

### Enacting Formula

SHRI M. VEERAPPA MOILY: Sir, I move:

(No. 1) That at page 1, line 1, *for* the word "Sixty-first", the word "Sixty-second" be *substituted*.

*The question was put and the motion was adopted.*

*The Enacting Formula, as amended, was added to the Bill.*

The Title was added to the Bill.

SHRI M. VEERAPPA MOILY: Sir, I move:

*That the Bill, as amended, be passed.*

*The question was put and the motion was adopted.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, the House is adjourned for lunch for one hour.

The House then adjourned for lunch at forty-five minutes past one of the Clock.

The House re-assembled, after lunch, at forty-four minutes past two of the clock, MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

### THE APPROPRIATION (NO.4) BILL, 2011

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE): Sir, I move:

That the Bill to authorize payment and Appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 2011-12, as passed by Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration.

Sir, I would not like to make any long observation at the introductory stage. As all the hon. Members of the House are aware, this is a Money Bill as per description under article 110 of the Constitution. And, therefore, Rajya Sabha does not discuss the Demands for Grants, but Rajya Sabha discusses in the form of Appropriation Bill. They can discuss these issues, and Supplementary Demand also provides us an opportunity to take a look back at the state of economy. I would just like to mention a couple of issues which are important for the consideration of the hon. Members. This is the second batch of the Supplementary Demand. The proposals for the cash additionality is Rs.56,848.46 crores, and if we take into account the technical Supplementary, then,

the total amount would be Rs.63,100 crores. Rupees six thousand three hundred thirty crores would be the technical Supplementary because we are providing this money for the services created -- but the amount would be saved by the same Department from other areas -- for which the Parliamentary approval was needed at the time of the Budget, or, at the time of the first Supplementary, which was not anticipated then. So, the additional expenditure is being met from this.

Sir, during the current financial year, in the first batch of Supplementary Demand, which was presented in August, the net cash outgo was Rs.9,016 crores. After the passage of almost eight months in the current fiscal year, there has been some pressing unavoidable demands. Supplementary provisions in the Constitution have been made under article 115, keeping in view that at the time of the presentation of the Budget all the expenditures which may be incurred during the year may not be anticipated, therefore, the Executive should have the flexibility to come to the Parliament for the approval of the House to get the additional amount in the form of Supplementary Demand. Naturally, always, the first question which comes to the mind of the Members -- and they put this question to the Finance Minister very squarely and bluntly and very rightly so -- what is going to be its impact on the overall fiscal deficit because this is the additional expenditure which the Government is incurring. Surely, if you calculate it, the expenditure figures which have been available till date, and the revenue figures, then, you will find that the fiscal deficit is very substantially high. It is almost 68 per cent of the BE projections. On the other hand, the total projection has been 68 per cent of the total Budgetary expenditure. In terms of GDP, 4.6 per cent has been projected as the fiscal deficit. But one need not necessarily be worried over it because if you look at the five years' moving average, it varies from 54 - 55 per cent, and these figures get reconciled at the end of the year, before the presentation of the Revised Estimates to the Parliament. Here, I would just give you one example. For instance, though the growth, in gross terms, of Direct Taxes has been around 22 per cent, but in net terms, it has been around eight per cent. It is because we have decided to upfront the refund. As a result, against Rs.27,000 crores of refund in the previous year; this year, we have provided almost Rs.68,000 crores as refund on the Direct Taxes side. Naturally, the net in the Direct Tax side has been more, and to recoup that, we had to resort to some borrowing. Around 56,000 crores of rupees borrowings we had to resort to manage the cash flow but nonetheless it will have a stress and it will have its effect in the course of the year if the corrective steps are not taken. That is why while participating in the debate on inflation, I mentioned that to maintain the fiscal

deficit, as per the target, it is a serious challenge. In the course of my reply after listening to the views of the hon. Members, I will elaborate on it. With these words, Mr. Deputy Chairman, I commend that the Appropriation Bill be taken into consideration.

*The question was proposed.*

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (SHRI ARUN JAITLEY): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the hon. Finance Minister has proposed some Demands for Supplementary Grants. The Finance Minister is the best judge of the kind of revenues and monies that the Government requires. And, therefore, as he rightly pointed out, this House really does not approve the Finance Bills but it provides us with an opportunity to really discuss the state of the economy and where we stand today. Coincidentally, we are debating this on a day when somewhat depressing figures and numbers for the month of October, 2011, have been released today morning. I recollect, Sir, while replying to the debate on price rise last week, the Finance Minister had raised some very important issues and these issues related to the impact of the global slowdown on Indian economy, the kind of steps he has taken and the kind of steps he has not been able to take to really counter the impact of that slowdown. And then he enlarged this debate a little further that management of the economy is the principal responsibility of the Government, but to manage it, the Government needs the cooperation of all the States, what he has conventionally described cooperative federalism in India in the management of the economy. He also spoke in terms of the larger political consensus which is required in the matter of the management of the economy. Sir, some of the issues which he had raised last week and which are extremely relevant to the situations both with regard to the economy and its political management, are all issues which are relevant for us today. I would say at the very outset that I partly do agree with him. It is true, Sir, that the world has faced a slowdown subsequent to the subprime crisis which took place in America. Its impact was felt in Europe; its impact has been felt in various countries. In recent months, eurozone crisis has also left its footprints on the global economy and as global economies are getting greatly integrated, we cannot immunize ourselves from the impact of these crisis. The hardening of the oil prices has also presented us with very grim challenge. But then let us also recollect that over a decade ago, when a very severe East Asian crisis took place, we countered it and we survived it reasonably effectively. Even the first two years after the subprime crisis, Indian economy did maintain a respectable rate of growth. As against this, if I look back from

1991 till today where a more optimistic outlook for the Indian economy started after the reform process, I think in the last 20-odd years, this is perhaps the grimmest situation we are passing through. The entire showcasing of India that we make to the entire world, the entire image is today taking a setback. For two years and even more, up to three years, we have both headline inflation and food inflation at an unacceptable level. Food inflation has almost gone up at times to 20 per cent. Inflation has hovered around almost 10 per cent, a double digit figure and in the post-liberalisation era this was an unacceptable position or at least we thought that these kinds of figures we never get to see again. We cannot take comfort from the fact that the last week's figures or the last two week's figures have shown a decline in the rate of inflation. When the rate declines, Sir, marginally, it does not mean that prices are actually coming down. It only means that instead of ten per cent, at this point of time they are rising by eight per cent. So, the increase gets slowed down, the prices effectively don't come down. This was debated last week that crude oil prices have hovered around 110 dollars and our duty structure, both in the Centre and the States, particularly the ad valorem duty structures despite some marginal reliefs which have been given, are such that when the rate of oil goes up, the cost of crude oil goes up, the taxes also go up because they are ad valorem and therefore, the eventual consumer is hit doubly because of these increases as far as the oil prices are concerned. Sir, in case of infrastructure creation, even if we see the areas of success stories which India had in the infrastructure in the recent past, it has somewhat slowed down and is not presenting that kind of an enthusiastic picture which we thought a decade ago when the emphasis of infrastructure had greatly started. The Finance Minister was kind enough to say that when Rs. 56,000 crores has to be borrowed additionally, all this is going to add to the fiscal deficit figures and therefore, what you projected in your Budget Speech is 4.6 per cent as a projected fiscal deficit for this year and as of today if we stand and debate, this looks a little unlikely. Therefore, how much it will exceed, will it cross the figure of five and present a challenge again is an issue which seems almost inclined in debate to the side that the fiscal deficit is going to far exceed what was the projected figure. Coming to interest rates, you have used the credit squeeze by hiking interest rates four times this year and thirteen times in all, in the past several months in order to fight inflation. Now, the impact of this on the competitiveness of the Indian industry and on several sectors such as

**3.00 P.M.**

manufacturing, automobiles, real estate, housing are areas on which we thought that between six to eight per cent, consumers were actually getting credit. Now, if it goes back to 12, 14 and 16 per cent, this is likely to impact all these sectors extremely adversely. The cost of capital goes up, your industry therefore, becomes non-competitive compared to their competitors internationally, particularly, the low cost economies and the impact of that is going to be that our entire manufacturing sector is going to be hit and once you have sectors like real estate, housing where loans have become costlier, being hit, the spiral effect of that on cement, on steel, on job creation of construction labour, on all these sectors the impact is also going to be huge. Sir, I regret to say that the past three to four years had seen a sudden decline in the decision making process as far as the economic policy decisions were concerned. Major decisions were being shelved on one ground or the other and this is a subject which I will deal with at some length during the course of the discussion today.

While we are on this subject, we cannot deceive ourselves by not accepting the hard reality that the buoyancy of the Indian economy, the enthusiasm in the Indian economy, the great showcasing of the Indian economy and the immediate suffer is also because of the excessive scams and corruption. This has a spiral effect in many ways. Corruption adds to the cost of a project. If you find that monies have to be paid other than legitimate monies, the projects are going to cost more. Investors who are used to investing in a far cleaner investment climates are reluctant to invest in those economies. The impact of all this corruption has been that it has created a huge amount of anger and a backlash. We can see that backlash in public opinion. We can see that backlash in the media, both print and electronic. We can also see that backlash in judicial pronouncements. Therefore, in the implementation of policy, or, in the implementation of projects, if allegations of serious corruption are involved, the investors are going to fear that they may eventually land up in prisons and does not get bail for months together. Now, all this is contributing to this hostile image which is being created as far as India as an investment destination is concerned. This is precisely the reason that, in the last two years, we have seen not only the flow of FDI declining in India on account of all these factors, but there is another cause for worry. And that cause for worry is not that the foreigners are not coming and investing in India, our own domestic business houses are now looking at global markets to invest. As the data would indicate, the outward flow of FDI has now been greater

than the inward flow of FDI into India. Initially, we accepted this enthusiastic superficial reaction that our own corporate has become very big and it is now choosing to buy world companies. So, we used to cite them as examples of how well the Indian economy is today doing and flexing the muscles of our own industry. Unless we realize that a lot of them are going out for another reason they are finding that India is not the best invest destination under the circumstances -- it is a serious cause to worry. They are no longer enthusiastic about investing within the country and, therefore, they are looking for destinations outside India as far as investment is concerned.

Sir, all this has been happening and we have been gradually leading to this situation in the last 3-4 years. Why has this happened? I would urge here, without meaning any personal disrespect to any individual, one thing. The hon. Finance Minister who is, perhaps, one of the most experienced Parliamentarians. He spend more time in both these Houses than any one else in the current generation. Is there something seriously wrong with the model of governance that they are following? I am not coming to policy. Sir, I always believed that for implementation of any programme of the Government, any policy of the Government, to run an effective Government, there are three essentials that are required. The first is the kind of leadership. The leadership must be able to provide the direction, take decisions and implement decisions. The second is the credibility of the Government. And, the third which is equally important is the aura of the authority of the Government which in Hindi we call "क्या सरकार की साख भी है कि नहीं, क्या सरकार का इकबाल भी है कि नहीं है?" Now, when we see this situation building up in the political structure that the UPA has followed, I think, there is something wrong with the structure which they need to seriously introspect. The Prime Minister has to be the natural leader of the country and Government. He must be the last word as far as policy is concerned. But, then, if he has to look for guidance on policy around and then he has to function like a CEO taking direction from a Board is a model on which the world's largest democracy cannot function. Fortunately, in UPA-I -- I will give credit to it -- we found that even when we were critical of the fact that there is a twin leadership, and the model of twin leadership does not function, but, in UPA-I, the twin leadership was broadly on the same page. In the last few years, I have found,

particularly since UPA-II has taken over, that it does not appear to be on the same page. Even ideologically, the twin leadership does not appear to be on the same page. Therefore, on issues after issues you will find that the leadership of the UPA is more concerned with programmes and some of them are very legitimate, understandably legitimate, which are generally beneficial and they help you in gathering votes, the economic thinking, as far as the leadership of the Government is concerned, seems to be in somewhat different direction. That is the reason when you speak in terms of political consensus, and that is the point I am leading to, it is very easy to tell the Opposition and tell the States that come and have a political consensus with me. I will dwell on the point of opposition of the States a little later. Let us honestly put ourselves a question: Is there a complete political consensus within the UPA on the kind of decisions that you want to take? You cited the example of the FDI in retail, where the decision has been suspended, till a political consensus between stakeholders is reached. There was a very large national opposition to it. The withholding of the decision was not because of the national opposition, it was also not because of the threat of mid-term election. The threat of the mid-term election came because you have no consensus within the UPA. Why did I not come across a single statement from the Chairperson of the UPA in support of the Government's policy? Your own constituents were angrily protesting. Therefore, before we can be told that management of national economy is not the personal prerogative of the Government -- it needs the support of all, an argument of the hon. Finance Minister, I accept that argument please develop a political consensus as far as the UPA is concerned. Therefore, the policies that you announce must be after you have taken a full consensus within the UPA. It is only then, if you find a difficulty, you will realize that whether the decision is implementable or not. I just want to dwell for a few moments even on the retail policy. I have absolutely no difficulty. After all, from 1991 to 2004, we had three different political formulations. You had the Congress, Mr. Narsimha Rao's Government; you had the United Front; and, then, you had the NDA. Slowly but surely the direction of the management of the economy was in the clear same direction. That is why there was a great enthusiasm. But, as I have said outside the House, every change itself is not a reform. You have to test reforms how they will fit

into the present structure of the Indian economy. So, when you suggested the FDI in retail, let me tell you -- you rightly mentioned that there was a paragraph in the NDA agenda in 2004 that made a reference, though my party, the BJP, never accepted any document till today -- despite a strong commitment to the reform process, during that period, every time a suggestion to this effect came up for FDI in retail but we were a little cautious. Not only we were cautious, at that time, you were also very cautious. You were cautious when you were in power; you were cautious even when you were in Opposition. And, there were several good reasons for it. I recollect that when we were in Government this was one area that I was handling in the Government, in the Department of Commerce - every time a suggestion came in any bilateral or multilateral dialogues that India must open up the FDI in retail. And, it came mostly from Europe and the United States. We said, " We were not ready for it". Your Government also said it; the UPA-I also said it repeatedly. I will just give you three, four reasons. The first is not the most important reason, but it is a relevant reason. When you make a big trade concession to them -- trade is not a matter of philanthropy or charity -- you then, get some concessions back from them. I could not understand why, unilaterally, such a concession had been made. It could have been made if it had gone and, outrightly, helped the Indian economy. My fear is, there are still a lot of manufacturing sector reforms that India has to carry on. Sir, with regard to trade, you have more experience as the Finance Minister or Trade Minister, than most of us. You will realise that there is a general tendency of consumers and buyers all over the world that they buy what is the best and the cheapest. Therefore, the global balance is tilting in favour of low-cost economies. Now, what do you find here? Today morning, Mr. Shinde, while answering to a question in Parliament, said that electricity generation has gone down. It will lead to higher cost of utilities and lesser trade facilitation. If my products, my general merchandise is going to be much costlier than its competitors, they will not find buyers. In this area, I am not competing with Europe or the United States of America; I will be competing with Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Malaysia, China, the low-cost economies. The general tendency of international retail is that they don't source domestically, they source internationally. That has happened. It has left its impact in the



