b) the individual subscriptions should be capped to generate wider ownership. I think, these two will make our definition and approach to disinvestment very good. I will come in a minute when I deal with the general larger issue that details were not given of disinvestment, as of several other things. That's a complete misconception of how or what the Budget is supposed to speak.

Fifth, I come to affordable housing. There is a very important programme, called, the Rajiv Awas Yojna, a new scheme, recently announced by the hon. President of India. It is really a major programme to make India slum-free in the next few years. Something should be uploaded as far as the intent of the scheme is concerned. But I would like to caution the Government, they need to think it out carefully because low-income urban housing is more a complex coordination issue with Centre, States and local bodies at the urban level. But, in conception and intent, it is extremely useful and important new scheme. The sixth big ticket issue is infrastructure development. The IIFCL, incidentally, for those who want to invest money, has the best rate of return now. It is about nine per cent. If you look at the tax-free yield, it is about 6.7 per cent tax free. But the IIFCL is not supposed to provide Rs. 1,00,000 crores for infrastructure development, as far as Mr. Naidu has misunderstood. It will be able to support up to Rs. 1,00,000 crores in terms of investment in infrastructure, specially, through the PPP route, on an average support of about 60 per cent because it is now empowered to refinance up to 60 per cent of the loan in infrastructure products by commercial banks. So, up to Rs.1,00,000 crores will be supported. I want to tell this august House here that the economists use a simple multiplier called the Keynesian multiplier and it is a fixed figure arrived at by a formula. For India, the Keynesian multiplier is 3.3. If you apply that multiplier and if you

actually get the Rs.1,00,000 crore envisaged in the infrastructure PPP model in the Budget mentioned by the Minister of Finance, that would be an increase in the GDP or a change in the GDP, a positive change in the GDP, by Rs.3.3 lakh crores, applying the 3.3 fixed Keynesian multiplier. Take out financing. It is not entirely a new concept as Mr. Naidu rightly said but this time there is earnestness and seriousness. It was first brought in in 1998 but did not take off. It is really like a relay race because banks have short-term or medium-term approaches whereas infrastructure products require loans over a very long time. So, to provide for long-term disbursements, you have a relay chain system whereby a consortium or group of banks take over the loans on take out financing for different periods covering the entire length of the loan because an infrastructure product has a longer gestation period. This eliminates what is known as a mismatch between assets and liabilities, the ALM and I think this is something which must be worked on to make it a success this time unlike in 1998. I have no doubt that this will happen and linked to this infrastructure issue is the issue of the brand new delivery monitoring unit set up in the Prime Minister's Office. This will, of course, be monitoring a lot of schemes, in particular, the inclusive schemes I have listed for you. And this is a monitoring system which will monitor, particularly, the funds disbursed for infrastructure-related projects. This is, again, a significant change from the previous dispensation.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, coming to NREGA and the proposed Right to Food Act, I do not understand from where Shri M. Venkaiah Naidu has got the figure of six per cent for NREGA. The Budget speech says very clearly that it is 144 per cent over Budget Estimates. He is not trying to mislead anybody. If he can show that it is not 144 per cent over Budget Estimates, good luck to him, but that is what the Budget Speech says itself.

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (SHRI ARUN JAITLEY): It was 144 per cent over Budget Estimates.

DR. ABHISHEK MANU SINGHVI: No, no, but he was stating the figures of the Budget Estimates. You cannot calculate NREGA over the Interim Budget given two months ago. He has already increased it significantly there. So, he has to give a figure presenting an Annual Budget. He has to give a figure taking the whole year. It is not that there is any sleight of hand all that I am saying, but the real point is our work on NREGA is, obviously something which many Opposition components might wish. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ARUN SHOURIE (Uttar Pradesh): It is the Revised Estimates for the same year and not for the current year of the Interim Budget.

DR. ABHISHEK MANU SINGHVI: I am sorry, no. That is not so. Let me assure you it is not so. I have got the figures here. ...*(Interruptions)*... It is 144 per cent but let me continue. Our real work in NREGA has still to begin. We have to actualise the promise of a guaranteed wage of 100 rupees per

day. And the second very important point about NREGA, which I would now call NREGA generation-II, is convergence. Convergence of NREGA with all the various schemes dealing with food and employment issues is extremely important. Because you have individual piecemeal schemes under Agriculture, Forest, Water Resources, Land Resources and under Rural Roads. On Thursday, four days ago, the Supreme Court released some hundreds of crores of rupees which were collected in the environment compensation fund and that money has been released to the States for afforestation. It is very interesting and I was personally in the courtroom when the Chief Justice's court pointed out that this money should not only be used by the States for afforestation, but should be linked with the overall NREGA-thing, taking place in that district or that State. So, NREGA is not only NREGA in the narrower sense in which we see, it has also to be a convergence of all the schemes at the ground where a person is doing the employment and is getting these resources whether for compensatory afforestation in the case of forests, for water resources or for land resources. And, I think, the second big aspect of NREGA this time round must be convergence. The third, of course, is the Right to Food Act, which will come shortly. I can assure you. I have already mentioned it, and, incidentally, the issue about tying all these together Antyodaya Anna, ICDS, Mid-Day Meal, etc., has already been officially ruled by a Supreme Court Judgement. They have already tied it together in a judicial order in the so-called PUCL case, known as a Right to Food case; and they have directed that it should be under one umbrella. This is now the challenge and the Finance Minister is cognizant of it, the Government is cognizant of it and you will see it very soon.

The eighth big picture is restoring export growth. Export has been a major propeller of growth in this country and there are, although small, a number of special steps to restore it. Of particular importance are two; the Enhanced Export Credit and Guarantee Corporation cover to special sectors which are supposed to be badly hit. The cover of the ECGC has been enhanced to 95 per cent, the highest ever to selected sectors to support exporters and the second is the enhanced allocation to the Market Development Assistance Scheme. This scheme provides support to exporters to go into absolutely new markets for the first time and they have increased the allocation for this by 148 per cent over the previous year. These are two important significant initiatives for the export sector to restore profitability to that category of business.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I may now turn to Environment and Forests. Environment and Forests – and I am dealing with some of these issues sectorally because they are very important sectorally also – has seen an increase of 25 per cent. I am not giving you the figures. But, in particular, in that 25 per cent overall increase, there are two significant increases of allocation, which shows the Prime Minister and this Government's commitment to these issues. One, river conservation – a 68 per cent increase; and, two, Project Tiger – a 156 per cent increase. These are welcome programmes. A third, which might be added to this and not noticed much by the Media is Accelerated Programme of

Restoration and Regeneration of Forest Cover which has given this new Programme an allocation of Rs. 500 crores. This incidentally is apart from the very large number of amount of money released by the Supreme court last Thursday which will go towards afforestation. I must, of course, respectfully draw the attention of the Government and the Finance Minister to three issues where I would like to see more work done under the rubric of Forest and Environment. One, lake conservation has unfortunately decreased in allocation. We know, hon. Members, the position and status of our lakes. The revitalisation of lakes is important and an absolute decrease in allocation might not be the right thing to do. The second is that although Project Tiger has got rightly a significant enhancement, the wildlife preservation, if you take out Project Tiger, has remained almost the same; indeed has seen a slight decline. There are several other aspects of wildlife beyond Project Tiger, and, perhaps, an allocation there is also in order. The third is, of course, the commitment to provide funds to the National Missions, the 8 Missions on climate change, a larger issue, but an issue which will be of extreme importance at international fora right through the next few years, and, I think, those National Missions will play an important role.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, there are a slew of other small lesser-noticed measures. In education, there are two, a special emphasis on education of tribal children, the part five and part six Scheduled areas of our Constitution, children in the tribal areas or tribal children, special allocations for education, never before made in this focused manner. Second, first-time ever, a Rs. 500 crore allocation in Naxalite-affected areas and the States – and this is particularly relevant in today's context during Question Hour or during Zero Hour – to establish more residential-type schools in Naxalite-affected areas by a special education programme. There is again, for the first time, a significant increase of 50 per cent and these are aspects of compassionate UPA, a compassionate Congress. Tribal children! Naxalite areas! And also a 50 per cent increase in allocation to India's aging population under the National Social Assistance Programme, for India's aged, the geriatric population! Mr. Naidu mentioned agriculture. Perhaps, he needs to take note of the fact that if a target of agricultural credit of Rs. 3,25,000 crores is there, what it can do to rural demand, what it can do, not to agriculture alone, but to the entire rural economy. That is really the entire lynchpin of the Budget; that is the biggest weapon and the *brahmastra* to combat fiscal deficit. As many people would tell you – my friend, Mr. Rahul Bajaj, is sitting here; perhaps he would confirm this – a lot of items we consider to be urban are actually heavily based on rural demand. Forty per cent of the scooter demand or the two-wheeler demand comes from rural areas. So, when you strengthen agricultural credit, when you strengthen rural demand, you give a huge push to the demand generally in the country with inevitable urban linkages. I am only on agriculture for a moment. There is a Rashtriya Krishi Vikas Yojana. There is a thirty per cent increase in terms of investment in the