United States. When they source internationally, you will, suddenly, find that the first dip in jobs is in the Indian manufacturing sector. Therefore, before you take this step, take all these steps and reforms, we will stand with you. Let us also try and become a very low-cost manufacturing hub. We are somewhat a low-cost manufacturing hub, but not a very low-cost manufacturing hub. Therefore, we have to follow the experience of all these economies and then, the steps required to bring down the cost of our products is the course that we have to embark on. Otherwise, what will be the situation? You will have a French and an American store selling Chinese products and the only Indian contribution is going to be the sales boys and sales girls. That is not what this country was cut out to be. So, if merchandise is going to come from there, you have to first act and make reforms in that direction. There is no settled model that once you open up and create this sector, automatically, the economy will grow. The global experience, Sir, is that large structure international retail, even in the retail sector, is not going to create additional markets. It will displace existing markets. I have always asked my friends who live in the city of New York, in Manhattan, "why don't I see the Walmart Stores here?" They say, well, if one big store comes up, the Mayor of New York will lose his job. He will be voted out. Because they know that it will displace the existing jobs. What is the character of our jobs? The largest sector of our economy, 58 per cent, is services. What is the job character? Eighteen per cent of the Indians, who are a workforce, are structurally employed in structured jobs, 30 per cent is casual labour or unemployed and 51 per cent is self-employed. The largest contingent of self-employed comes from agriculture. The next is retail. In 1998, according to the last figures of the Planning Commission available, in retail, 4 crores people were employed. Today, it may have gone up towards 5 crores. You multiply it by four-and-a-half, which is the average size of a family, you will find that 1/6 th of India's population is dependent on it. Therefore, we will have to carry on preceding reforms. We should not jump to the last one merely because we are under some peer pressure. This is a big-ticket reform and a big-ticket reform is required to send a message. We will reform in the areas we have to reform, where it benefits the Indian economy. That is why I said, every change in these areas is not necessarily a reform. Some of them may eventually go and hurt as far as reforms are concerned. I, Sir, came across a very interesting article recently and this probably is the

best example anywhere in the world of structured retail. The best example of structured retail anywhere in the world is the example of milk distribution in India. Now, there was an argument given and the Commerce Minister, Mr. Sharma, was repeatedly repeating that argument that 'Middleman will be eliminated; the benefit will automatically go to the farmer.' Now only time will tell that in the present situation whether the benefit will go to the farmer or it will go to the retailer. There is a study conducted by the International Farm Comparison Network and this study was put into public domain by none other than the Managing Director of Gujarat Cooperative Milk Marketing, i.e., Amul. It is undoubtedly a great product as far as India is concerned. So, during this debate, he put this study into the public domain and the study indicates, of milk products sold, for every dollar that the consumer pays, how much does the milk producer get in the U.S.? It is 38 per cent. In United Kingdom, for every pound which is paid by the consumer, the milk producer gets 36 per cent. What is the position in India whether it is the large cooperatives in the milk sector or some private sector which is participating there. Down to the village level, in some of the States, we see they have got chillers; they have the cold chains; they have the back-end chains. It is necessary; that's one advantage which I can see. In India, the milk producer, on a national average, gets 70 per cent; in the cooperative sector, he gets 80 per cent of the total rupees that the consumer pays. Now, here is an experiment of structured organized retail where even cold chains have been set up, where back-end chains have been set up. We have seen those large oil tanker kind of vehicles carrying milk; we have got milk trains in India. That's all a part of the back-end chain. That is part of the infrastructure domestically set up from indigenous resources. You have it in Gujarat; you have it in Maharashtra; you have it in Karnataka; you have it in Punjab; you have it in Madhya Pradesh. In several States, you have this chain and therefore this is the indigenous model. Structured retail, back-end chains, etc., are all valid arguments but let us not jump for it because we know the consequences of it on both manufacturing sector and the job displacement in the retail sector. There is a lot of preparation which has to go on before you reach that destination.

Sir, you mentioned about the 2004 NDA statement. I have a series of documents with me. I need not cite all of them. When we were in Government and even though the Government was very clear that it will not bring it, what was your Party stand? Your Party raised the issue of a possibility of a FDI in retail in both Houses of Parliament and while raising it in Parliament, one of your leaders, Mr. Dasmunsi, said, 'therefore I would like to draw the attention of the Government through you, as is alleged that the multinational retailers through bureaucratic circles are continuously putting pressure

on the Government -- I have not described it like this; but he did -- to take this anti-national decision of allowing FDI in retail.' So, your Party called it anti-national. Your topmost leaders did not object to his statement. When it was raised in the House, our Ministers immediately got up Mr. Shourie in the Lok Sabha and Mr. Jaswant Singh in the Rajya Sabha -- and said, 'No; this is not being allowed.' Sir, the then Leader of the Opposition in the Rajya Sabha was writing to -- I have his letter -- trade organizations, 'No; no; don't worry; it has been raised in Parliament and the Government have assured us that this is not going to be done.' So, at that time, you were very clear about it. When your Ministers in UPA-I were confronted, they said that 'that was a correct logic that we have taken; there will be job losses and therefore we are not allowing it.' There are detailed interviews by them; I have got the copies. News reports have indicated that even the UPA Chairperson cautioned the Government in 2007 by saying, 'don't do it.' Therefore, please don't say that 'you people have changed.' We were clear. It did appear as a possibility in one of the documents; but it was never implemented. But it is an issue which requires a legitimate debate. Sir, that brings me to the hard facts of where we stand in terms of the economy.

Sir, you have mentioned in your Budget Speech that the projected GDP this year would be nine per cent, 7.7 per cent in the first quarter and 6.9 in the second quarter. And, if today's numbers are an indication, in the third quarter we would be less optimistic, because it has come down. If you see today's figures in the index of industrial production, in October 2011, the decline is -5.1 per cent. So, industrial production has actually gone down. Now, if you compare this with the 11.3 per cent-plus in the corresponding month last year, your fall is really staggering. Now, these slowdowns are visible during this entire period of April to October, 2011. If you look at mining, it is -7.2 per cent; in manufacturing, in October, 2011, it was -6 per cent. So, during the entire April-October-period there was a further decline. Now, I have learnt, as a student of Political Economy, that there are some quick guesses that we make as to how the economy is going to do in the months or years to come. So, looking at sectors like capital goods, if the inflow or import of raw material into this country declines today, that means the news six months later is going to be very bad. People are not importing raw material and, therefore, industrial production is going to go down. If the inflow of

capital goods and manufacturing goods into the country declines today, six months from today industrial production is going to go down. I think, the most disturbing figure which has come is that in October, 2011, the capital goods component has gone down by 25.5 per cent. That is a staggering figure. For electrical, machinery and apparatus, it is -58.8 per cent; for machinery and equipment, it is 12.1 per cent, and amongst raw materials, rubber and plastics, it is -11.4 per cent; for cable and insulated rubber it is -82.9 per cent. These are figures which have come down in a staggering manner. Now, where do we stand? Talking of credit squeeze, you have increased interest rates thirteen times and capital has become so costly. Unless we reduce it, we are going to become a sluggish economy. Assuming a nine per cent growth, you had estimated an 18 per cent growth in revenue. Now, if the growth goes down and it is somewhere around seven per cent or less, then what is the spiral effect of that going to be as far as revenue is concerned? Coupled with 56,000 crores borrowings and the revenue coming down, what is its impact on fiscal deficit? The fiscal deficit is 4.6 per cent and may go up beyond five. Inflation would be reasonably high at all given points of time. Now, these are the figures. Talking of the decline in FDI, let me say, at the cost of repetition, that in 2008 the FDI inflow was 42.5 billion; it became 35.7 in 2009. In 2010 it was 24.6 billion. Now, this is the level of business confidence in this country and this is going to come down. The second leg of this is, when people are not going to invest dollars in this country, why should Indians be investing rupees in this country? They are also going to look for more attractive markets. That is the reason why a lot of them are saying, 'let us look for more attractive investment destinations outside'. Therefore, this is really a wake up call as far as the Indian economy is concerned. As I said, the initial figures of exports which came in looked very attractive. Now, I read that one of it was a calculation error, and the other appears to be that in the IT sector, some of the exports are being inflated and there is a legitimate fear -- is Indian black money coming back into the system? You are right, Sir, when you say how do you deal with the situation, or, as a Finance Minister you say how do I deal with the situation. And you suggested that this is not a responsibility which one man alone can discharge; I need to take a lot of policy decisions; the Government needs to take it; it needs the cooperation of the Opposition and it needs the cooperation of all the States because every State manages the economy. You are absolutely right, Sir, you do need a consensus. But you just ask yourself a question: Whose responsibility is it to take initial steps to actually build a

consensus? And if you ask that correct question, you come to the right answer. I don't think consensus building will be a difficult proposition. You can't have a Government -- and please pardon me for using these words -- where a section of the leadership, including the Ministerial leadership, is introvertish. We see a section of the leadership making arrogant statements in dealing with States, in dealing with opposition and in dealing with civil society. And you can see one section sulking. Let me straightaway concede that you look a very positive exception to all this. I have had the privilege of attending all-party meetings with you, and I rate you as one of the greatest honourable exceptions to what I am saying. And your communication with all of us and other political parties show this. And, therefore, if the Government instead of being introvertish or sulking or arrogant adopts an attitude of consultation with the States, consultation with opposition parties, consultation with UPA partners, not informing the UPA partners, then probably you will find that the onerous task of consensus building becomes easier. Sir, may I just present an unpleasant picture? When the Left withdrew support, you decided to go ahead even though you didn't have the numbers for a vote of confidence. Nineteen Members of the Lok Sabha either cross-voted or abstained. You take an action of this kind, you crack and demolish the process of consensus building. When Members of Parliament complain that we are being paid money, your police go and arrest those MPs. Sir, these acts don't contribute to consensus building. Kindly call for the records of the highway projects which have been sanctioned. If it is an opposition-ruled State, how do we bypass the highway from there? You ask non-Congress parties -- you can ask them in Uttar Pradesh; you can ask them in Andhra Pradesh and you can ask them in Gujarat-how CBI has been used. I have, Sir, complete record of legislations in State after State, which are ruled by a non-Congress party, where they have not been given clearance; there are highways which are bypassed in opposition-ruled States; there are States which have not been given help; there are States which have not been allotted coal blocks. You know the paltry amount of power generation which takes place in Bihar and the Government is struggling to get coal blocks. It is not a private company. There are hundreds of private parties who have been given bigger coal blocks by this Government than given to the State of Bihar. These steps do not help in the process of consensus building. And, Sir, when these steps don't help in the process of consensus building, what does a big heart does? And this Government has to be big hearted, not merely a big brother. You follow this policy and you realize that the art of consensus building will be far easily possible and, therefore, once you are able to build it, some items on the agenda where there is no consensus can wait, but others you can proceed with. I know you are very honestly keen to implement the GST. But, before you are able to implement it, or even decide it, some bona fide effort, not from you personally, but from your Government, should be there to the States to tell them that once the GST comes in, they will be fairly treated. There is a lurking suspicion that we won't be fairly treated and we cut off our own hands, our Constitutional authority and hand over our fiscal powers to the Centre, and the fear in the States is, "How are we going to be treated after we do that?" Therefore, you have to realise that there is a method to build a consensus and a hostile relationship with the States, a hostile relationship with the Opposition is not the roadmap to a consensus building.