agricultural sector. There is an accelerated irrigation benefit programme with a Rs. 10,000 crore increase. Of course, the cold chain and warehousing segment has already got a tax concession to make a continuous, indivisible chain from cradle to grave, or rather, cradle to delivery, of the agricultural products. Of course, personally, I would respectfully commend to the Government to give this industry infrastructure status and not merely tax concessions, because infrastructure status, as you know, has tax holidays and lower interest rates. This is an extremely important segment which has received attention but should receive even more attention. There have been record outlays for rural roads. Record outlays! There has been a huge outlay for accelerated rural water supply programmes, and so on and so forth. And then, also in this list of lesser noticed measures is the textile sector, the most heavily labour intensive sector of our economy, perhaps, an employment generator, with an increase, a significant increase, in the so-called TUFS, the Technical Upgradation Fund Scheme, to about three times the Budget Estimates last year, from Rs. 1100 and odd crores to Rs. 3100 and odd crores.

Mr. Vice-Chairman Sir, I would next like to debunk this frequently recurring theme of the Sensex whenever a Budget is given. This is, if I may say so most respectfully, one of the biggest red herrings in this country. Somebody said that if you calculate from 1991 to now, almost every Budget, around the time of the Budget and for a few days thereafter, has seen a nose-diving of the Sensex. When the 2004 Government came into power, the Sensex nose-dived as never before, but the Sensex also rose as never before in a Left-supported Government. It took only a few days – days; not even weeks and months – but the perspective of the media, the perspective of some gurus, the perspective of some critics, is minutes and hours. These are knee-jerk reactions based on irrational expectations. They never talk about it when it rises after a while. They never talk about it when the experts themselves say that the best investment in the semi long term or the long term is an equity fund, mutual or direct. But that momentary decline is supposed to be a vote of confidence on the Government. Well, we take our confidence from the people and not from the Sensex. It is time when Parliamentarians together, collectively and collusively, debunked the Sensex as an indicator of our fortunes.

Sir, my wish-list can be endless. I have already made some wishes and I have made all the different points. But the cold-chain issue on infrastructure is, I think, important and the infrastructure status is to be given. Perhaps, the time has come to give the infrastructure status even to projects set up in the health sector. In India, it is amazing that only 20 per cent of the health sector is serviced by governmental or non-private sources; 80 per cent is by private sources. The Government cannot hope to provide good health facilities to all without a very huge triple 'P' investment which it does not

have the money for. While to attract triple 'P' or even private investment, consider giving an infrastructure status to the health sector. For employment intensive schemes like the one you gave for the textile segment, it is important to give special tax incentives. There are some anomalies here and there which the Finance Minister, of course, is not always required to deal with. But you have talked, in a big way, about the right to education. Rightly, a great show-piece coming in the next few weeks. But in the right to education there is a small thing. If the private sector comes out and invest in education in rural schools, as is the whole contemplation of the new right to education, the idea is that the private sector will come up and establish millions of schools across the country and they will get a subsidy per child educated. But there is a proviso that in case the land is given to you by the Gram Panchayat or the local Panchayat or the local village, Gaon Sabha, then you will not be entitled to the per child subsidy. I think that is relatively a short-sighted approach. Private sector sets up a rural school on a no-profit basis. This will be done purely by a charitable foundation. There are several good ones in private sector. The moment they get land, if they forego even the Government subsidy, which is based on cost to educate per child, then it will be a disincentive and not an incentive to promote education.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am coming to the end of my address. But before that, I will be less than fair to this side of the Treasury Benches and the Government if I do not mention some of the points made by Mr. Naidu. Perhaps the lady does protest too much, as Shakespeare put it when he uses the word, "Do-nothing policy, sleeping and weeping, ruled and ruined arad the mindset is non-development oriented." If the UPA's mindset is non-development oriented, Mr. Naidu will have to look well beyond the shores of planet Earth to find a Government which is more inclusively development-oriented. The basic problem with Mr. Naidu's approach – I don't mean him personally, of course, I mean the approach and philosophy of the opposition – is that he plucks out figures of the economy as it stands and he wants an answer for the whole universe in the Budget. Well, the Finance Minister wishes or could wish that he was also the Minister for twenty other Ministries. But he is not. In the Budget, he is not supposed to provide the answer for twenty other Ministries. Mr. Naidu talked of agriculture insurance, of black money, of GUJCO and of internal security. Of course, para 65 to 67 deal with internal security. He talked of States Reorganisation, Talengana, Vidarbha, etc. Well, the first and simple answer is, the Budget is not an answer to all our problems. The Budget does not even intend or purport or claim to have jurisdiction over every issue afflicting this great nation. This is not at all to say that the issues raised by Mr. Naidu are not important. Of course, they are important. But the Budget is not the place to look for an answer for them. There is already an agriculture insurance scheme doing very well. The States Reorganisation will or will not happen according to the political consensus of the States. Why is the poor Budget to

4.00 P.M.

be blamed? He talked about GUJCO and all things. I am sorry, Mr. Vice-Chairman, there is an attempt to really poke fun on trivial issues which don't fall within the rubric of the Budget. He mentioned about the internal security. But he forgot para 65 and 67. Specifically, the Finance Minister has 'allotted Rs.430 crores over the interim budget a few weeks ago on Police modernisation, and has provided for one lakh dwelling houses additionally to be created for our security and our para-military forces. As I have said, Mr. Naidu's penchant for alliteration. He de-bunked the NREGA. क्या करेगा, मरेगा। लेकिन, इतना पूछना है कि 'नरेगा' के बिना तो लोग वैसे ही मर रहे थे। 'नरेगा' शायद सबको जीवित नहीं करेगा, 'नरेगा' के बिना भी तो लोग मर रहे थे, लेकिन 'नरेगा' से तो कुछ फायदा ही होगा, सुधार ही होगा। अगर किसी को एक वर्ष में 100 दिन रोजगार मिलता है तो उसमें क्या खराबी है? अगर 100 दिन के रोजगार की आप इस कसौटी पर निन्दा करें कि उसको 1000 दिन क्यों नहीं मिलता है, तो यह गलत है। आप तो अपनी कई-कई सरकारों में, किसी भी सरकार में 100 दिन की स्कीम भी नहीं लाए। लेकिन, हम 'नरेगा' में सिर्फ 100 दिन नहीं देते हैं, हम इस देश के लिए एक ठोस asset create करते हैं, हम इस देश के लिए अब 100 रुपए प्रतिदिन देने वाले हैं, 'नरेगा' में प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं। यह क्या कोई छोटी बात है और जो व्यक्ति 'नरेगा' के बिना मरता, वह कम से कम 'नरेगा' के साथ असानी से नहीं मरेगा। 'नरेगा' के बिना वह निश्चित रूप से मरता, लेकिन 'नरेगा' के साथ उसका सशक्तिकरण होगा।

मिस्टर नायडू ने कीमतों की बात की। यह वैसे बड़ी विचित्र बात है। दो तथ्य हैं। एक तथ्य यह है कि आज inflation की दर जीरो प्रतिशत है, जब श्री वेंकैया नायडू जी inflation की बात कर रहे हैं। अब यह सही है कि देश में पिछले 60 वर्षों से अखिल भारतीय स्तर पर price को नापने की एक ही कसौटी है - वह है इंडेक्स। उस इंडेक्स के अनुसार आज inflation की दर जीरो प्रतिशत है। मैं उनको याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि अगस्त, 2008 में inflation की दर कितनी थी, उन्होंने उस वक्त बहुत निंदा की थी, इसलिए उनको शायद याद होगा कि उस वक्त inflation की दर 13 प्रतिशत थी, आज वह 13 प्रतिशत की दर जीरो प्रतिशत पहुंच गई है और इसकी वे निंदा कर रहे हैं। हां, यह बात जरूर है कि एक बड़ा अजीब सा फर्क है, mismatch है CPI और Wholesale में। अभी तीन-चार दिन पहले एक बड़े अंतर्राष्ट्रीय अखबार ने कुछ रेट दिए थे, मुझे ठीक से याद नहीं है, शायद उन्होंने लिखा था कि दिल्ली की मंडी में टमाटर की कीमत 100 रुपए किलो थी और रिटेलर के पास 30 रुपए किलो थी। अब इसका कारण क्या है? इसका कारण बड़ा सरल है कि जमाखोरी हो रही है, कुछ बिचौलिए लोग इसका फायदा उठा रहे हैं और निश्चित रूप से सरकार इस बारे में जागरूक है और वह इस पर कड़े से कड़ा ऐक्शन लेने वाली है, ले रही है, उन लोगों को दंडित किया जाएगा, लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह inflation नहीं है, यह कमी artificial तरीकों से बनाई गई है। इसलिए उल्टे आपको हमें बधाई देनी चाहिए कि inflation की दर इस वक्त जीरो प्रतिशत पर चल रही है, जो कि अगस्त, 2008 में 13 प्रतिशत थी। हां, यह बात बिल्कुल सही है कि इस प्रकार की जमाखोरी को बंद करने के लिए, बिचौलियों की इन गैर-कानूनी हरकतों को बंद करने के लिए कड़े से कड़े कदम उठाने आवश्यक हैं, लेकिन यह अर्थ नीति या बजट का उतना काम नहीं है, जितना कड़ी policing का है।

Mr. Naidu has talked about exemption limits of income tax. Can I gently and respectfully remind him that like many things that the BJP has talked about, it is we alone who have done it? In the totality, in the larger picture, the BJP has increased the exemptions by Rs. 50,000/- from 1998, after

talking about it in the manifesto and after speaking about it in the Parliament. We are the ones who have increased it by one lakh of rupees, and, this time, again, we have increased the different component a little more. Overall exemption limits have been increased by the Congress, the UPA Government many times more than that the BJP has ever done, just like the BJP did the work on the RTI, but we implemented it, just like the BJP did talk of a national federal agency, but we created it.

Sir, 'one-rank, one-pension' is again an example of the same thing. A lot of talk, in fact, a major election issue! Yet, the Government which has done something about it, is this Government.

Sir, para 68 of this speech again does not give any scope for ambiguity. It gives the cut-off date as somewhere in October, 2007. It does not purport to give the cut-off date as 2006. It is not that the Finance Minister is doing some sleight of hand, or representing or misrepresenting something which is not there. For saving time, I will not read the whole para, but it is very clear that he has made an attempt which shows the focus and the compassion for an issue on which nothing has been done by the previous Governments for an extremely long time.

Issues like black money are important but, as I have said, the Budget is not the universe of all solutions. It is not the be-all and end-all. I do not understand why the Finance Minister should talk about it all. The Prime Minister has already talked about it and you will see the steps available to us which we can take under law, will be initiated but don't debunk the Budget merely because it does not deal with issues not strictly within its ken. The Budget would be unmanageable and extremely long if it did so.

There are many other issues about which one could go on and on. Sir, I am grateful to the House for having given me a very patient hearing. I would like to conclude by coming back to the original three objects of our Budget, which I started with. I would like to ask this august House, if you think carefully, in particular, if you read the Budget speech carefully, on which of these three issues, have we failed? Does it not reflect our philosophy, vision and thinking? Does it not deal with the macro-economic essentials of the country including the fiscal deficit which it deliberately and advisably increases? And does it not have a certain approach to lay the foundation of a more prosperous India?

Sir, John. F. Kennedy, talked about the Chinese. It is an appropriate anecdote, which is so appropriate now. He said, "Chinese use two brush strokes to write the word 'crisis.' One brush stroke represents danger, and the other represents opportunity." In a crisis, it is important to be aware of the danger but to also recognise the opportunity.

The Finance Minister has creditably and dexterously done both. The annual Budget is an opportunity for the citizens of India to participate, although indirectly, in the decision-making process through their elected representatives.

This Budget is commendable because it keeps uppermost in its mind those constituencies whose voice deserves to be heard the most, but is frequently heard the least. In doing so, this Budget reflects the core organisational values of integrity, honesty, accountability, team work, diversity and balance. Thank you very much, Sir.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY (West Bengal): Sir, I had been listening rather patiently the philosophy and the vision of this Budget for the last 45 minutes or so from my friend Dr. Abhishek Manu Singhvi. But, honestly, I must confess, Sir, before I start speaking on the subject and giving my views, that I have emerged more confused as to what exactly is the objective of the Government. Because this Budget was expected, and I think it was a universally-shared expectation, to meet the needs of a stimulus in the wake of the global recession. That this would generate employment in the wake of growing unemployment because of the recession and people returning from employment abroad. And it will increase purchasing power of the people which will be the actual stimulus for future growth.

Now this is what was expected of this Budget which will also then take into account the stated objective of inclusive growth for the *aam aadmi*.

Now, my submission, at the outset, is that this basic need of this Budget has remained largely unfulfilled. And why has it remained unfulfilled is because I think this Budget reflects a new contradiction that was born with the UPA-II Government. Please don't misunderstand me because I used 'II'. It is not used as the models of cars as Mark-I and Mark-II but as the UPA-II Government. That contradiction is, on the one hand, a recognition of the fact that the concerns of the *aam aadmi* are what actually brought them back to power and, therefore, those have to be addressed. And, on the other hand, the intrinsic philosophy of which this Government has been that of pushing the neo-liberal economic reforms further.

And, now that, they are no longer constrained to seek our support, they seem to be more excited to proceed on that angle of going ahead with these reforms in an unbridled fashion, which, in my opinion, would be extremely dangerous for the country and its people at the present juncture.

I am saying this because how this contradiction will, unfold and from which end it will unfold, that will determine whether we are able to meet the challenges of the present times, requirements of our people, and build sound economic fundamentals.

Unfortunately, I think this contradiction is sought to be resolved by pushing forward these neo-liberal economic reforms more than actual concern for the *aam aadmi*. The concern expressed, I would substantiate, and my colleagues subsequently will substantiate that further, has not been matched by the allocations that were actually given in the Budget. This in itself will tend to put these concerns as only a rhetorical expression and not really substantive in terms of meeting the needs of the people today.

Therefore, I think the philosophy of the Budget has been putting profits before people. While what the country requires today is putting people before profits. That I think sums up the philosophy of this Budget.

But before I substantiate why I am saying this, I would like to quote Kautilya. The hon. Finance Minister is not here and he spent a lot of labour in quoting Kautilya. But I think the essence of Kautilya's system of taxation, the essence of that somehow has not been quoted. I quote, "Just as a calf sucks milk from the cow and the cow parts with the milk happily so should taxation be. The taxpayer should not feel the burden of the tax he pays. The calf can take milk but cannot suck the cow's blood."