Sir, I now come to the final point of what I have to say. I mentioned in the opening part that you require a Government with leadership, with credibility. I have no personal doubts on the credibility of hon. Prime Minister. He is an honourable man. But, then, I said, "The Government needs *saakh*. It needs an *iqbal*." How does it get that? It needs leadership to achieve that. Sir, in this very House, when the Motion of Thanks was being debated early this year and the hon. Prime Minister was replying to it, on the 24th of February, 2011, while addressing me — and, it is just ten months ago -- he said, "The whole world appreciates the management of India's economy and that is the message that comes out of international meetings that I attend. I urge the Leader of the Opposition to, at least, study some of these documents and I hope he will be educated enough as a result of these documents and not to use harsh words that he used." Sir, I have, since that day, been following very carefully the advice given to me. And, I have been following what the international media has been writing about us. Instead of finding encouraging stories, I am coming across horror stories. That is how the world is looking at us. Last week, The Wall Street Journal wrote an extensive review of the political and economic situation of India. I just read two sentences. It started with the sentence, "Mr. Manmohan Singh's humiliation is complete." And, it ended with the sentence, "Indians may hail Mr. Singh as the Finance Minister who ushered in the liberalisation in 1991, but they are coming to realise that his lack of leadership as Prime Minister has become a major obstacle to further reform". Now, this is what the international media, a commentator in a respected journal, said. All that I am saying, Sir, is that we want our Prime Minister to be very strong. Let there be no divided authority. Let the vestige of political power be with him. The Prime Minister is the Chief Executive of the world's largest democracy. Therefore, he must act with authority, and while he acts with authority and builds the roadmap to consensus, the present depressing situation and a very challenging situation that we are getting into as far as our economy is concerned, it is only then that we can meet this challenge. I thank you very much.

**डा. राम प्रकाश (हरियाणा):** सम्माननीय उपसभापति महोदय, मेरे विचार में यह हमारे देश का सौभाग्य है कि हमें एक धीर-गंभीर प्रधान मंत्री का प्रशासनिक नेतृत्व प्राप्त है। आर्थिक क्षेत्र में एक बहुत अनुभवी वित्त मंत्री का नेतृत्व हमें प्राप्त है। जब वे वित्त के विषयों पर बोलते हैं, तो ऐसा लगता है जैसे स्वयं तुलसीदास, रामचरितमानस की व्याख्या कर रहे हों। इस देश को, जनमानस की आकांक्षाओं के अनुरूप एक बहुत सक्षम और सुलझी हुई महिला

का राजनीतिक नेतृत्व प्राप्त है। युवा पीढ़ी की आकांक्षाओं की अभिव्यक्ति, कुछ कर गुजरने की भावना रखने वाले नौजवान नेता से हमें मिल रही है। UPA में सभी पहलुओं पर विचार करके ही राष्ट्रीय हित में नीतियां बनाई जाती हैं। इसमें विपक्ष के जो विचार हैं, हम उनको भी पूरा महत्व देते हैं, लेकिन सलाह करना एक बात है, डिक्टेशन लेना दूसरी बात है। यू.पी.ए. में प्रजातांत्रिक पद्धति है, तानाशाही नहीं है और हम कानून को संसद में बनाने के पक्षधर हैं। मैं उन लोगों के साथ सहमत होने में असमर्थ हूं जो संसद में रामलीला और रामलीला मैदान में कानून बनाने की बात करते हैं।

महोदय, आर्थिक नीति पर विचार करना आवश्यक है। पैसे के appropriation के बारे में जो बिल प्रस्तुत हुआ है, मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूं, जहां आर्थिक स्थिति पर विचार किया जाता है कि वह पैसा किस मद में कितना, किस काम के लिए व्यय हो रहा है और उसका क्या परिणाम निकल रहा है। आज प्राथमिक शिक्षा को महत्व देने की जरूरत है। ज्यादा से ज्यादा पैसा उस पर व्यय किया जाए, वह हमारे हित में है। महोदय, हमने अनिवार्य शिक्षा का कानून बनाया, बहुत अच्छा किया, लेकिन केवल कानून से काम नहीं चलता, उसके लिए आर्थिक ढांचा बनाना बहुत जरूरी है। आज हमारे ग्रामीण स्कूलों की जो स्थिति है, सरकारी स्कूलों की जो स्थिति है, उसकी तुलना अगर हम पब्लिक स्कूलों से करने लगे, तो ज़मीन-आसमान का फ़र्क है। इसलिए अगर उस क्षेत्र में और पैसा दिया जाए, तो बहुत अच्छा रहेगा। आज अमीर का बेटा, किसी आई.ए.एस. का बेटा, किसी राजनेता का बेटा सरकारी स्कूल में नहीं पढ़ता। उनके बच्चे किसी और स्कूल में पढ़ते हैं और गरीब के बच्चे सरकारी स्कूल में जाते हैं। उन बातों से दो किस्म का भारत बन जाता है, इसलिए मैं यह समझता हूं कि स्कूलों में जन-सुविधाएं, पुस्तकालय, ब्लैक बोर्ड, चारदीवारी, अच्छे अध्यापक, हर किस्म की सुविधा की जरूरत है, ताकि वहां वही वातावरण पैदा हो जो पब्लिक स्कूलों में है और किसी गरीब के बेटे को आर्थिक तंगी की वजह से अच्छी शिक्षा से महरूम न रहना पड़े। कॉलेज की शिक्षा के बारे में यू.जी.सी. जो ग्रांट देती है, मैं समझता हूं, कई बार उसमें ऐसा होता है कि एक अमाउंट खर्च करना होता है और उसको खर्च करने के चक्कर में कुछ ऐसे व्यय कर दिए जाते हैं, कॉलेजों को इस ढंग से ग्रांट दी जाती है, जिसका पूरा लाभ नहीं मिल पाता। आज केवल चॉक और टॉक के मेथड से colleges और universities में पढ़ाया नहीं जा सकता। आज क्लासरूम को मल्टीमीडिया बनाने की आवश्यकता है। विश्वविद्यालयों में जो research equipments पड़े हैं, उनकी पूर्ति की जानी चाहिए ताकि ज्यादा से ज्यादा पैसे बचाए जा सकें और उन सारे equipments की constant updating जरूरी है। हमारे जो research journals हैं, अगर उनका impact factor अच्छा नहीं है, तो उन्हें बंद करना चाहिए, ताकि हमारे रिसर्चर अपनी रिसर्च छापने के लिए दुनिया के competition में आएँ और जो हमारा पैसा उससे बचता है, उसे बचाकर अच्छे journals के अंदर अपने अनुसंधान को प्रकाशित करें। Basic Science subjects में ज्यादा ध्यान देने की जरूरत है। केवल applied या technical education से काम नहीं चलेगा। उसका जो आधार basic Science subjects हैं, उनको इग्नोर नहीं किया जा सकता।

हमें धन चाहिए, इस बात के लिए भी जो अति पिछड़ा वर्ग है, भूमिहीन लोग हैं, जिनमें कुम्हार, सुनार,

लोहार, जांगड़ा, धीमान, पांचाल, मनहार, धोबी, पिंजा, बहुत सी बिरादरियां शामिल हैं, उनके पास भूमि नहीं है। उनका बच्चा खेती नहीं कर पाएगा, उनको कोई व्यवसाय चाहिए। उन्हें पैतृक व्यवसाय करने के लिए भी आज जो ट्रेनिंग चाहिए, उसकी जरूरत है। उसके लिए अगर इनके बच्चों को उसी तरह polytechnics में और engineering colleges में सरकार सहयोग देकर मुफ्त शिक्षा प्राप्त करने का मौका दे, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बहुत उपयोगी होगा। मैं इस बात को इसलिए कहना चाहता हूँ कि गांव का एक कुम्हार मिट्टी के बरतन बनाता था। अपने गधे के ऊपर सामान लादकर वह बाजार में आकर बेचता था। गांव तक सड़क जानी चाहिए थी। महोदय, सड़क के माध्यम से किसी देश की संस्कृति का विकास होता है। लेकिन उसके साथ उसका जो पैतृक व्यवसाय था, वह समाप्त हो गया। उसको वैकल्पिक व्यवसाय चाहिए। उसी तरह एक कहार पानी ढोकर अपने बच्चों का पेट पालता था। गांव में पानी की टंकी आयी, पानी आया, आना चाहिए था, तरक्की के लिए निहायत जरूरी था, लेकिन उसका व्यवसाय चला गया, उसके लिए कोई वैकल्पिक व्यवस्था हो, ऐसी बात नहीं हो पायी। इसलिए जो अति पिछड़ा वर्ग है, जो भूमिहीन लोग हैं, जो अपने पैतृक व्यवसाय को अच्छी तरह आज के स्तर के मुताबिक बनाना चाहते हैं, उनके लिए टेक्निकल एजुकेशन की सुविधा प्राप्त हो, यह बात भी मैं कहना चाहता हूँ।

इसके साथ-साथ हमें धन चाहिए, स्वास्थ्य सुविधाओं के लिए। आज सरकारी अस्पतालों की स्थिति वह नहीं है जो प्राइवेट अस्पतालों की है। आज इस सदन में बहुत दुख भरी भावना के साथ कोलकाता में सरकारी अस्पताल में जो कुछ हुआ है, उस पर अपनी संवेदना प्रकट की है, उन लोगों के साथ अपनी भावनाएं जोड़ी हैं। आपको अनेक सरकारी अस्पतालों की ऐसी ही हालत देखने को मिलेगी। उनके अंदर अगर हम सुविधाएं दें, उनका आधुनिकीकरण करें तो मैं यह समझता हूँ कि आम आदमी को अच्छी सुविधा प्राप्त करने का जो हक बनता है, उसे वह सुविधा प्राप्त हो सकती है। महोदय, बड़े लोग, धनवान लोग अच्छे-अच्छे प्राइवेट अस्पतालों में जाकर अपना इलाज करा लेते हैं, इसलिए उन्हें इस बात की दिक्कत महसूस नहीं होती, लेकिन जो आम आदमी है, वह जब किसी सरकारी अस्पताल में जाता है, तो उसे बहुत सी बातों की दिक्कत होती है। सरकारी अस्पताल का डॉक्टर उस पर लिख कर देता है कि यह टेस्ट फलां जगह से कराइए, यह टेस्ट दूसरी जगह से कराइए। अगर वे सारी सुविधाएं सरकारी अस्पताल में हों तो आम आदमी को उस सुविधा का लाभ हो सकता है।

महोदय, हमें धन चाहिए, गांव के लिए। आज गांवों को निर्मल गांव बनाने की जरूरत है। जिन गांवों को निर्मल ग्राम का पुरस्कार दिया भी जाता है, उनके अंदर भी हमें इस बात का निरीक्षण करने की जरूरत है कि क्या वे उसी स्थिति में रहते हैं या उनके निर्मल होने में थोड़ी गिरावट आ जाती है। आप गांव में जाकर देखेंगे कि पानी की निकासी की समस्या है। गांव के अंदर पानी के गड्ढे बने रह जाते हैं, वे बाहर नहीं निकल पाते। पहले गांव के बाहर जोहड़ होता था, उसके अंदर सारा पानी चला जाता था, लेकिन आज बढ़ती हुई आबादी की वजह से वह काम रुक



गया है। आज गांवों को भी वही सुविधाएं चाहिए जो बड़े-बड़े शहरों को मिली हुई हैं। आखिरकार वे भी भारतीय नागरिक हैं, उनको भी हर किस्म की सुविधा चाहिए। इसलिए इस क्षेत्र में भी अधिक धन की जरूरत है।

धन जरूरी है, स्लम फ्री भारत बनाने के लिए। मुझे इस बात को स्वीकार करना पड़ेगा कि जहां अमीर बस्तियां हैं, उनमें डोमेस्टिक हेल्प के तौर पर उनकी बगल में गरीब बस्तियां उभर आती हैं, लेकिन उन गरीब बस्तियों की सुविधाओं का कोई कम से कम स्तर तो रहना ही चाहिए। आज जो इस तरह की अनआथोराइज्ड कालोनीज़ हैं, उनमें टेढ़ी मेढ़ी गलियां हैं, उसे देखें वहां झोपड़ियां हैं, गंदगियों के ढेर हैं। उसके अंदर लीपा-पोती करके काम नहीं चल सकता, थोड़ी-थोड़ी ग्रांट देकर काम नहीं चल सकता। योजनाबद्ध तरीके से इन स्लम्स को उठाकर, इनकी जगह नयी बस्तियां बनाने का प्रयास करना चाहिए, ताकि उन लोगों को भी वही आधुनिक सुविधाएं प्राप्त हो सकें, जो शहर के लोगों को मिलती हैं।

महोदय, जहां मैं इन डिमांड्स का समर्थन करता हूं, जो माननीय वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने रखी हैं, वहीं एक-दो सुझाव देकर अपनी वाणी को विश्राम देना चाहूंगा। मैं यह समझता हूं कि आर्थिक खर्चों के ऊपर कंट्रोल की बड़ी आवश्यकता है। आज जितनी स्कीमें बनती हैं, उनका परिणाम यह निकलता है कि ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन टॉप हेवी होता चला जा रहा है। उन सरकारी अफसरों के वेतन, सफर भत्ते आदि पर दिन-रात अनावश्यक खर्च बढ़ता है। हमें इस बात की तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिए। कोई योजना बनाने से पहले हम इस बात का विचार करें कि जो आम आदमी काम करने वाला है, इसका लाभ उसे पहुंचेगा या बड़े सरकारी अफसर को पहुंचेगा। मैं यह बात भी कहना चाहता हूं कि संसद के सदस्यों के पास जो एमपीलैड फंड है, अगर उससे वे अपने नगरों की हालत सुधारने के लिए स्पेशल स्वीकृति लेना चाहें, तो उन्हें वह स्वीकृति मिलनी चाहिए। जैसे हमारा कुरुक्षेत्र एक ऐतिहासिक शहर है, दुनिया के तमाम लोग वहां आते हैं। लेकिन जी.टी. रोड़, जहां पीपली है, वहां से लेकर कहीं भी आगे तक चले जाओ, कोई ऐसी चीज़ नहीं दिखाई देती जो उसे महाभारत के साथ जोड़ती हो। मैंने एक विचार यहां प्रस्तुत किया था कि कम से कम 10-15 महाभारत कालीन दृश्यों के या महाभारतीय महापुरुषों के आदमकद मेटल के बुत सड़क के किनारे लगे हुए हों, जिससे उभर करके उसका स्वरूप आए और दुनिया के लोग देख पाएं कि यह है वह नगर, जो महाभारत और गीता की याद दिलाता है। मैंने उसके लिए यह सुझाव दिया था कि अगर मुझे अपना एम.पी. लैड फंड उस काम के लिए इस्तेमाल करने की अनुमति दी जाए तो मैं उसे सहर्ष करने के लिए तैयार हूं। जो काम जो पैसा आपसे अलग लिए बिना, सरकार के खर्च के ऊपर बोझ डाले बिना चल सकता हो, वह करने की हमें इजाजत मिलनी चाहिए।