It is this blood sucking and how this is happening is what I would like to substantiate. This is something which I think, at the present juncture, is entirely against *aam admi*. Why do I say this, Sir? The abolition of surcharge and increased exemption limit for income-tax has given a bonanza of Rs.10,000 crores to the rich. It is not the middle class who has gained. What is the meaning of these tax proposals that have been made? Those earning more than Rs.1,00,000 a month will now pay nearly Rs.30,000 less tax annually. Those earning more than Rs.20,00,000 a year will now pay over Rs.53,000 less as tax. To that extent, the Governmental revenues will be lesser by Rs.10,000 crores. So, Rs.10,000 crores of Governmental revenue which would have come, have now been forgone. In addition, the Budget papers themselves tell us that as a result of various concessions, as much as Rs.4.18 lakh-crores were forgone as tax last year. So, add Rs.10,000 crores to this. That means, Rs.4.28 lakh crores have been forgone by the Government's own admission and these tax concessions will continue for another one year. Sir, I will come to what alternative use this money could have been put to. This comes on top of what? In the last four years of UPA-I Government, the number of Indian billionaires in dollar terms has increased from nine to 53 in 2008. The assets of top ten corporate houses trebled from Rs.3,54,000 crores to Rs.10,34,000 crores. That is more than three times. May the tribe increase! May such prosperity be there for everybody! But, what I am going to argue is this. My colleague, Mr. Arjun Sengupta, is not here. He told us that 77 per cent of our population lives on less than Rs.20 per day. Now, this is the contrast between a shining India and a suffering India that we have always been pointing out. And I am afraid, this Budget will only extend this sort of suffering of the common people. In addition, Sir, it is already being talked of, you have given tax holidays and you have created the Infrastructure Corporation for giving finances along with the commercial banks up to the tune of Rs.1,00,000 crores. Sixty per cent of this will be re-financed by this Infrastructure Corporation. So, what are you doing? You are making resources available to the private sector to borrow on easy and soft terms and collaborate with the Government to invest in the joint infrastructure programmes. Good. We want the infrastructure to be built. But, the point is that the Government should do it directly. Through this process, the facilitation that you are going to do for the private sector, the resource diversion could have been put to better use and that is the crux of my argument. If Rs.4.28 lakh crores of forgone taxation were put as stimulus into economy, it

would have been more than ten per cent of our GDP. Rs.4.28 lakh crores is more than 43 per cent of the entire Budget which the Finance Minister very proudly said. It is a good landmark that we have crossed the ten lakh crore mark. But, this 43 per cent of the Budget could have been used to properly develop or build our infrastructure, generate jobs, give purchasing power to our people, which, in turn, would generate further demand for output and, therefore, create more jobs. That would have been the cycle of stimulus. Somehow, we have not done that. What does the Budget do? The total extra expenditure in this Budget today is less than two per cent of our GDP when we had the opportunity to increase it by more than ten per cent. It is this which has not been done. That is why, I think, this Budget is too inadequate to generate a stimulus.

This is too inadequate to actually take the concerns of *aam admi* into account. Sir, if you look at these sectoral allocations, again, the details of which my colleague will explain later, and if you just look at the fact that much has been said, as we have just heard, about the availability of credit to our rural sector, that it has been increased from Rs.2.87 lakh crores to 3.25 lakh crores, that is less than Rs.50,000 crores. But anybody with an elementary economic sense will tell you that making credit available does not increase the capacity of the people to borrow. The people need the capacity to borrow. So, if you have to have the capacity to borrow; even then, with this Rs.3.25 lakh crores, on the one hand, the borrowing capacity of the farmers is declining; on the other hand, even with this Rs.3.25 lakh crores, nearly two-thirds of the farmers will be outside the ambit of 'institutional credit'. If you, really, want to take care of the issue of credit! to the farmers so that they do not slide into greater poverty, you would have to, on the one hand, expand, massively, your rural banking sector and your gramin banks and the organisations as such, which are being curtailed today. You are curtailing the network of rural banking and, then, talking of increased amounts of rural credit. The capacity of the farmers to use that credit is also declining. Unless you act as the Swaminathan Commission Report suggests, and reduce the interest rate to four per cent from the existing seven per cent, it cannot help Indian agriculture or the farmers. That is not being done. You have heard that a one per cent concession has been given for those who can pay back on time. But, Sir, those who can pay back on time are not the ones who require concessions. Concessions are required by those who cannot pay back. Sir, for whom are we, in this sector, saying all this? And, then, you got, on the top of that, the Food Security Act, on which I had the occasion, the other day, to call it "the Food Insecurity Act" because of the fact that you are reducing the quantum and increasing the price by one rupee. In this, I think, a gross neglect of agriculture, and this gross neglect comes at a time when there is a serious concern about an impending drought in the country because of a weakened monsoon. So far, Sir, the delayed monsoon has led to a reduction in paddy transplantation in 13.66 lakh hectares. There is a shortfall of nearly 25 per cent. But the problem is not because of delayed rainfall alone. In States like Punjab and Haryana, which have, virtually, assured irrigation, the shortfall has been to the tune of 8.17 lakh hectares in paddy transplantation. Sir, as far as the cereals are concerned, there is, nearly, a 53 per cent less in cereals where there has been a shortfall in terms of

planting. That has happened this year. I can give you all these figures, Sir, if you want. In case of *bajra*, the sowing has taken place only in 6.56 lakh hectares, which is not even 8 per cent of the 2008 figures. Similar things happened with *jawar*, with maize. On all these matters, we are on the precipice of a very, very deep and disturbing agrarian crisis, and this agrarian crisis comes on the top of the distress that already exists. That is leading to suicides of your farmers. Then, I think, we are, actually, creating a new crisis for ourselves, and unless this is remedied immediately, we are going to move into a very, very deep agrarian distress and crisis.

The Finance Minister talked of various subsidies, and, particularly, the fertiliser subsidy saying that it will reach the farmers directly. Now, how that will happen is not given in detail. And this is not expected in the Budget. That will be worked out! But, what has been the allocation, Sir? The allocation, when you compare it to the Revised Estimates of 2008-09 is Rs. 25,000 cores less! In a situation where you have this impending crisis which is going to worsen, you have allocation that is less. You have not accepted the recommendations of either the Swaminathan Commission or the Y.K. Alagh Commission, and this is the manner in which this Budget has dealt with our agriculture sector, it, as all of us know, houses the bulk of our population.

It still is the key sector for the future of our country and its people. This is the degree of neglect of the sector in this Budget. I would urge upon the Government that, in the name of the aam admi, by whom they swear, they should immediately – there is still time – revise many of these positions that they have taken, give greater allocation for agriculture and infrastructural investment in agriculture and make course corrections in order to meet the delayed and weakened monsoon that is going to impact very severely. This is also happening in the background of greater burden that is being put on the people. We have heard about the WPI and CPI mismatch. We have heard that the rates of essential commodities are going up. With minus 1.25 WPI, Wholesale Price Index, fall and nearly nine per cent rise in Consumer Price Index, there is a mismatch. We have heard our colleague here trying to explain that this mismatch is happening because of hoarding, and the people are buying at a lower price and selling at a higher price making super profits. That may be part of the problem. What is the range at which the prices have jumped? Compared to last year, there is 30-40 per cent jump in most of the items. Our colleague, Mr. Naidu, had just read out the entire list. I don't want to repeat that. But there has been a jump of 30-40 per cent. Now, why is this happening? This is happening only because of hoarding, I think a deeper structural problem is involved. The Government has, far from recognising it, done exactly the opposite. This Budget abolishes the Commodity Transaction Tax. It encourages speculation in futures trading and commodities trading. That is the cause for the rise in the prices of these essential commodities. What has been the volume of trade in these commodity exchanges? Since it is the month of June-July we are talking about, let us take the period between 1st June and 30th June. In 2007, the total value of trade in the commodity forward markets I am quoting from the Forward Markets Commission of India's fortnightly report – in the commodity exchanges, during 1st June and 30th June, was Rs.2,21,888 crores. In 2008, this jumped to

Rs.11,15,327 crores. There is an increase of five times. In 2009, when the last month ended, it was Rs.15,64,166.96 crores. This is the gigantic volume traded in these commodity exchanges. This is future trading. You are bidding for a product at a future date at a future price and bulk of this trading outstrips the capacity of production in this country. If you are trading, outstripping the capacity of production in this country, at a future date at a future price, there is no way but to make the prices go up. Otherwise, there is no profit in this trading. Instead of putting curbs on speculation in commodity transactions, you have today – you see the Budget – abolished this tax. That is giving further room to all these speculators to actually speculate on the price and then fleece the people through higher prices. So, I would like the Government and actually urge upon them, to reconsider this proposal, particularly, at a time when the Obama administration in the USA is now considering and discussing the conditions to be put to regulate speculative trading in commodity exchanges. They are thinking of new laws. Tax on it, of course, is one of the deterrents, particularly, in respect of oil. When the US administration is thinking in terms of taxing, we are abolishing that particular tax. I think it is a very unwise move and it is going to really impose a greater burden on the people.

We have heard a lot of discussion that took place on fiscal prudence and the question of disinvestment. I am glad – the Finance Minister is not here; I hope his colleagues would pass it on to him – the Finance Minister has not been a victim of fiscal fundamentalism this year. But then he has explained his concerns for fiscal prudence. I would only like to add here that in a period of recession, talk about fiscal conditionalities or talk about fiscal discipline, etc., is neither prudent economics nor commonsense. The Prime Minister in this very House stood up and said virtually the same thing, "This is not the time to be preoccupied with your fiscal prudence". Very correct. Because the only way in which the recession can be overcome is through providing stimulus through greater spending and later, we will have to look in terms of how that greater spending could be financed. Whether it will be done partly by deficit financing and partly by printing money, those options can be exercised later. But no recession can be overcome without greater public spending. That is the essence for all. Forget the Communists saying this because we believe in it. But that is the philosophy even of the most ultra capitalists. That is the only way in which the USA got out of the 1930s depression. That was what Roosevelt's new deal was all about. In fact, Keynes had once suggested that you make one set of people dig holes, make another set of people fill the holes and when both of them get their salaries, they will spend and that is the way to get out of the recession. So, today, do not start worrying about fiscal deficit. But my concern is the manner in which this fiscal deficit is going to be met, and that is where the needle of suspicion moves towards the question of disinvestment. Now it makes neither economic sense nor commonsense to sell your property to pay back your debts. If a

farmer does that, then he is ruined after two years when he will have no more land to cultivate. Now this is a strategy, which, I don't think, anybody, in the right mind, would actually accept. This disinvestment is coming with a great new philosophy. We want people's ownership of the public sector. Seventy-seven per cent of the people live on less than Rs. 20/- a day. They are going to own your public sector! They are going to buy shares! ...*(Interruptions)*... Exactly, I said it earlier.

SHRI PRAVEEN RASHTRAPAL (Gujarat): Just a minute. You parted from us because we were following the USA. Today, you want that we should follow the USA.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: I will tell you why. My objection is always on the basis of logic, not on the basis of any blinkers that I wear. Why I am saying follow the USA, I will come to it just now. But you said we are the owners of the Government and public sector.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: For a change.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: For a good change. I will just tell you why. Remember, Sir, the public sector is the property of the people of India. Governments come and Governments go. They are the managers. No manager can sell the property without the acceptance of the owner; otherwise, the manager will change the owner whenever the chance comes. Please remember that and keep that in mind. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE MINISTER OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT (SHRI KAPIL SIBAL): This time the owners have brought back the managers.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: This time the owners have brought back the managers. But I am only telling the manager, "Please don't lose your job next time. Don't do this." That is all I am trying to tell you.

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL: We know how best to look after our interest.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: We are telling you to look after the interest of the people. You know about your interest. We are talking of the people's interest. That is the difference.

Anyway, the Finance Minister also invoked the name of Shrimati Indira Gandhi in regard to nationalisation of banks and said that it was a very wise move. Indeed, it was a very wise move. But remember, that was also done under the Left's pressure. In 1969, Mrs. Gandhi required the support of the Left in that whole fight against the 'Indicates' and 'Syndicates', in that whole election to the President of India between V.V. Giri and Sanjeeva Reddy. All of us know that history. The condition

that the Left put for extending that support was nationalisation of banks, nationalisation of coal and abolition of Privy Purses. ...*(Interruptions)*...

I am saying this not as a complaint. I am only...*(Interruptions)* Why are my colleagues not able to understand? They have always gained by following the Left. They have always gained by taking the Left's advice.

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL: Why have the people changed the managers in Kerala?

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: They have not yet. ...*(Interruptions)*... They have not yet.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): They are taking away your time.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Please don't cut into my time. My colleagues also will have to speak.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): They are deliberately trying to distract your attention, and take away your time. Please be careful.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: I am careful. Sir, very inadvertently, my good friend and my hon. colleague has said, "Even, this time, we have come back because of the Left." He has admitted it, and that is a fact. All these *Aam Aadmi* programmes, we played our role in doing them. Anyway, let me not digress. Now, my hon. friend, Shri Venkaiah, is also wondering as to why I am saying, "You do what the U.S. is doing now." They are a little surprised when I said it. Paul Krugman, a Nobel Laureate, has recently called Alan Greenspan, who was the former Chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve Board, and the high priest of the entire financial liberalisation, a Comrade, why is it so? It is because he has suggested the need to nationalise the banks in the U.S. And Krugman proceeds to argue in the same way saying, "What is required today is nationalisation". They want nationalisation, not your privatisation, or, what you call, disinvestments, or, people holding the public sector. Why does he say so? Then, Krugman argues that the road to economic recovery is only through nationalisation. And, he answers a question which many of you have asked: "Still isn't nationalisation un-American?" He himself replies, "No; it is as American as the apple-pie." So, when they say good things, we say, "Follow them." When they say bad things, we say, "Do not follow them." And we will discuss that separately sometime else as to what happened in the G-8 regarding the nuclear deal and transfer of technology. Anyway, that is not the issue. We were warning you earlier, but you didn't hear our warning. Now you are paying the price for it. Anyway, that is not the issue as far as the Budget is concerned. But the point is correct that here is the World Bank study which says, "Using data on the share of banking sector assets held by foreign banks in over 100 developing countries during 1995 and 2002, the result shows that countries, that experienced the banking crisis, tended to have higher levels of foreign bank participation than those who did not." So, what we were earlier saying is now being confirmed by all these things. Now, on this entire question of either the

PPP route or disinvestments, and you want people to buy shares, we know who these people are. How much would be the people, who actually operate in the stock market? Just 2 or 2.5 per cent of the Indians operating the stock market, out of a population of 110 crores, will be the potential buyers. So, let us not create a myth that people own it. We know where it will go, into whose hands it will go. That is why we are saying, be careful in this entire thing. And, that will find our opposition because we do not want our assets ruined. Also, in what climate are we today? The Finance Minister spent the last two days in trying to placate and assuage the private sector saying, "No; the Government borrowings will not crowd out the private sector." But what was the state of your financial markets last year? Last year, through all methods of fund raising, that is, the Rights Issue, IPOs, FPOs, QIPs, through all of it, the total amount that was raised was Rs.36,915.71 crores. And what is it this year, from January to June, 2008, because that is the figure? What is it from January to June, 2009? From Rs.36915 crores, it has dropped to Rs. 10,072 crores. This is the state of your market. And, in this state of the market, you want to sell your public sector! What does that mean? That means you are selling it for a song. And that is not in the interest of our country. Therefore, Sir, on all these issues that I have raised...

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA(Rajasthan): What is the relationship between...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No, no. Please do not disturb him. You speak for yourself when your chance comes.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Mr. Bagrodia, there is a relationship. He has, of course, been a Minister and in-charge of this area and he knows. ...*(Interruptions)*... You see, when the state of the market is as weak as this, what is the price that you will get? That is why I am saying that you are selling it for a song. You want private capital to take over our rich assets for a song!

Anyway, that apart, Sir, there are certain other issues.

We have heard about one-rank-one-pension and the anomalies that Mr. Venkaiah Naidu also pointed out. But I would urge the Government to consider this fact also that the problems of non-defence forces, the paramilitary forces, who are also being honoured for their bravery and various other services that they render, should also be treated on par and should be taken into account and that also need to be resolved.

The other issue is that of the National Identity Card Scheme.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Please conclude.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: I will just conclude, Sir.

I was talking about the identity cards. Good, Sir! But I am very frightened about it. I have to express this concern to you and to the House. We have heard reports that global tenders are going

to be issued for the issuance of those cards. Everybody knows that this is the information that many people would want; many agencies who do not have the interests of our country in mind want this information about our people and this information, therefore, was to be provided and catalogued in the cards only by public sector companies which they are already doing in our coastal areas. Now, media reports have come out saying that an Israeli company is wishing to bid for these cards. This is a very serious matter and, I think, the Government should seriously reconsider it. Yes, the project is good. It should be implemented. But it should be done by the public sector because we cannot allow this information to be leaked out to those who do not have our security in mind. The question of internal security is involved. So, be very careful about this, Sir.

Sir, the other issue is that ten lakh crores increase in the Budget is there, but Rs.35,000 crores increase comes from the sale of Spectrum 3G auction. Unfortunately, the Telecom Minister is not here. But it only confirms our suspicions that, in the 2G Spectrum sale, there has been a lot of give-and-take that has been involved there, and that needs to be investigated. If you are taking this Rs.35,000 crores this year as your revenue from 3G, then, please look into the 2G and why that happened; inquire into that scam which actually runs into something to the tune of Rs.60,000 crores; that must be inquired into and corrected.