इसी तरह हमारे कुरुक्षेत्र के रेलवे स्टेशन को एक मॉडल रेलवे स्टेशन बनाने की बात की गयी थी। लेकिन आप वहां जाकर देखें, जो हालत प्लेटफार्म की है, जो हालत वहां जनसुविधाओं की है, जो हालत वहां और दूसरी

सुविधाओं की है, उसे देखकर रोग आता है। दो साल से हम इस उम्मीद में बैठे हैं कि वह मॉडल रेलवे स्टेशन बनेगा। हम लोग उस क्षेत्र के हैं, अगर हम अपने एम.पी. लैंड फंड में से कुछ सुविधाएं प्रदान करना चाहें तो मैं यह समझता हूं कि सरकार को अपनी नीति में कुछ फ्लेक्सिबिलिटी लाकर ऐसा कार्य करने की अनुमति देनी चाहिए। दूसरे लोग भी इसी तरह अपने-अपने क्षेत्रों में काम करा सकते हैं।

**(उपसभाध्यक्ष (डा. ई.एम. सुदर्शन नाट्टीयप्पन) पीठासीन हुए)**

महोदय, माननीय वित्त मंत्री द्वारा प्रस्तुत एप्रोप्रिएशन बिल का मैं भरपूर समर्थन करता हूं। मैं यह समझता हूं कि आज के आर्थिक हालात में जिस तरह वित्त मंत्री महोदय, इस गाड़ी को चला रहे हैं, देश को तरक्की के रास्ते पर ले जा रहे हैं, वह हम सब के लिए बहुत बड़े गर्व का विषय है।

महोदय, आपने मुझे बोलने का समय दिया, मैं आपके प्रति हार्दिक धन्यवाद करता हूं।

**श्री गंगा चरण (उत्तर प्रदेश):** धन्यवाद महोदय। सरकार ने एप्रोप्रिएशन बिल पेश किया है। वैसे तो हम सरकार का समर्थन भी कर रहे हैं, लेकिन हम इस बिल का इसलिए विरोध कर रहे हैं कि उत्तर प्रदेश के विकास में सरकार ने जो अस्सी हजार करोड़ रुपए की डिमांड की थी, इन्होंने उसमें हमको कोई मदद नहीं की। महोदय, खास तौर से मैं किसानों के बारे में जिक्र करना चाहता हूं। इन्होंने फर्टिलाइजर पर सब्सिडी खत्म करके और न्यूट्रिशन-बेस्ड सब्सिडी की नीति बनाई थी, उससे किसानों को कोई लाभ नहीं मिला। इस सब्सिडी के बारे में इन्होंने कहा था कि किसान एग्रीकल्चर अधिकारी के यहां एक एप्लीकेशन देगा कि वह इन-इन चीजों, नाइट्रोजन, पोटाश का यूज कर रहा है और किस बेस पर कर रहा है। जब वह अधिकारी उसको सर्टिफाई करेगा तब उसे यह सब्सिडी मिलेगी। इससे भ्रष्टाचार को बढ़ावा मिलेगा। जब वह अधिकारी पैसा ले लेगा, तब वह सर्टिफिकेट देगा और तब वह किसान के एकाउंट में जाएगा। किसान को जो डी.ए.पी. पांच सौ रुपए में मिलती थी, आज वह बाजार में प्राइवेट कम्पनियों द्वारा ग्यारह सौ रुपए में उपलब्ध कराई गई। इसी तरह जो यूरिया 280 रुपए प्रति बैग मिलता था वह प्राइवेट कम्पनियों द्वारा 450 रुपए प्रति बैग खरीदना पड़ा। आज दूसरा सबसे बड़ा घृणित काम इस सरकार ने यह किया है कि हमने उत्तर प्रदेश के लिए खास तौर से जितने फर्टिलाइजर की सप्लाई की मांग की थी, उसकी आधी सप्लाई की है और वह भी लेट दी है। इससे किसानों को भारी नुकसान हुआ है, एक तो उनको सब्सिडी का लाभ नहीं मिला है, सेकंड, जो सप्लाई दी है वह बहुत कम दी है, जिससे किसानों में मारा-मारी भी हुई। चूंकि इनकी नीयत साफ नहीं है, यह किसानों के ऊपर राजनीति कर रहे हैं। आज यह सत्ता हासिल करना चाहते हैं कि जो गैर कांग्रेसी सरकारें हैं, चाहे वह उत्तर प्रदेश की हो, मध्य प्रदेश की हो, छत्तीसगढ़ हो या बिहार की हो, उनकी लेग पुलिंग कर रहे हैं कि उनको कैसे बदनाम किया जाए। अब ये नहीं समझते हैं, लेकिन किसान सब समझने लगा है। किसान इतना बेवकूफ नहीं है। अब वह यह समझता है कि डीएपी कहां से मिलती है, यूरिया कहां से मिलता है।

खादों का इम्पोर्ट होता है और जब फर्टिलाइज़र समय से नहीं मिलेगा, समय से फसल नहीं बोयी जायेगी, गेहूँ की बुवाई समय से नहीं होगी, मटर की बुवाई समय से नहीं होगी तो आने वाले दिनों में खाद्यान्न की कमी होगी, उत्पादन कम होगा तो महंगाई और बढ़ेगी। आज गरीब किसानों और मजदूरों के ऊपर राजनीति हो रही है। उनका हक छीनकर राजनीति हो रही है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा आपके माध्यम से सरकार से अनुरोध है कि कम से कम वह किसानों और गरीबों के ऊपर राजनीति न करे। वे कहते हैं कि कांग्रेस का हाथ गरीब के साथ, कहीं कहते हैं कि कांग्रेस का हाथ आम आदमी के साथ। इनके इस तरह के बड़े-बड़े पोस्टर लगे हुए हैं। मुझे नहीं लगता है कि कांग्रेस का हाथ गरीब के ऊपर है, गरीब के साथ है या किसान के साथ है। अभी आने वाले दिनों में आप देखेंगे कि जिस तरह की इनकी उर्वरक नीति है, उसका परिणाम यह होगा कि डीएपी तीन हजार रुपये प्रति बैग बिकेगा और कम से कम दो हजार रुपये प्रति बैग यूरिया बिकेगा। क्योंकि अभी इन्होंने प्राइवेट कंपनियों से कहा है कि धीरे-धीरे दाम बढ़ाओ और धीरे-धीरे किसानों को मारो। आज किसान सरकार की गलत नीतियों के कारण आत्महत्या करने के लिए मजबूर है। आप किसान को तबाह करना चाहते हैं। एक तरफ डीजल के दाम बढ़ा रहे हैं, उर्वरक खादों के दाम बढ़ा रहे हैं, कीटनाशक दवाओं के दाम बढ़ा रहे हैं और दूसरी तरफ किसान के गेहूँ का दाम सिर्फ 10 रुपये प्रति क्विंटल बढ़ाते हैं। पिछले दस साल में दस-दस रुपये करके गेहूँ के दाम बढ़ाए गए हैं। लेकिन डीजल और पेट्रोल के दाम हर दो-तीन महीने में बढ़ जाते हैं। इस बार बाजार में कीटनाशक दवाइयों की बहुत शार्टेज रही जिसके कारण कीटनाशक दवाइयों की दुकानों पर किसानों की लम्बी कतारें लगी रहीं, क्योंकि इनका वास्ता तो किसानों से नहीं है, इनका वास्ता को उन घरानों से है जिनके पास देश की दो-तिहाई दौलत है। कांग्रेस पार्टी 8 हजार घरानों का नेतृत्व कर रही है जैसी की अभी हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स में खबर छपी थी तो देश की दो-तिहाई दौलत देश के मात्र 8 हजार घरानों के पास है। इनका हाथ उन 8 हजार घरानों पर रहता है कि उनको कोई नुकसान न होने पाये। उनकी दौलत कैसे बढ़े, वे दुनिया में नम्बर एक पर कैसे पहुंचे? देश का गरीब और किसान नम्बर वन पर कैसे पहुंचे इसकी इनको चिंता नहीं है। हमारे उद्योग मंत्री जी बैठे हैं, वे बातों में मशगूल हैं। कांग्रेस के भाई बातों में मशगूल हैं, वे हमारी बातों को सुन नहीं रहे हैं। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, आप ज़रा...।...(व्यवधान)...

**श्रीमती विप्लव ठाकुर** (हिमाचल प्रदेश): आप कहिए हम आपकी बातें सुन रहे हैं।...(व्यवधान)...

**श्री गंगा चरण:** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो सुन रहे हैं, उनके पास कोई अधिकार नहीं है। जिनको सुनना चाहिए, वे सुन नहीं रहे हैं। सर, मेरा कहना है कि यदि सरकार किसानों को रासायनिक खाद उपलब्ध नहीं करा पा रही है, उस पर कंट्रोल नहीं कर पा रही है, तो वह कम से कम आर्गेनिक खेती को बढ़ावा दे। आप आर्गेनिक खेती को बढ़ावा क्यों नहीं देते हैं? इससे ग्लोबल वार्मिंग भी रुकेगी, इससे क्लाइमेट चेंज भी रुकेगा, इससे जमीन का स्वास्थ्य भी ठीक होगा। जब जमीन का स्वास्थ्य ठीक होगा, तो मनुष्य का स्वास्थ्य भी ठीक रहेगा। जैविक खेती और आर्गेनिक खेती हमारी पुरानी परम्परा रही है। हमें गोबर की खाद, हरी खाद और vermi compost को बढ़ावा देना चाहिए। मैं एक महत्वपूर्ण बात यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि हमने आने वाले दिनों में आर्गेनिक खेती को बढ़ावा

नहीं दिया तो जिस तरह आदमी रासायनिक दवाओं को खाकर खोखला हो गया है, उसके शरीर में साइड इफ़ेक्ट के कारण अनेकों तरह की बीमारियां पैदा हो रही हैं, जिसके कारण वह शक्तिहीन हो रहा है - हम रोज अखबारों में विज्ञापन पढ़ते हैं कि शक्तिशाली दवा खाइए m शक्ति बढ़ाने के लिए दवा खाइए, यही हालत जमीन की हो रही है। रासायनिक खादों के अत्यधिक उपयोग के कारण हमारी जमीन बंजर होती चली जा रही है, वह ऊसर होती चली जा रही है, वह शक्तिहीन होती चली जा रही है, वह रोगी होती चली जा रही है, वह अस्वस्थ हो गई है। उसमें आज जो उत्पादन होता है, उससे लोगों को कैंसर हो रहा है, उससे लोगों का ब्लड प्रेशर बढ़ रहा है, उससे 40 परसेंट लोगों को शुगर हो रही है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि सप्लीमेंट्री डिमांड्स फॉर ग्रांट में 13778 करोड़ रुपया इन्होंने कृषि में उर्वरक खादों की सब्सिडी के लिए दिया है, यह पैसा सीधे किसान को मिलना चाहिए। आप पहले कहते थे कि हम किसानों को डायरेक्ट सब्सिडी देंगे, आपने डायरेक्ट सब्सिडी कहाँ दी है? मैं कहता हूँ कि किसान के खाते में 5 हजार रुपए पर एकड़ डायरेक्ट सब्सिडी देनी चाहिए, ताकि किसान का भला हो सके। आप कहते कुछ हैं और करते कुछ हैं। आज जो कहते हैं, वह कभी करते ही नहीं हैं।

महोदय, मैं Standing Committee Rural Development का सदस्य हूँ। आपने *मनरेगा* चलाया और इसके लिए बजट में 40,000 करोड़ रुपए का प्रावधान किया। इसके तहत दस लाख लोगों के job card बने हैं। इसमें एवरेज प्रति व्यक्ति मजदूरी 120 रुपए है। यदि दस लाख लोगों को सौ दिन का काम दिया जाए, तो 1,20,000 करोड़ रुपयों की आवश्यकता पड़ेगी। आपने इसके लिए केवल 40,000 करोड़ रुपए दिये हैं। इसका सीधा अर्थ है कि आपकी मंशा दस लाख लोगों को सौ दिन का भी काम देने की नहीं है। आप देश के गरीब मजदूरों को गुमराह कर रहे हैं। यदि आप उनको सौ दिन का काम देना चाहते तो बजट में 1,20,000 करोड़ रुपए का प्रावधान करते। मैं स्टैंडिंग कमेटी का मेंबर हूँ और मैं जानता हूँ कि यह पैसा भी गरीबों तक नहीं पहुँचता है। उत्तर प्रदेश को मनरेगा की दूसरी किश्त आज तक भी नहीं भेजी गई है। हमारी नेता बहन कुमारी मायावती ने कहा है कि मजदूरों को सौ दिन का काम नहीं, बल्कि 365 दिन का काम मिलना चाहिए। यदि आप उनको सौ दिन काम देंगे, तो क्या मजदूर 265 दिन भूखा रहेगा? उसके घर का चूल्हा 265 दिन कैसे जलेगा? जो एससी, एसटी के लिए स्पेशल कम्पोजेन्ट प्लान का पैसा था, आपने पाँच हजार करोड़ रुपया कॉमन वेल्थ गेम्स में लगा दिया। आपने कहा था कि हम इसको वापस कर देंगे, लेकिन आपने अभी तक एससी, एसटी का वह पैसा वापस नहीं किया है। इससे लगता है कि आपकी मंशा सीधी नहीं है और आपका दलितों, पिछड़ों, किसानों और मजदूरों से कोई वास्ता नहीं है। आपका गरीबों से कोई वास्ता नहीं है। आप गरीब विरोधी हैं, किसान विरोधी हैं, दलित विरोधी हैं और पिछड़ा विरोधी हैं। आप गरीबों के घर में चटनी रोटी खाकर, उनको बहलाना चाहते हैं ...**(समय की घंटी)**... और उनको बेवकूफ बनाना चाहते हैं।  
...**(व्यवधान)**...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN): Kindly address me.  
...**(Interruptions)**...