Finally, Sir, there is a proposal in this Budget which talks about tax exemption on donations by corporates to political parties. Now, there has also been – and friends from the Opposition have raised that you have not talked about it – the issue of Swiss bank accounts and the money and how that has to be brought back. I have only one thing to say. I hope that this tax exemption has not been given as one of the conduits to bring that illegal money; is it an ingenious way of allowing such a money laundering to happen. I would urge this Government to reconsider this proposal. If the corporates want to donate for strengthening our democracy in the country, it is very good. We would appreciate it. We would want them to be a part and parcel of this entire democratic process; and they should be. But, please, let them donate to a separate corpus, a separate fund. Let it be managed by the Election Commission, or, let it be managed by any other agency of the Government and, then, use that corpus for State funding of elections, instead of allowing individual parties to take this money from individual corporates; corporates give money to individual parties with the consideration of treating it as an investment.

And, if that is an investment, every corporate would want a return on that investment, and the return on the investment is the fountainhead of political corruption. And, that is the fountainhead of political corruption. If you want to cleanse our system, please rethink about this issue and let the corporates donate to a separate fund; let that a corpus of fund be used for State funding of elections, and, this I hope that the Government will consider.

Finally, in conclusion, Sir, I think the Budget, unfortunately, fails despite the opportunities that are available in meeting the objective of inclusive growth and taking into account the concerns of the *aam aadmi*. Therefore, what we are urging the Government ...(*Time bell rings*)... finally, the last point – is to reconsider this issue that the tax foregone a 4.18 lakh crores and the concessions given additionally of 10,000 crores, you collect them back, use that as the stimulus and that is what will kick-start the Indian economy. For the sake of the *aam aadmi*, please make this correction. Thank you, Sir.

श्री बृजभूषण तिवारी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी 2009-10 के बजट पर जो चर्चा हो रही है, उसके अंतर्गत मैंने माननीय सदस्यों को सुना। यह बात सही है कि इस बजट का रूप-रंग तो बहुत आकर्षक है, बहुत सुन्दर है, परन्तु वास्तव में यह निष्प्राण है। इसमें कोई जान नहीं है। आज की हमारी जो चुनौतियाँ हैं, समस्याएँ हैं, उन सबका निदान, उनका मुकाबला यह बजट कैसे कर सकेगा? आज हम लोग कितने बड़े-बड़े संकटों से गुजर रहे हैं, एक तो वैश्विक आर्थिक संकट है ही, उसी के साथ ही साथ प्रकृति का प्रकोप भी हमारे ऊपर पड़ गया है। मानसून की बेरुखी के कारण पूरे देश पर कितने बड़े संकट के बादल मंडरा रहे हैं, क्योंकि न तो हमारी धान की रोपाई हो पाई, न बाजरे की रोपाई हो पाई, न ही तिलहन के जीन्स की रोपाई हो पाई और न ही गन्ने की रोपाई हो पाई। इन संकटों के कारण पूरे देश में, विशेषकर ग्रामीण इलाके में मातम का माहौल है।

श्रीमन्, आप जानते हैं कि खेती हमारी अर्थव्यवस्था की रीढ़ है। आज भी खेती पर 70% लोग आश्रित हैं और यह 52% लोगों को रोजगार देने की हालत में है। जब ऐसी खेती पर संकट आए, तो हम यह समझ सकते हैं कि देश की आर्थिक स्थिति क्या होगी और आर्थिक संकट कितना विकट होगा। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो बजट पेश किया गया है, इस पूरे बजट में कृषि पर जो आबंटन है, वह सम्पूर्ण बजट खर्च का 6% है। अब आप कल्पना कर लीजिए कि जो क्षेत्र इतना बड़ा हो और हमारी अर्थव्यवस्था की रीढ़ हो, उस पर आबंटन इतना कम है। लगातार पिछले कई वर्षों से, जब से सरकार में यह लोग आए, तब से इस क्षेत्र की बराबर उपेक्षा होती रही है और इस पर आबंटन भी लगातार कम होता गया। इसका कारण क्या है? कारण यह है कि उद्योग और व्यापार, इन दोनों में ही बहुत मुनाफा है और दोनों में ही चंदा देने की क्षमता भी बहुत अधिक है। लेकिन कृषि क्षेत्र ऐसा है, जिसमें न मुनाफा है और न ही चंदा देने की क्षमता है। इसी उपेक्षा को अभी एक इकोनॉमिक सर्वे के माध्यम से भी दर्शाया गया है, जो हमारे पास आया है। उसमें यह दर्शाया गया है कि हमारी विकास दर, जो 4.9% के करीब थी, आज वह घट कर 1.6% पर आ गई है। क्या हमारी विकास दर घट गई? पहले पूरे जीडीपी में जो कृषि का योगदान 50% था, लेकिन आज वह घट करके 17% पर आ गया है। इसी प्रकार हमारी विकास दर घटी, सकल घरेलू उत्पाद (जीडीपी) में कृषि का जो योगदान है, वह घटा और जब यह घटता गया तो आज आखिर स्थिति क्या आ गई? आज स्थिति यह है कि लोगों की जो क्रय शक्ति है, खरीदने की ताकत है, वह खत्म होती जा रही है। खेती के बारे में अभी हमारे मित्रों ने, विशेषकर सीताराम येचुरी जी ने जो चिंता जताई या नायडु साहब ने जो चिंता जताई तो आखिर इस खेती की दशा बिगड़ने का कारण क्या है? इसका एक कारण तो यही है कि इसमें जो आबंटन है, इसमें जो पब्लिक इन्वेस्टमेंट है अथवा इसमें जो सार्वजनिक या सरकारी निवेश है, वह लगातार घटता गया। इसका दूसरा कारण यह है कि हमारे किसानों की जो हालत है, उस हालत को सुधारने के लिए भी कोई ठोस कदम नहीं उठाए गए। जैसा इस बजट में यह कहा गया कि किसान 3 लाख रुपए तक या 3 लाख 25 हजार रुपए तक का कर्ज

ले सकते हैं। हमारे मित्रों ने ठीक ही कहा है कि हम अधिकतम 3 लाख 25 हजार रुपए कर्जा ले सकते हैं, परन्तु उस पर हमें इंटरैस्ट कितना देना होगा - 7 फीसदी। डा. स्वामीनाथन कमिशन ने अपनी सिफारिश में यह बात कही थी कि कम-से-कम इस ब्याज दर को घटाकर 4 प्रतिशत करना चाहिए, तो यह आपने क्यों नहीं किया? उस पर सरकार के कानों पर कोई जूँ नहीं रेंग रही है? वह चुप्पी मार कर बैठी हुई है।

इसके साथ-ही-साथ हमारी वस्तुओं के जो दाम हैं, उनके बारे में भी आज बड़ी विचित्र स्थिति है। आज व्यापार की जो शर्तें हैं, वे किसानों के खिलाफ हैं, किसानों के प्रतिकूल हैं। हम लोग एक जमाने में यह मांग करते थे कि दामों को बांधिए। आज हमारा कहना है कि दामों को बांधिए जरूर, परन्तु दामों का रिश्ता भी तय करिए। इस सिलसिले में भी डा. स्वामीनाथन कमिशन ने अपनी सिफारिश में यह कहा कि अगर हम कृषि उपज का दाम तय करें तो उसमें लागत-खर्च के साथ-ही-साथ 50 फीसदी मुनाफा भी जोड़ कर उसको तय करना चाहिए। परन्तु आज तक यह समझ में नहीं आया कि जब कृषि उपज का दाम तय किया जाता है तो आखिर उसका मानक क्या है, उसका सिद्धांत क्या है? इसमें जो लागत मूल्य है, क्या उसकी कभी चिन्ता होती है? अगर उसकी चिन्ता नहीं होगी तो इसका स्वाभाविक नतीजा यह होगा कि जो विपन्नता है, कंगाली है, गरीबी है या अभाव है, वह कृषि के क्षेत्र में या ग्रामीण क्षेत्र में जारी रहेगी। इसमें दूसरी बात यह है कि अगर आपने यह लागत खर्च और उसमें 50 फीसदी का फायदा जोड़ कर इसका दाम तय किया तो जो इंडस्ट्रियल प्रोडक्ट्स हैं, जो औद्योगिक उत्पाद हैं, उनसे हमारी क्या पैरिटी है, उनसे हमारा क्या रिश्ता है, हमारा क्या सम्बन्ध है? मान्यवर आप जानते हैं कि अभी इसी सदन में चर्चा हुई कि आज सीमेंट का दाम बढ़ गया, कभी लोहे का दाम बढ़ जाएगा, कभी चीनी का दाम बढ़ जाएगा या कभी खाद का दाम बढ़ गया, कीटनाशक दवाओं के दाम बढ़ गए। इन्हें तो किसान नहीं पैदा करता है! ये चीजें तो उद्योग के क्षेत्र में पैदा होती हैं। परन्तु किसान को इन औद्योगिक चीजों को खरीदना पड़ता है। कपड़े के बिना उसका काम नहीं चलेगा, दवा के बिना काम नहीं चलेगा या उर्वरक के बिना काम नहीं चलेगा। बीज पर भी, आज बड़ी-बड़ी मल्टीनेशनल तथा देश की बड़ी-बड़ी कंपनियां उसकी मालिक हो गई हैं। इसलिए यह भी तय करना पड़ेगा कि जो औद्योगिक उत्पादन हैं और जो कृषि उत्पादन हैं, इनके दामों के बीच में पैरिटी कितनी है।

सर, इसी के साथ-ही-साथ आज जो किसान कर्ज लेता है और उस कर्ज के एवज में उसकी जमीन नीलाम हो रही है। अगर जमीन नीलाम हो गई, तो वह क्या खाएगा तथा उसके जरिया-ए-मास का क्या होगा? जब कि उद्योग के क्षेत्र में अगर इस प्रकार की कोई स्थिति होती है, तो उसके कर्ज को restructure करने की व्यवस्था है। यहां भी कृषि विभाग से संबंधित, कृषि मंत्रालय से संबंधित जो स्टैंडिंग कमेटी है, उसने भी यह सुझाव दिया कि एक reconciliation board बनाना चाहिए। उस बोर्ड के जरिए आप कोई भी ऐसी व्यवस्था - अगर किसान कर्ज से दबा है, उसमें ढूँढा हुआ है, तो ऐसे में उसकी अदायगी के क्या तरीके होंगे, क्या सहूलियतें होंगी, यह मामला reconciliation board में जाए कि उसके कर्ज को कैसे restructure किया जाए तथा उसकी जमीन की नीलामी को रोका जाए। जब माननीय मुलायम सिंह यादव उत्तर प्रदेश में मुख्य मंत्री थे तो उन्होंने अपने शासनकाल में यह कोशिश की थी। इस के साथ-साथ हमारे यहां करीब 50 हजार करोड़ रुपए से ज्यादा के दूध, फल, मछली, मांस इत्यादि बरबाद हो जाते हैं। करीब 50 हजार करोड़ रुपए का हमारा सामान बरबाद हो जाता है। इसके लिए फल संस्करण उद्योग को बढ़ाया जाए। आज ही एक प्रश्न के उत्तर में सरकार ने माना है कि अगर एक करोड़ रुपए की लागत फल संस्करण में लगायी जाए तो उसमें कम-से-कम 20 से 40 लोगों को नौकरी मिलती है। इसलिए यह जरूरी है। यह सही है कि इस बजट में सरकार ने cold chain और warehousing के लिए बहुत बड़ी छूट दे दी हैं,

परन्तु अगर आप गौर से देखें तो यह जो छूट मिली यह देशी या विदेशी दोनों big players के लिए किसान की खेती के नाम पर यह दरवाजा खोला गया है। उससे छोटे किसानों को कोई फायदा नहीं है। महोदय, आज ब्राजील ऐसा देश है जहां किसानों के उत्पादों का 80 प्रतिशत संस्करण होता है जबकि हमारे यहां यह मात्र दो प्रतिशत है। इसलिए इस उद्योग को बढ़ाने की आवश्यकता है। इससे अधिक लोगों को रोजगार मिलेगा और कृषि क्षेत्र में भी और संपन्नता आएगी।

महोदय, आज सबसे बड़ी चिंता की बात यह है कि कृषि का क्षेत्रफल लगातार कम होता जा रहा है। हमारे देश में आबादी बढ़ रही है, शहरीकरण हो रहा है, हमारा औद्योगीकरण हो रहा है। आप देखिए कि 60 साल तक कृषि सुधार और भूमि सुधार के बारे में सरकार गंभीर नहीं हुई। भूमि सुधार के लिए बहुत ठोस तरीके से काम नहीं किए गए, परंतु SEZ का फैसला 6 महीने के अंदर कर दिया गया और आंख मूंदकर यह माना गया कि जो कृषि योग्य किसानों की जमीनें हैं, वे बड़े-बड़े उद्योगपतियों या बड़े-बड़े कॉर्पोरेट घरानों को दे दी जाएं। महोदय, मैंने इस बजट में पढ़ा है कि अब उन को develop करने के लिए भी सरकारी मदद मिलेगी। इसके लिए उनको तमाम प्रकार की रियायतें व छूट दी गई हैं। महोदय, मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि जमीन पैदा नहीं होती। वह तो कुदरत की दी हुई चीज है। आबादी बढ़ रही है। हमारे पास रोजी-रोटी का कोई वैकल्पिक साधन नहीं है। उसके हिसाब से यदि जमीन के बारे में इतनी दरियादिली सरकार के जरिए दिखायी जाएगी तो आने वाले दिन बहुत ही खतरनाक है क्योंकि जमीन सिकुड़ रही है और हमारी उत्पादकता भी घट रही है। महोदय, जब उत्पादकता घटेगी तो प्रति व्यक्ति अनाज की उपलब्धता भी घटेगी। आप फूड सेक्युरिटी एक्ट बना लीजिए। महोदय, हम जानते हैं, इस देश में कितने कानून बनते हैं, मगर उन कानूनों का क्या मतलब है? अगर अनाज ही हमारे देश में पैदा नहीं हुआ तो हम क्या खाएंगे? हम लोहा नहीं खा सकते, हम सीमेंट नहीं खा सकते, हम तेल और गैस नहीं पी सकते। हमें अनाज चाहिए और अनाज के लिए हम यह दम भरें कि हम बाहर से खरीद लेंगे तो बाहर के बाजारों में अनाज के दाम कितने बढ़ें हैं, यह हम जानते हैं। और जिस दिन दुनिया के बाजारों को यह सूचना मिली कि भारत जैसा कृषि प्रधान देश भी अनाज खरीदने बाहर जाएगा तो आप कल्पना कर सकते हैं कि दाम कितने बढ़ जाएंगे? यह स्वाभाविक है क्योंकि सरकारी आंकड़े बताते हैं और विशेषज्ञों ने भी यह बात कही है कि हमारे देश में एक-तिहाई आबादी का हिस्सा लगातार भूख के खतरे पर रहता है। महोदय, हम समाजवादी लोग नारा लगाते थे, "जब तक भूखा इंसान रहेगा, धरती पर तूफान रहेगा।" अगर इंसान भूखा रहेगा तो आपकी कोई व्यवस्था काम नहीं कर सकती। ये जितने गुलाबी चित्र, गुलाबी भाषण या माननीय वित्त मंत्री का बहुत अच्छा रूप-रंग वाला बजट है, यह बजट नहीं चल पाएगा और देश में अराजकता व अव्यवस्था पैदा होगी। इसलिए आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि इस ओर विशेष ध्यान दिया जाए।

महोदय, एक बड़ी समस्या सिंचाई की है। आज भी हम मानसून का मुकाबला करने की स्थिति में नहीं हैं। हमारी आधे-से-ज्यादा जमीन आज भी मानसून के सहारे या भगवान के सहारे है। अब आप देश की गरीबी को देखें। हमारे यहां कितनी गरीबी है? गरीबी के बारे में अभी तक सरकार यह तय ही नहीं कर पायी है कि आखिर उसकी तादाद क्या है? वह अभी तक इस बारे में भ्रम में है। हां, मैं यह मानता हूं कि चाहे सेनगुप्त साहब की रिपोर्ट कही जाए या चाहे किसी और की, मगर यह मोटी बात है कि पिछले 30-35 वर्षों से जो गरीबी की रेखा का मानक है, उसमें हमने कोई परिवर्तन नहीं किया। मतलब, आज भी अगर हमें उस गरीबी की रेखा का आकलन करना पड़े तो जो वर्तमान मूल्य दर है, उसी वर्तमान मूल्य दर पर हम उसे आंकेंगे। और अगर यह न हो तो हमारे देश में करीब 30 से 40 करोड़ तक गरीब लोगों की तादाद है। एक और विश्वस्तरीय आकलन आया है, उसके हिसाब से देश के अंदर तो