**श्री गंगा चरण:** आप थोड़ा अनुशासन रखिए। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN): You address me.  
...**(Interruptions)**...

**श्री गंगा चरण:** सर, मैं आप से ही कह रहा हूँ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN): Please conclude.

**श्री गंगा चरण:** सर, इन्होंने अपने घोषणापत्र में लिखा था ...**(व्यवधान)**... सर, कांग्रेस के घोषणपत्र में है कि हम छोटे राज्यों के पक्षधर हैं। जब हमारी नेता बहन कुमारी मायावती ने उत्तर प्रदेश का विभाजन करके छोटे-छोटे राज्य बना दिए, तब इन्होंने कहा ...**(व्यवधान)**...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN): Your time is over.

**श्री गंगा चरण:** ठीक है, सर। जब प्रस्ताव भेज दिया और प्रधान मंत्री जी को पत्र भेजा गया, तो ये कहते थे कि पत्र से क्या होता है, आप विधान सभा से प्रस्ताव पारित करके भेजिए, तब विचार किया जाएगा। हमने बुंदेलखंड प्रांत, हरित प्रांत, पूर्वांचल, अवध प्रांत बनाकर और दोनों सदनों से बहुमत से वह प्रस्ताव पारित कराके भेज दिया है। हमारी नेता बहन मायावती ने जो प्रस्ताव भेजा है, हम मांग करते हैं ...**(व्यवधान)**...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN): Please kindly conclude.  
Your time is over.

**श्री गंगा चरण:** आप चार प्रांतों का प्रस्ताव स्वीकार करें और बुंदेलखंड, हरित प्रांत, पूर्वांचल और अवध प्रांत बनाएं। आप अपने वचन पर अडिग रहें।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN): Thank you so much. Your time is over.

**श्री गंगा चरण:** क्या मेरा समय समाप्त हो गया?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN): Yes.

**श्री गंगा चरण:** सर, अभी तीन मिनट और बचे हैं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDERSHAN NATCHIAPPAN): Your time is over.

**श्री गंगा चरण:** सर, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि ...**(व्यवधान)**... बुंदेलखंड में ...**(व्यवधान)**... आप कहते हैं कि 7400 करोड़ का स्पेशल पैकेज दिया, आपने जनता को बेवकूफ बनाया। जब मैंने एक सवाल पूछा तो पता चला कि मात्र 860 करोड़ रुपए दिए। सर, कहां 7400 करोड़ रुपए और कहां 860 करोड़ रुपये? आप पूरे देश में ढिंढोरा

4.00 P.M.

पीटते हैं, लेकिन यहां तो ऊंट के मुंह में जीरा मात्र दिया है। अब बुंदेलखंड की जनता जान गई है कि आप उन्हें बेवकूफ बना रहे हैं। सर, हम मांग करते हैं कि बुंदेलखंड प्रांत बनाया जाए। वहां जब कहा गया ...**(व्यवधान)**... कृपा करके आप तो बंद हो जाइए। जब कहा गया कि हम हर प्रांत में एम्स खोलेंगे, तो हमारी मुख्यमंत्री ने कहा कि हम आपको बुंदेलखंड में फ्री जमीन देते हैं, बुंदेलखंड पिछड़ा है, आप बुंदेलखंड में एम्स बनाइए। ऐसा करने से उत्तर प्रदेश, मध्य प्रदेश, दोनों बुंदेलखंड को लाभ मिलेगा, वहां के गरीबों को अच्छे इलाज की व्यवस्था मिलेगी। आपने कहा कि नहीं, हम रायबरेली में ही बनाएंगे। जब रायबरेली ही उत्तर प्रदेश है, तब बुंदेलखंड याद नहीं आता है। चटनी रोटी खाएंगे बुंदेलखंड के गरीबों की और एम्स बनाएंगे रायबरेली में। जब बहिन जी ने बुंदेलखंड के विकास के लिए रेल डिब्बों का कारखाना बनाने के लिए कहा कि यह बुंदेलखंड में खोला जाए, तो कहा कि वह भी राय बरेली में होगा। जब राय बरेली ही देश हो गया है, तब और कहीं का पिछड़ापन उनको नजर नहीं आता है। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि मैंने एक प्रस्ताव दिया था कि महोबा से राडभिंड होती हुई रेलवे लाइन निकाली जाए। तीन बार सर्वे हो गया है, अब ये उसको स्वीकार करें, ये कुछ तो बुंदेलखंड को दें। मैं बुंदेलखंड का रहने वाला हूं, वहां डाकूग्रस्त इलाका था। आज बहिन जी ने सारे डाकू साफ कर दिए, लेकिन वहां के पलायन को रोकने के लिए, गरीबी को रोकने के लिए, वहां का विकास जरूरी है ...**(व्यवधान)**...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN): Please sit down.

**श्री गंगा चरण:** सर, प्रधानमंत्री सड़क योजना में उत्तर प्रदेश को कोई पैसा नहीं दिया है। सब जगह आठवां प्लान चल रहा है, दसवां प्लान चल रहा है, लेकिन उत्तर प्रदेश में तीन साल से कोई पैसा, फूटी कौड़ी भी नहीं दी है। आज मेरा बिजली की सप्लाई का प्रश्न था। मुझे थोड़ा गुस्सा आया, मेरा प्रश्न नहीं आ पाया। सर, उत्तर प्रदेश को 5500 मेगावाट बिजली मिलनी चाहिए। इन्होंने कोटा तो दिया है, लेकिन आज तक कभी कोटा पूरा नहीं किया। 3000 और 4000 मेगावाट से ज्यादा बिजली की सप्लाई नहीं होती है, फिर भी हमारी नेता अपना प्रॉडक्शन करके किसानों को 18 घंटे बिजली दे रही हैं। इसी तरह से कोल ब्लॉक में सप्लाई ...**(व्यवधान)**... वह भी भारतीय जनता पार्टी ने उठाया। हम तो कभी-कभी इनकी बात कर देते हैं, लेकिन हम कहते हैं कि उत्तर प्रदेश का क्यों नहीं करते हैं? उत्तर प्रदेश में कोल ब्लॉक भी नहीं दे रहे हैं। कोयला नहीं देंगे, तो हमारी जो परियोजनाएं हैं, जिनसे बिजली उत्पादन हो रहा है, वे बंद हो जाएंगी। सर, ऐसा जान-बूझकर कर रहे हैं। जहां इनकी सरकार बनी, इन्होंने शपथ ली की हम भेदभावरहित काम करेंगे। सर, मंत्री यही शपथ लेते हैं न कि वे दुर्भावनारहित काम करेंगे? यह ब्रीच ऑफ ओथ है, ये अपनी शपथ का उल्लंघन करते हैं, ये भेदभावपूर्ण काम करते हैं। ये उन प्रदेशों की सरकारों में ऐसा

करते हैं। इनकी निगाह खास तौर से उत्तर प्रदेश पर है। सर, ये नहीं जानते हैं कि ये आयरन लेडी से टकरा रहे हैं। उत्तर प्रदेश से टकराओगे, बहिन जी से टकराओगे तो चूर-चूर हो जाओगे, पता नहीं चलेगा। ये एक दलित महिला, दलित की बेटी से टकरा रहे हैं। ये दलित की बेटी से टकरा रहे हैं और कहते हैं कि हम दलितों की पार्टी ...**(व्यवधान)**...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN): Please conclude. Your time is over.

**श्री गंगा चरण:** दलितों की पार्टी हैं ...**(व्यवधान)**... आप एक दलित महिला को, गरीब महिला को परेशान कर रहे हैं। आपको उत्तर पच नहीं रहा है। ...**(व्यवधान)**... शुक्ला जी, आपको पच नहीं रहा है ...**(व्यवधान)**... आप यह समझ लीजिए कि बहिन जी से टकराओगे, पूरे देश में आपको जो दलित वोट देता था, आपको उसके लाले पड़ जाएंगे, कांग्रेस का सफाया हो जाएगा। पचास साल से दलित के वोट पर राज कर रहे हो, बहिन जी से टकराओगे ...**(व्यवधान)**... आज उत्तर प्रदेश, मध्य प्रदेश, राजस्थान और पूरे भारत में सफाया हो जाएगा ...**(व्यवधान)**...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN): Please sit down. Nothing is going on record. Please sit down.

**श्री गंगा चरण:** हम आपका समर्थन भी कर रहे हैं, फिर भी आप हमारी टांग खींच रहे हैं ...**(व्यवधान)**... हम समर्थन भी कर रहे हैं, फिर भी आप टांग खींच रहे हैं। आप फिर भी हमें परेशान कर रहे हैं, इसीलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि मत टकराओ। अभी हमारी रैली हुई थी, उसमें लाखों की भीड़ थी, 18 तारीख को फिर रैली होने जा रही है, फिर लाखों की भीड़ होगी। किसी की ताकत? इतनी बड़ी-बड़ी रैलियाँ ...**(व्यवधान)**... आज प्रदेश का दलित ...**(व्यवधान)**... प्रशासन ...**(व्यवधान)**... बहिन जी के साथ है, इसलिए मैं अवगत करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा पैसा हमें पूरा दे दीजिए, वरना परिणाम ठीक नहीं होंगे। आने वाले चुनाव में जनता सबक सिखा देगी। जो प्रांत निर्माण नहीं करेगा ...**(व्यवधान)**... बुंदेलखंड प्रांत नहीं बनाया ...**(व्यवधान)**... जमानतें जब्त हो जाएंगी। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं समाप्त करता हूँ। धन्यवाद।

SHRI MOINUL HASSAN (West Bengal): Sir, in his introductory remarks, the hon. Finance Minister said that it is an opportunity to look back at the economy. At the beginning of my speech, I would like to inform that the World Economic Situation and Prospects 2012, released by the United Nations in December, 2011, notes that there was growth slowdown of the world economy from four per cent in 2010 to 2.8 per cent in 2011, warning that the risk for a double-dip recession had heightened. This has not been said for developed countries alone. This important Report has also mentioned that the economic growth is also projected to slowdown in the developing countries of

Latin America and Asia, including Brazil, China and India, in 2012. In this perspective, with this Report having come, I would like to know as to what plan the Government is preparing to protect our nation from the double-dip recession which is likely to occur throughout the world, including the developing countries of India, Brazil and China, more so, our country. It is an opportunity to look at the economy of our country.