यह संख्या करीब 85 करोड़ तक पहुंचती है। सरकार गरीबों की संख्या तय नहीं कर पाई है। असंगठित क्षेत्र के उद्यमों के राष्ट्रीय आयोग ने बताया है कि उदारीकरण के वर्तमान दशक में पिछले दशक के मुकाबले रोजगार की मात्रा, गुणवत्ता, मजदूरी की दर और संगठनात्मक रूप में भारी गिरावट आई है। देश की अंदरूनी आर्थिक गतिविधियों की कड़ी आपस में 3 प्रतिशत तक सिमट गई है। यह है हालत ! 3 प्रतिशत ! आज हमारी स्थिति यह है कि आर्थिक गतिविधियों में हमारी कोई हिस्सेदारी नहीं है। यह खेल और यह चमक कुछ चंद लोगों की है। इसलिए अगर इस देश की समस्या को, इस गरीबी की समस्या को सुलझाना, अगर बेरोजगारी की समस्या को सुलझाना है तो जब तक देश की बहुत बड़ी आबादी को हम उत्पादन में साझीदार नहीं बनाते, तब तक देश की गरीबी खत्म नहीं हो सकती।

अब नरेगा की बड़ी चर्चा है। मैं नरेगा का स्वागत करता हूँ, पसंद करता हूँ। यह काम बहुत अच्छे उद्देश्यों को लेकर शुरू किया गया था। परंतु नरेगा में आपने 39 हजार करोड़ रुपये आबंटित किये। यह इतनी अच्छी योजना है, परंतु आप जानते हैं कि यह भी भ्रष्टाचार और नौकरशाही की भेंट चढ़ गई। असलियत क्या है? इसको आप जानने की कोशिश कीजिए। केवल यहां दिल्ली के योजना आयोग या वित्त मंत्रालय के दफ्तरों में बैठे जो बड़े-बड़े अधिकारी हैं, वे नरेगा की हकीकत या नरेगा की जमीनी असलियत नहीं समझ सकते। अब उसी सिलसिले से जैसे सारी योजनाओं की जो दुर्गति हुई, वही दुर्गति नरेगा की भी होने वाली है।

आज इस देश में बेरोजगारी बेइंतहा बढ़ी है और आपने बजट में यह कहा है कि 1 करोड़ 20 लाख लोगों को रोजगार देंगे। मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि कम से कम यह तो बताइए कि रोजगार कहां, किन शर्तों पर, कब और कैसे मिलेगा? क्योंकि आपने घोषणा कर दी। श्री अटल बिजारी वाजपेयी जी के जमाने में भी एक करोड़ लोगों को रोजगार देने की बात कही गई थी। उस समय एस.पी. गुप्ता साहब योजना आयोग के सदस्य थे। एस.पी. गुप्ता साहब ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में कहा कि अगर हम कुटीर उद्योग-धंधों, छोटे उद्योग-धंधों और फल-प्रसंस्करण को नहीं बढ़ाते हैं तो रोजगार के अवसर सृजित नहीं होंगे। अब इस बजट में क्या है? बजट में यह बात तो कही गई है कि समावेशी और समतावादी विकास का लक्ष्य है। परंतु पूरी बारीकी से अगर आप शब्दाडम्बर या शब्दों के जाल-खेल में न पड़ें और उसको ठीक तरीके से देखें तो लगेगा कि ये कुटीर उद्योग-धंधे या यह छोटे लोगों की क्रय-शक्ति बढ़ाने की बात या उनको उत्पादन की प्रक्रिया में शामिल होने की बात नदारद है। वह आपको कहीं दिखाई नहीं पड़ती। घूमा-फिरा कर - क्योंकि पढ़े-लिखे, चालाक और होशियार लोग हैं, इसलिए उन्होंने जितनी योजनाएं या जितने नियम बनाये, उन नियमों का फायदा ज्यादातर बड़े, सम्पन्न और ताकतवर लोगों को मिलेगा। उसका फायदा गरीबों को नहीं मिलेगा। इसलिए यह समावेशी विकास या समतावादी विकास की बात करना बिल्कुल गलत है। यह दिखता है कि बजट में राज्य की पूरी अर्थव्यवस्था के खर्च में जो हिस्सा 30 प्रतिशत के इर्द-गिर्द था, वह सिमट कर 20 प्रतिशत पर आ गया। टैक्स-आमद का अनुपात 11.2 प्रतिशत है, जो तीसरी दुनिया के अधिकांश देशों से कम है। यह बात शिक्षा और स्वास्थ्य सेवाओं की सार्थकता, सहज और सस्ती उपलब्धि और आदमी की क्रय-क्षमता के संदर्भ में देखने से पता चलेगी कि आखिर इसकी स्थिति क्या है? अब वही बात है कि राजकोषीय घाटा चिंता की बात है, परन्तु हमारे treasury benches के जो लोग हैं

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : तिवारी जी, एक मिनट रुकिए। Just a minute. Now, I would like to take the sense of the House whether we should proceed with the discussion or ... (Interruptions)...

SOME HON. MEMBERS: We can continue it tomorrow, Sir. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA : But you can take up Special Mentions, now.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Okay. *Tiwariji*, you can continue your speech tomorrow. Now, Special Mentions.

SPECIAL MENTIONS (*Contd.*)

Demand to include Bhojpuri in Eighth Schedule of the Constitution

श्री अली अनवर अंसारी (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरे विशेष उल्लेख का विषय है - भोजपुरी को संविधान की आठवीं अनुसूची में शामिल करना।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, देश में उत्तर प्रदेश, बिहार, मध्य प्रदेश के कई जिलों में भोजपुरी बोली जाती है। देश के कोने-कोने में भोजपुरी भाषी लोग निवास करते हैं। देश के बाहर कई देशों जैसे मारीशस, टोबैगो, ट्रिनीडाड आदि में भोजपुरी वहां के सरकारी काम काज की भाषा का दर्जा प्राप्त कर चुकी है। यह आश्चर्य और खेदजनक है कि जहां एक ओर देश के एक सीमित भूक्षेत्र में बोली जाने वाली भाषाएं संविधान की आठवीं अनुसूची में काफी पहले शामिल की जा चुकी हैं तथा सरकार उनके संवर्द्धन और विकास के लिए प्रोत्साहन दे रही है, वहीं दूसरी ओर भोजपुरी, जो करोड़ों लोगों की मातृभाषा है, उसे अभी तक आठवीं अनुसूची में शामिल नहीं किया गया। जहां भोजपुरी का जन्म हुआ, वहीं भोजपुरी सर्वाधिक उपेक्षा की शिकार हो, यह भोजपुरी भाषी लोगों के साथ नाइंसाफी है, जिसे तुरंत ठीक करने की जरूरत है।

मैं सदन के माध्यम से सरकार से यह मांग करता हूं कि भोजपुरी भाषी लोगों की भावनाओं को ध्यान में रखते हुए भोजपुरी को संविधान की आठवीं अनुसूची में शामिल किया जाए।

Demand to revamp the National Saving Scheme to strengthen the economy of the country

SHRI MOINUL HASSAN (West Bengal): The need to revamp the National Saving Scheme of the country, in this period of economic recession, is highly necessary to promote the savings in our country and provide facilities for the State to strengthen the social welfare scheme. The interest rate of the National Saving Scheme is drastically diminishing. For the past several years, there has been no increase at all. On the other hand, the commercial banks and other financial institutions are offering higher rates of interest for attracting depositors. Hence, there is a huge withdrawal of the national deposits under the NSS. If similar scenario prevails for some more time, the future of the NSS will be in danger. As the scheme itself is losing importance, the SAS and the MPKBY agents, who are earning their livelihood out of the nominal commission from this scheme, are also very badly affected.

Hence, I would like to request the hon. Finance Minister to take urgent steps to rejuvenate the NSS and strengthen our national economy.

Concern over Frauds in issuing of Caste Certificates

श्री कृष्ण लाल बाल्मीकि (राजस्थान) : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मेरे विशेष उल्लेख का विषय है- जाति प्रमाण पत्रों का फर्जी वाड़ा।