When we look at this second batch of Supplementary Grants, -- I am not in a position to quote data now -- it is a fact that it has stood the approval for additional expenditure for the current year. The same thing happened in last August. If we add up the two additional expenditures, this will be more than Rs.70,000 crores, which is five per cent more than the Budget Estimates. I am not against this Supplementary Allocation. But it is a hard fact that income is less and borrowing is more. So, the situation is that the Government is relying on the borrowed money in both the tax sectors, direct and indirect taxes, and collection is trailing behind, as was estimated. So, the market borrowing is increasing. What is the present scenario of the Indian economy? There is a decline in infrastructure growth. It is the slowest in the last 31 months. Revenue deficit has shot up three-fold in six months. We are already seeing the economic slowdown. Sir, according to the Sixty-sixth Round of the NSS, what is the condition of employment? It shows a dramatic decline in total employment. Non-agriculture employment fell from 4.65 per cent to 2.53 per cent, despite the operation of the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme. Sir, employment is not increasing in any sector. It is decelerating in all the sectors. So, this is the present situation. One of the indicators of our economy is the condition of farmers, and the Government is not in a position to consider the suggestion of the Swaminathan Committee Report. Now, what is the growth? It is three per cent during the Eleventh Plan. We have not met the four per cent target. Right from the Ninth Five Year Plan, until now, we have been trailing behind in our targets. Since long, there has been no public investment in agriculture. What has been the result of that? The result has been the rising cost of inputs. My friend earlier mentioned that everybody knows the price of urea and DAP in rural areas. It is not the question of price alone. It is not available in the market. It is now available even in the black market. The farmers have been suffering and, on the other hand, we have non-remunerative prices of crops whether it is paddy, sugarcane or jute. So, on the one hand, there is high input cost, high cost of pesticides and, on the other, you have non-remunerative prices of crops. Moreover, so



far as seeds are concerned, good, certified seeds are virtually not available. It is because of all these reasons that, since 1995, more than 2.5 lakh farmers have committed suicides. What has caused this turmoil? The reason is that the Government has followed a neo liberal policy which has driven the farmers into distress. This is one of the important indicators of Indian economy today. Take price rise. Last time, in this very House, price rise was discussed in a big way; it was discussed at length. I am not going into all the points. But we feel we must repeat our suggestion again. We are not in a position to forget it; the roll back of fuel price hike is very much necessary. Secondly, control fertiliser prices by enhancing the subsidy. Thirdly, stop forward trading. Fourthly, universalise public distribution system. Otherwise, it is not possible to control the price rise in our nation. People are not in a position to get food at cheaper rates. I come to the tax problem. I am astonished to see this. In 2009-10 how much tax was foregone and for whom? According to the Government records, taxes to the tune of Rs. 5.02 lakh crores were foregone. Percentage-wise, it was 7.59 per cent of the total tax collection. It was mostly in favour of corporate and affluent classes. You had foregone tax collection for these people but you could not give any fertiliser subsidy for the farmers or universalise the PDS. You give concessions to big people, those who are tax defaulters. I feel it is a crime and an offence on the part of the Government. That is why there has been this deterioration in the Indian economy. Sir, take fiscal deficit target. The economy is slowing down. I have already said that. Sir, inflation has remained high. I must say that the approach should be to change the policy. Do not get obsessed with the fiscal deficit target of 4.5 per cent. It has been discussed many times. Learn from the developed economies. Austerity measures have worsened the situation of unemployment and poverty. For that reason, 'Occupy Wall Street' incident has happened in New York. It is not limited only to New York. It is happening across 1500 cities of the world.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN): Please conclude.

SHRI MOINUL HASSAN: Step up expenditures for improving the conditions of the poor working class, provide funds for employment generation and rural development.

I come to my last point. Talking about taxes, the Standing Committee on Finance had made a recommendation in this regard, and I quote from that Report, "The Government should review the present regime of tax exemption and deduction, which is obviously loaded in favour of the corporates

and big tax payers at the expense of small tax payers and the salaried class". My main speech depends on that philosophy -- save the common people, save the hundred crore people, those who are working in the villages and small towns; your intention should not be to save the corporate people, the affluent people; save the common people, living in the remote corners of the country. This should be our attention. For that reason, people vote for you. This is the serious condition of the Indian economy. We should stand up and take proper action. Otherwise, this situation will get further deteriorated and we should stop it.

With these words, I thank you.

SHRI N.K. SINGH (Bihar): Sir, thank you very much for giving me this opportunity.

Sir, this debate has been initiated by the Leader of the Opposition; he has dealt with some of the more far-reaching issues which affect the present configuration and the conjuncture in which this debate is taking place. On Friday afternoon, the hon. Finance Minister circulated the mid-year analysis of the economy to the Lok Sabha, which I had an opportunity to read over the weekend. Even a cursory reading of this mid-year analysis makes a rather sombre reading. Sombre, in spite of every diplomatic skill which has been used by the Cornell and Pristine trained economists to put a bit of a spin on where some of the more negative features of the economy has been highlighted.

I will bring to your attention, Sir, what I believe are some of the six critical issues which the Finance Minister may like to consider. The first and foremost, Sir, the Leader of the Opposition had already brought to our notice that the Finance Minister needs to work out a new path of fiscal consolidation. It is clear that the target of the Thirteenth Finance Commission is off-track. The target which he accepted for himself in the Budget, of 4.6 per cent, is off-track. I am not a fiscal fetishist in the traditional sense of what fiscal economists are. But, clearly, the centre piece of any macro-economic management is the credibility of the path of fiscal consolidation.

What is the path of fiscal consolidation? Sir, this report brings out that the revenue sluggishness in the first half of the year has been entirely attributed to refunds which have been given and to sluggish amount of what has been realised from disinvestment. Both these, Sir, are not likely

to be reversed because the growth trajectory has come down significantly, notwithstanding the compensation effect of non-refunds in the last half of the year, and the fact that this is not an opportune time to pursue disinvestment programme in a credible way gives us reasonable reason that 4.6 per cent may become 5 per cent, or may be even higher. Perhaps, there is no escape from it. But, then, we need to be assured of a new path of fiscal consolidation to which the Finance Minister would like the country to focus.

My second point, Sir, is that even while this report was being printed, this report has become obsolete! Because, the chapter which they have on financing of the external sector on the balance of payments, clearly is no more valid considering that the export growth has been over-stated in this document by 8 to 9 billion dollars and, therefore, the real current account deficit exceeds 3 per cent. The financing of a 3 per cent current account deficit needs serious consideration if macro-economic management is to be maintained. I must commend the Reserve Bank of India that they are not unduly using the reserves which we have, which are quite robust in trying to defend an unrealistic exchange rate. Because, clearly, I do remember, Sir, that during the Asian Crisis, if you recall, Thailand had a reserve of 67 billion dollars in the time of the Asian Crisis. That was quite large for a country of the size of Thailand. But in order to defend an artificial exchange rate, they ran down their reserves, Sir, in four to five months' time. We are cautious of not making that same mistake, and the Reserve Bank is no doubt acting with prudence in not trying to defend an artificial exchange rate of the rupee. But, nonetheless, Sir, a current account deficit of 3.1 per cent of the GDP requires a plan for financing the current account deficit, which the market will accept.

My third, Sir, important point is that looking at the fact that the contribution of agriculture to GDP has come down substantially, and that the contribution of the services sector, Sir, which continues to be exceedingly robust, but the lagged effect of a recession in Western markets is bound to affect the services sector, and we willy-nilly, will therefore, need a plan in the short run of reviving the manufacturing sector. That is, Sir, linked with employment; that is linked with GDP growth; that is linked with poverty alleviation. Therefore, Sir, what is the short term plan? In the long term plan, fortunately, Sir, they have come out with a National Manufacturing Policy. Regrettably, there is no

implementation plan which is attached to that National Manufacturing Policy. There is no credible policy on labour; there is no credible policy on land; there is no credible policy on environment. Merely to come up with the wish of a National Manufacturing Policy will not improve the manufacturing sector, at least, in the short run. So, that requires, Sir, a short term plan of what can be done to really revive the manufacturing sector to improve the GDP numbers.

My fourth point, Sir -- and I will hurry as soon as possible -- is that what are the steps that the Finance Minister has in mind to reverse the declining rates of growth of GDP because you may come down to the new Hindu rate and settle down not at 3 per cent Hindu rate of growth, but that new Hindu rate of growth for India could be something like five to six per cent rate of growth. What is to be done to get us out of this five to six per cent conundrum, to, at least, climb on to seven per cent? I know, the exogenous circumstances are not favourable, the internal circumstances are also difficult, but, Sir, look at the real sectors of the economy. In the morning, we realised that the power sector is in a colossal mess. Not necessarily because the Power Minister has not been efficient or effective but coal has declined. Telecom is in a difficult shape; power is in a difficult shape, Sir. So, what are the concrete steps to be taken by the Government? Civil Aviation, Sir, is nearly in a shut down stage. There is no credible Civil Aviation Policy because the cost of aviation fuel is too high, the cost of landing charges are too high, the sales tax is too high. You do not have, Sir a credible Civil Aviation Policy. So, what are the policies for structural changes in the economy which can set the economy back to where we were a six to seven per cent rate of growth?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN): Your time is up.

SHRI N.K. SINGH: Finally, Sir, I think, I will just end with one last point. Sir, I submit to you that this is the last time that this House will have the opportunity to focus on the economy; next time will only be the Budget. I wish to draw the hon. Finance Minister's attention to Part II of this Statement, which has been placed before us. That, Sir, you will also find, I am sure, of interest. That, Sir, is the Status of Implementation of Major Budget Announcements. The Annexure I, Sir, does a remarkable job, of listing out, in the left-hand column, what were the Budget announcements, and in the right hand column, what has been the compliance. I wish to submit to

you, Sir, that the quality of compliance and the quality of what has been said here is something which is laughable. I will just give two examples, Sir, and then sit down. What did the Finance Minister, for instance, say? He announced that there would be an enhancement of subvention of interest rates on loans to farmers by three per cent. That really meant that the loans to farmers would come down by three per cent of those who have made a prepayment. What does the Mid-term Appraisal say? It merely says that a Note for approval of the Cabinet has gone, which is still awaiting the Cabinet approval. One year down the line, we have not been able to reduce interest rates to farmers by three per cent, which you had promised in the Budget. You had promised of strengthening the NABARD capital base by infusion of Rs.3000 crores. What does the Sr. No. 41 in the Entry say? 'Cabinet proposal is still awaited and is pending'. Finally, there are so many things, on page 101 of this, there was a promise in the Budget of issuance of Tax Free Bonds of Rs.30,000 crores. What does the proposal say? It says, 'a proposal is being formulated for the consideration of the Department of Expenditure.' I really do believe, Sir, that the quality of compliance, one year down the line, to the promises made by the Finance Minister needs to be substantially improved. Finally, I will end up by saying this that I realize that extraordinary circumstances are not favourable, the room for fiscal manoeuvre is exceedingly limited, economic growth has platted down to what I call the new Hindu rate of growth, we are in the downward trajectory on unemployment. Empirical studies have revealed that a one per cent decline in GDP leads to a two per cent increase in unemployment and decline in wage rates. We need, Sir, a credible plan how to put the economy back on track by addressing some of the issues which you have been indulgent enough to listen to bring to the notice of the hon. Finance Minister. Thank you.

SHRI RANJITSINH VIJAYSINH MOHITE-PATIL (Maharashtra): Thank you very much, Sir. After listening to the informative speech by Shri N.K. Singh Sahib, I have only a few suggestions to make. Sir, 65 per cent of our population lives in rural India. I am standing here to support the Bill. I have only some suggestions, questions or queries. Sir, we are coming across the problems of rural India as well as urban India. The problems are not going down. They are going up day by day. Sir, the main point of rural economy is the water management system. If we have proper irrigation system, the people living on agriculture will be satisfied and, at the same time, the number of people

moving to urban India will also be reduced because the problems will be solved at the village level itself. Sir, I would submit that the Government had thought of two-three major projects and one of them, which has been implemented, is the Golden Quadrilateral Express Highways. In the same way, if we take up the project of Inter-State water linking, it will be a major step. If this is taken up, issues can be solved at both the ends, in the rural and urban areas as well. As we are witnessing climatic changes and as we are seeing farmers committing suicides, in addition to many other concerns, the main concern is water. If this is taken up at a large level, many of such problems can be solved. Though it is not an issue for the Central Government, but I would submit that my State Maharashtra has taken up the work of maintaining the land records. In 1931 in Maharashtra the British Government had done the work on land records and land mapping systems. The State Government of Maharashtra has taken up this issue. If the funds are allotted and the Central Government considers this issue of maintaining the land record of agricultural land, governmental land, defence land, forest land, etc., that problem will be sorted out. As we know much of the administrative cost, as we know, is related to land records. The cases start off with land records and so the administrative cost is more because of land record and pending cases. If that is solved, the land record is maintained, many of the socio-economic problems of the village will be solved and many of our administrative cost will be taken care off because of the maintenance of land records. At the same time, Sir, to improve employment, as we have seen and as everybody is looking at, the heritage properties, the monumental properties with the State Government and the Central Archeological Department has to be maintained. As in Maharashtra and in many of the States, we have the best of monuments and the best of heritage properties but if they are taken care, naturally the employment generation will grow. The population of tourists coming to India is 30 lakhs and population going outside is almost 55 lakhs. So, tourism can be developed inside the country and employment generation can be done after doing a major makeover of the heritage and monumental sites. Sir, I would like to give my submission that to cut down the drop outs in schools, if toilet facilities for girls are given then, the drop outs would be cut down and that would give a healthy educational system and a healthy young India. Finally, Sir, I would like to give my submission. There is a scheme that we can take up. If direct donation has to be done, it can be done to the villages. A committee can be formed with the help of Sarpanch, the officers at the Taluka level; officers at the district level and a director at the village

level. He can be monitored. There will be accountability and transparency and the donor knows that whatever he has donated has been implemented and he gets tax evasion and if he gets a tax benefit out of that, he is not donating for the purpose of tax but he can donate and he will be accounted and there will be transparency that whatever he has donated is accounted and village development can take place as Mahatma Gandhi has said, 'Go back to the villages.' People want to go back to the villages. They want to go back to their roots. They want to give donation but there is no proper format or system. If Government thinks of these new ideas, naturally, we can have a healthy economy. Thank you.

SHRI PYARIMOHAN MOHAPATRA (Odisha): Sir, I rise to oppose this Motion. I don't feel that this Government deserves to be given a single rupee in vote in this House not only because what Mr. Jaitley said here or Mr. N. K. Singh said about the economic performance or the economic indicators. That is a lot. A whole lot taken together is presenting such a situation as on today that we are silent spectators to the economy hurtling down towards recession. This Government was admired for having fought the recession when the rest of the world was reeling under recessionary pressures. But, today the same Government because of leadership crisis, because of divisive tendencies within itself is not able to really manage the economy and letting it get out of hand and this whole 120 crores of population will suffer because of the Government. Why should it be so? I will not go into the economic or financial issues any more. My own opposition is also based on this Government's lack of loyalty to a federal structure to which it is wedded by virtue of taking a Constitution oath. It has neglected the States which are not governed by Congress or UPA partners. This morning my party walked out of this House because there is discrimination in giving us funds. There are 19 backward districts in Odisha, out of 250 in the country, and we have been given Rs. 340 crores a year. Suddenly because something happens within the UPA, you are giving more money to a particular State! You give Rs. 8,750 crores to Bengal. So, you also give us Rs. 8,000 or Rs. 7,000 crores or Rs. 6,000 crores to us. We don't mind. Give money to Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh which are much more backward. In the backward category, Odisha, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh are together. Why do you discriminate? Why do you not honour the federal structure? All the States should be treated equally. Besides, you have been discriminating against non-Congress, non-UPA States in matters of flood grants. There have been repeated heavy floods in Odisha this year. Your team has gone, it has recommended for financial assistance, your Minister went there and made very

favourable noises. But, not even a single rupee has been given till now against the demand Rs. 3,300 crores.

Then, look at the BPL. Your National Advisory Council's Member, Shri N.C. Saxena, goes there and says that 84 per cent of people from Odisha should be under the BPL category. Sir, Suresh Tendulkar gives another figure, though a lower figure but much higher than what you are prepared to give. And, you say that you want to fix it from here! Fix it! Is it fixing? Do you fix the number of poor people? They are either poor or not poor. Your commitment should be to see that every poor family in this country becomes a viable family. Commitment has to be to the family, to poor families, not to rich or help in creating 8,000 billionaires.

This morning the issue of coal blocks was raised. It was also raised how the States have been discriminated against. Now, may I ask you one question? If you say that coal, as a resource, belongs to the nation; yes, it does. So, why wheat, as a resource, should not belong to the nation? We don't grow wheat. Give us a portion of Punjab and Haryana where we will grow wheat. If somebody from Maharashtra can go and dig for coal in my State, I should also be allowed to go and cultivate wheat in Punjab or Haryana. You are not recognizing the poor people. They are not outside the country; you are only dealing with States by the other side of the international border. Sir, for poor people, poverty should be the only criterion for giving any special package or declaring a State as a Special Category State. You had some justification at that point of time -- after Independence -- because the North-East was in turmoil and there was some difficulty in J & K. So, we declared those States as Special Category States and the criterion was different. Today that criterion should not be there. It should be poverty, poverty and poverty. And, poverty should be taken as the criterion for declaring a State as a Special Category State. We, in Odisha, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh, do not want your munificence either. On coal and ore, we must have 50 per cent of the value. Today, you are giving it all away -- Rs. 7,000 crores per tone of iron ore.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN): Time is over, Sir.

SHRI PYARIMOHAN MOHAPATRA: I will take a minute, Sir.

Sir, on Rs. 7,000 worth of iron ore, Rs. 350 is spent by the mining lessee. Before 2009 we used to get just Rs. 27 per ton and rest you gave away to the mining lessees. You must know the



reasons behind this. Now, we get 10 per cent and about Rs. 6,000 is the profit of the mining lessee. The people of these areas are not with you. The mining lessees are with you. That is the only conclusion that I can draw. Thank you.

SHRI D. BANDYOPADHYAY (West Bengal): Sir, I rise to support the proposal. But I have some reservations on other aspects. The point is that while you have potential, you are not collecting as much total Direct Taxes as we should have collected. The simple reason that there is no tax on dividend and there is no tax on estate. I don't mind saying that giving some impetus to the investment in worth while you did give some impetus to the investors. The United States still has Estate Duty, which has been there for about 100 years. So, it is a normal fiscal process. I understand -- I may be wrong, but I read it in a magazine -- that we have a tycoon in India whose dividend income is between Rs. 4000-5000 crores per year and he does not pay even a single paisa of tax; whereas if a man, who belongs to the BPL category, smokes a branded bidi or strikes a match, he pays excise duty on both. So, it looks rather regressive in a progressive system of ours that a man, belonging to the BPL category, pays tax just to light a bidi and whereas a big gentleman who earns thousands of crores of rupees does not pay any tax. I may not be sure of the veracity, but I have read it in a magazine. So, there is some problem in the tax structure. We should make the tax structure a little more progressive. Now, it is almost second decade of our new liberal economic policy and we must be able to do that. So, it is through the direct taxation by including the people who can pay and exempt the people who have problem to pay, I think, some element of balance could be restored. That apart, I would like to submit that we had some problem in Bengal and the Government of India has been very gracious to give us some support. But you must understand the problem of Bengal. The new Government of West Bengal has got an outstanding debt liability of rupees two lakh crores. Therefore, we are in a very difficult situation to make both ends meet. I have no objection to our friends in Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, getting what they want. But our position is slightly different. If we have one State with Rs. 70,000 crore debt burden and another State with Rs. 2,00,000 crore debt burden and if the latter is given some preference, that is not discrimination. Of course, we are grateful to the Government of India that it did it. The only point I would like to make is that I would fervently request the Government of India to have a re-look at the fiscal taxation policy to make taxation a little more progressive than what it is today. That may help in raising more revenue and we may not have to go to the market for getting more money.

Thank you very much.

**श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि** (ओडिशा): आपको जो पैकेज दिया गया, वह ...**(व्यवधान)**... के कारण दिया गया या फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर के कारण दिया गया? ...**(व्यवधान)**...

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (डा. ई.एम. सुदर्शन नाट्टीयप्पन)**: पाणि जी, कृपया बैठिए। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

**श्री महेन्द्र मोहन** (उत्तर प्रदेश): उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने जो Appropriation Bill रखा है, उसके संबंध में मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि लीडर ऑफ अपोजिशन ने बहुत डीटेल में बहुत सारी बातें कहीं। हमारे साथी एन.के. सिंह साहब ने भी बहुत डीटेल में कहा, लेकिन मैं इसके साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहूंगा कि इस फिस्कल डेफिसिट को अगर हम बढ़ाते चले जाएंगे, तो महंगाई की जो मार हमारी गरीब जनता पर पड़ रही है, वह समाप्त नहीं होगी।

**(श्री उपसभापति पीठासीन हुए)**

माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी को यह देखना होगा कि किस प्रकार हम सरकारी खर्चों में जो unproductive खर्चे हैं, उन्हें बचाएं, उन्हें खत्म करें। हमारे यहां इतना delayed decision making होता है कि ऐसे खर्चे चलते रहते हैं और जो लोग जेल में डाले गए हैं, जिन्हें मृत्यु दंड दिया जा चुका है, उन्हें जीवित रखने के लिए, सुप्रीम कोर्ट के ऑर्डर के बाद भी, हम उनके ऊपर करोड़ों रुपए खर्च कर रहे हैं। क्योंकि जो पेटिशंस हैं, वे पेंडिंग पड़ी हुई हैं - चाहे वे प्रेजिडेंट ऑफ इंडिया के पास पड़ी हों या गवर्नमेंट ऑफ इंडिया के कार्यालयों में पड़ी हों। उनके संबंध में जो भी निर्णय लेना है, लिया जाए, उन्हें छोड़ा जाना है, छोड़ा जाए, सजा दी जानी है, सजा दी जाए, लेकिन इस प्रकार से जो अनप्रोडक्टिव खर्चे हैं, उन्हें बचाया जाए, जिनसे भारत सरकार का डेफिसिट बढ़ता है। भ्रष्टाचार एक बहुत बड़ा मुद्दा है। आज करप्शन बहुत बढ़ रहा है। जिस प्रकार से टैक्स का कलेक्शन होता है - चाहे एक्साइज ड्यूटी हो या इनकम टैक्स हो - जितना रुपया सरकार के पास एक्साइज ड्यूटी और इनकम टैक्स में पहुंचता है, उतना ही रुपया पैरलल इकॉनामी में अधिकारियों के पास दूसरे माध्यमों से पहुंच जाता है। हम किस प्रकार से इसका स्ट्रीमलाइन करें, कैसे हम सिस्टम को सही करें, इस ओर ध्यान देने की बहुत जरूरत है। महोदय, टैक्स रेट बढ़ा देने से काम नहीं चलेगा, टैक्स का सही कलेक्शन हो और जो भी हमारा पेअर है, करदाता है, उसका जो एक्सप्लॉयटेशन हो रहा है, वह किस प्रकार से खत्म हो, यह देखना बहुत जरूरी है। मेरा आपके माध्यम से माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी से अनुरोध है कि हमें सरकार का इकबाल फिर से कायम करना होगा। आज कुछ ऐसी परिस्थितियां बन गयी हैं - चाहे इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स हों, चाहे लेबर हों, चाहे नौकरीपेशा कर्मचारी हों, सबको ऐसा प्रतीत होने लग गया है कि हमारे देश में केन्द्र में कोई सरकार ही नहीं है। यह जो इकबाल समाप्त होता चला जा रहा है, यह बनना बहुत जरूरी है। अगर सरकार का इकबाल नहीं बनेगा, तो हम देश की इन समस्याओं का हल नहीं निकाल सकेंगे।

आज हमारा प्रोडक्शन बराबर कम होता चला जा रहा है। महोदय, बैंक रेट्स को 13 बार बढ़ाया जा चुका है। अगर हमारी कॉस्ट ऑफ प्रोडक्शन बढ़ेगी तो हमारे एक्सपोर्ट भी कम हो जाएंगे। इसके साथ ही साथ हम यह भी देख रहे हैं कि आज जो इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट है, जो उद्योगपति है, जो व्यापारी है, वह यहां पर अपना रुपया इन्वेस्ट करने का सही माहौल नहीं पा रहा है। वह बाहर ले जाकर ऐक्विजिशन कर रहा है, बाहर फैक्ट्रियां खरीद रहा है, यहां से अर्जित धन से वह बाहर कार्य कर रहा है। वह यहां पर अपनी कैपेसिटी को नहीं बढ़ा रहा है। ऐसा क्यों हो रहा है? इस पर हमें रोक लगानी चाहिए कि जो भी पैसा अर्जित किया गया है, उससे पहले यहां पर इंडस्ट्री लगायी जाए। अगर हमारे देश में इंडस्ट्री लगेगी, तभी हमारे लोगों को रोजगार मिलेगा, हम आगे बढ़ पाएंगे तथा अपने देश की गरीबी को दूर करने में सफल होंगे। हमें इसको रोकना चाहिए कि हमारा पैसा बाहर न जाए, जिसके कारण हमारी स्थिति बहुत खराब होती चली जा रही है। हम अपने उन खर्चों को काटें। हमारी जो अंतर्राष्ट्रीय साख थी, वह भी बहुत गिर गयी है। अंतर्राष्ट्रीय साख की स्थिति यह हो गयी है कि पिछले तीन-चार महीने में डॉलर के मुकाबले हमारे रुपए की कीमत 18 परसेंट गिरी है, जिसके कारण जो भी सामान हम इम्पोर्ट कर रहे हैं, उसकी लागत बढ़ रही है और उसके कारण हमारे प्रोडक्शन की कॉस्ट बढ़ जाती है, फिर हमारे एक्सपोर्ट वगैरह पर भी उसका असर देखने को मिलता है। मैं जानता हूँ कि भारत सरकार की अपनी समस्याएं हैं। कुछ ऐसे क्षेत्र होते हैं, कुछ ऐसी जगहें होती हैं, जहां पर उनको अधिक पैसा देना पड़ता है, लेकिन इसके साथ ही साथ हम उन गरीब किसानों, उन गरीब मजदूरों का भी ध्यान रखें। महोदय, मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी का ध्यान कानपुर की ओर आकर्षित करना चाहूंगा जहां पर टेक्स्टाइल एक बहुत बड़ा उद्योग हुआ करता था। वहां सारी मिलें बंद पड़ी हुई हैं। अनेकों बार भारत सरकार ने कहा कि हम वहां पर पैकेज देंगे और उनको रिवाइव करेंगे, लेकिन वह कार्य भी अभी तक नहीं हुआ है। आज TEFCO बंद पड़ी हुई है। इसी प्रकार से सारे उद्योग उत्तर प्रदेश में मर रहे हैं। उसके और भी कारण हैं, लेकिन केन्द्र सरकार अपना जो योगदान दे सकती है, वह दे, जिससे हम उत्तर प्रदेश को आगे बढ़ाने में सफल हों। मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी को बधाई देता हूँ क्योंकि हमारे माननीय वित्त मंत्री प्रणब दा तो संकटमोचक हैं। जब भी यह सरकार संकट में आती है, वे उसे बचा लेते हैं और किसी भी प्रकार से बचाकर आगे निकाल ले जाते हैं। उसी प्रकार से वे उन गरीबों और मजदूरों के लिए भी संकटमोचक बनें जो महंगाई से त्रस्त हैं, जिनको दो जून का खाना भी मुश्किल से मिल पाता है। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ, मैं आपका आभार प्रकट करता हूँ कि आपने मुझे समय दिया। मैं चाहूंगा कि इन समस्याओं की ओर माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ध्यान दें और इनका निराकरण करें।

SHRI D. RAJA (Tamil Nadu): Sir, at a time when this House is going to pass this Appropriation Bill, I would like to raise a few critical issues which relate to our economy and future of the Nation. Sir, I think India stands at crossroads. After two decades of our economic journey on the basis of the neoliberal economic reforms, this happens at a time when the world economy is in deep

crisis. The United States of America, the European Union and all developed countries are in deep crisis. Sir, it is time that the Government should look at new ways to overcome this crisis.

Sir, it is not a question of good economics and bad politics. I can say, it is bad economics and bad politics. That is what is being practised by the Government. Politics and economics can never be divorced, and, in fact, economics is the best politics and politics is the best economics today. In such a situation, what we witnessed with the present Government is bad economics, bad politics.

The question is, how do we change this? This is what I am trying to raise. I agree with my previous speaker that poverty should be considered as No. 1 priority for the Government. India is a signatory to the Millennium Development Goals of the United Nations. By 2015, the world is aiming at ending poverty. Sir, I was a participant in one of the international conferences of Asian political parties. There was a representative from Indian National Congress; one representative from BJP; and from CPI and CPM also, there were representatives. China could get up and declare that 'it may not be possible for China to end poverty by 2015; but China will be able to end poverty by 2020.' I do not know whether our country has that courage to declare that India will be able to end poverty and provide food and employment to all its citizens.

Sir, I have the copy of Mid Year Analysis which is given to all of us. Even many previous speakers referred to it. Here, on poverty it is said, 'It is very alarming.' The poverty line at June 2011 price level has been estimated at Rs. 965 in urban areas and Rs. 781 in rural areas. Sir, I do not think anyone in Delhi city will be able to live with Rs. 965 per year. Is it the outcome of our two decades of economic reform process? I am asking this question. It is a question of justice for the people living below poverty line or poor people. Who are these people? They are overwhelmingly the Scheduled Caste people, Scheduled Tribe people. How far is the Scheduled Caste Component Plan implemented? How far is the Tribal Sub-Plan implemented? Let us make a serious introspection. I appeal to the conscience of everyone in this House, including the Government. The Government should make a study to see how best the Scheduled Caste Component Plan is implemented, Tribal Sub-Plan is implemented. Without giving priority to such Plans, how can you overcome the poverty? That is the problem which we witness today in Indian economy. The Mid Year Analysis says that the

growth in manufacturing sector is very slow and employment generation is not taking place in the manufacturing sector. But I agree with what the hon. Finance Minister says in the Mid Year Analysis, 'India did very well during the first phase of the global crisis. Thanks to its strengths in prudential management of the finance sector and quick and responsive fiscal stimulus and momentary easing measures. As a result, India's growth slowdown was the shortest and least among all major economies.' If it is so, what are the financial sector reforms that we are talking about? If at all the fundamentals are sound, as our hon. Finance Minister claims, Sir, which are these fundamentals? These fundamentals are our public sector undertakings, our public sector banking industry, our public sector insurance industry. But the Government is trying to open up all these public sector undertakings, banks, insurance, etc., to Foreign Direct Investment? How? Why should we weaken our public sector undertakings which provide strength to our economy, which provide self-reliance to our economy? Why should we weaken it? Even today, the Insurance Bill was passed in the Lok Sabha. I do not know what will happen when it would come to Rajya Sabha. ...*(Interruptions)*... The entire crisis, the crisis which we witnessed in the United States ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please, conclude, Mr. Raja.

SHRI D. RAJA: I mean to say that the crisis that originated in the United States had originated in the financial sector. The crisis that originated in the Eurozone countries originated in the financial sector. If we go in for liberalization in the financial sector recklessly, without giving any priority to our own national interests, then the economy cannot develop; it would do badly. When we discussed price-rise, we raised several issues. When we discussed FDI in the retail sector, we raised several issues. I agree with the LoP when he talked about consensus. The Finance Minister is quite an intelligent and experienced Minister in the Government. He would not take it as a consensus between the Congress and the BJP. There had been a reference to the UPA-I Government. Yes, there was the UPA-I Government and the Left Parties supported that Government from outside. There was a Common Minimum Programme. We protested when disinvestment was sought to be implemented recklessly and, in fact, we refused to cooperate with the Government when BHEL was sought to be disinvested. So, we tried to protect the economy during that time. Now, in UPA-II, what is happening? I think, it is in the public sector, the banking industry and the insurance industry where Government will have to prioritize its agenda. It is time that Government goes in for a mid-term review of the economic policies and fiscal policies that it has been pursuing so far. Also, there is need for a

**5.00 P.M.**

mid-course correction. If such a mid-course correction does not take place, people will have to intervene. People will have to effect a course correction. They will do it at a political level. They will do it when elections are announced. That is what would happen. We would then have to go to the people.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please, conclude.

SHRI D. RAJA: So, the Finance Minister will have to soberly take the views expressed in the House, and even though it is a coalition Government, the Government will have to take everybody's opinion into consideration. We are all speaking for the country. We want our country's progress, our country's economy to grow, our country to prosper and people to enjoy the benefits. Now, look at the sufferings of our people, Sir. They do not have a house; they do not have a job; they live in poverty. Why should India continue with that?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please, conclude.

SHRI D. RAJA: Now, the time has come when the neo-liberal economic paradigm of development needs a thorough review and a course correction is needed at this point of time. With these words, I conclude.

SHRI N. BALAGANGA (Tamil Nadu): Thank you, Mr. Deputy Chairman Sir, for giving me an opportunity to speak on the supplementary demands for grants placed here by the hon. Finance Minister.

Sir, as far as the common man is concerned, the problems continue unabated. The common people are distressed at the way this Government is functioning. I would like to dwell on some of the issues. There is all-round failure on the part of the Government, name any sector, industry, agriculture, education or power. The statistics indicate that the rate of food inflation is hovering over 18 per cent when it comes to the consumers. During the past two years, whenever there was a discussion on price rise, the hon. Finance Minister said that inflation would ease within two or three months.

He has been saying this for the past two years. But the country has not witnessed any relief from high inflation. It continues to go up and up. One of the reasons for the rise in prices of essential

commodities, all of us know, is the continuous price rise in petrol and diesel. The UPA Government from 2004 to 2011 increased the diesel price from Rs.29.30 to Rs.43.80 per litre and petrol price from Rs.41.25 to Rs.67.22 per litre. The oil companies which hiked the prices are all Navratna companies. The Government is helping them at the cost of the common man. So, I request the Government to look into this seriously whether deregulation of petrol prices is good to our economy and to our people or not. Sir, there has been a continuous attack on Tamil Nadu fishermen by the Sri Lankan Navy. Though there have been assurances from the Government, no tangible action is taken. Our hon. Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu has written many letters to the hon. Prime Minister, but no concrete steps have been taken. The fishermen issue of Tamil Nadu should not be taken as an isolated incident. Sir, I wanted to raise an important point. Tamil Nadu which was receiving 52,806 kilo litre kerosene per month, it was suddenly reduced to 44,058 kilo litre per month from June 2011. People of Tamil Nadu have been put to great hardship. Our Chief Minister has sent a letter to the hon. Prime Minister to restore the kerosene supply as it was in April 2011 and requested for the 5 per cent enhancement of the kerosene supply. Due to the mishandling of erstwhile Government in Tamil Nadu, there is acute shortage of electricity power. Our Chief Minister also requested ...*(Interruptions)*... allocate 1000 megawatt from the Central pool to Tamil Nadu. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRIMATI VASANTHI STANLEY: What is this? ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him say what he wants to say. ...*(Interruptions)*... There is nothing unparliamentary. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please sit down. ...*(Interruptions)*... Nothing will go on record. ...*(Interruptions)*... What are you doing? ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRIMATI VASANTHI STANLEY: \*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is his right. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please sit down. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please sit down. ...*(Interruptions)*... You cannot tell what subject he will talk about. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please sit down. ...*(Interruptions)*... What is this? ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI N. BALAGANGA: Finally, I would like to point out that due to the mismanagement of the Government during 2006-2011, the financial position ...*(Time bell rings)*... of Tamil Nadu is in a

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†Not recorded.

precarious condition. Therefore, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, hon. Puratchi Thalaivi Amma has also requested the Prime Minister to kindly sanction Rs.25,000 crore as special package on the lines of West Bengal for development projects. I urge upon the Government to consider and look into the demands of our Chief Minister at the earliest. Thank you.

SHRI Y.S. CHOWDARY (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity to speak on this Bill. Though we have definitely most experienced Finance Minister in the world, the present Government has presented three General Budgets but none of the Budgets has tried to give any direction to our economy, not to say about the supplementary Budget.

The Government is not able to tame the inflation and the common people of the country are/have been suffering from high inflation and skyrocketing prices.

Out of the additional expenditure proposed, 93 per cent is for non-Plan expenditure whereas a meagre four per cent is for creating durable capital assets; hence, 96 per cent is for revenue expenditure only.

Of the Supplementary Demands of Rs.63,180 crores, only ten per cent, i.e. Rs.6,330 crores, is proposed to be met through increased revenues while the rest 90 per cent will have to be necessarily borrowed. Thereby, it can have two undesirable consequences -- (i) increased in high interest rates, leading to higher inflation and (ii) sucking the liquidity from the market, thereby reducing the funds' availability for investments. This eventually will lead the private sector to postpone the capital assets' investments, which will automatically stagnate the Government revenues, and with continuous rise in non-Plan expenditure, the revenue and fiscal deficit will further rise and the country will be caught in the vicious circle of lower growth and rising fiscal deficits and Government debt.

We need to guard ourselves against such uncontrolled growth in public debt so that our country does not face the serious default situation as we have been seeing in the case of Greece, Italy and Spain.

To guard against this, I have two suggestions. If the Government is seeking supplementary grants in December, it means that a twelve months' budgeted expenditure has been spent within eight months. Why should only the expenditure increase at all times? If the revenue is not growing



and growth in some categories of expenditure is inevitable, why shouldn't the Government plan and reduce expenditure under other heads well in advance, instead of approaching the Parliament for Supplementary Grants at the last minute?

The budgeted expenditure, this year, was over Rs.12 lakh crores. In making budgets for all large projects, it is a general practice that five per cent we normally keep as contingencies. Why not we start following the practice of keeping five cent as contingency for each head? And, thereby, it can be monitored in a better manner for avoiding this kind of last minute approaches.

The other subject is, we all know that agriculture is the backbone of our economy and about 70 per cent of the people are engaged in agricultural activities. But this Government, for some or other reason, has not been able to do anything for the agriculture sector substantially.

There is no sustainable credit policy for the farmers and the cases of farmers' suicide are/have been continuing. The main reason for farmers' suicide is lack of credit, high rate of interest, non-availability of credit in time, and lack of other infrastructural facilities, though the Government has done so many studies for the infrastructure. Of course, State Governments are not in a position to provide any required benefits, financially, to the farmers. Thereby, a national fund is required to be created to address the problems of farmers. ... (Time bell rings)...

Even after 64 years of Independence, it is visible that governments after governments have been taking all actions only keeping in view to attract the voters and we are not able to develop any sustainable, long-term solutions.

Sir, I feel, now the time has definitely come to work with cooperation and coordination, and particularly, we have got an opportunity to learn lessons from the various mistakes already committed by the so-called developed countries and we need not repeat those things. Thank you, Sir.

**श्री राजनीति प्रसाद (बिहार):** महोदय सबसे पहले मैं आपको धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया है।

महोदय, मैं इस बिल का समर्थन कर रहा हूँ, लेकिन मैं दो-तीन सवाल करना चाहता हूँ। आपने दो-तीन साल पहले 'मिड-डे मील', 'नरेगा' और 'सर्वशिक्षा अभियान' में बहुत पैसा खर्च किया। आपने सारी योजनाओं को इधर-का-उधर रखा, लेकिन इन पर ज्यादा पैसा खर्च किया। कई सारे विद्वान साथियों ने यहां भाषण किया है। मैं

यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि आपको इन योजनाओं की utility कितनी हुई और आपको कितना फायदा हुआ है? बच्चों का drop-out कितना घटा है या बढ़ा है, आपने इस पर भी विचार किया है या नहीं? सर्वशिक्षा अभियान में बच्चों को कैसी शिक्षा मिल रही है? क्या उनको चपरासी वाली शिक्षा मिल रही है, बड़े बाबू वाली शिक्षा मिल रही है या आई.ए.एस. वाली शिक्षा मिल रही है? इस पर भी आपको विचार करना पड़ेगा। मिड-डे-मील में आपने करोड़ों रुपए लगाए हैं। आपको यह देखना पड़ेगा कि बच्चों को जो मिड-डे-मील मिल रहा है, वह सही मिल रहा है या गलत मिल रहा है, क्योंकि यहां पर utility of money का सवाल उठता है। अगर utility of money के बारे में आप विचार नहीं करेंगे तो फिर टैक्स का मार्जिन बढ़ाना पड़ेगा और unutilised money का कोई फायदा नहीं हो रहा है, उसके बारे में आपको बहुत समस्या होगी। मैं इन तीन विषयों पर आपका ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ तथा इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ। धन्यवाद।

**श्री उपसभापति:** अहलुवालिया जी, वैसे आपकी पार्टी का समय तो समाप्त हो गया है, लेकिन आपको supplementary grants की तरह समय दिया जाता है।

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA (Jharkhand): Hon. Deputy Chairman, Sir, while initiating the debate, hon. LoP spoke in detail on the Appropriation (No.4) Bill, 2011 and on the state of the economy. I am on a limited issue.

Sir, Sikkim is a small State. The merger of Sikkim took place in 1975. Prior to the merger the Sikkim ruler had maintained a register of his subjects, and prior to the merger, many Indian citizens from the mainland, especially, Bengalis, Biharis and Marwaris had settled there to pursue trade and other professions, and permanently settled there. In the Finance Act of 1989 the Government of India provided for exemption under section 10 of the Income Tax Act, 1961 of the income from Sikkim Lottery of Sikkim Government appointed agents who were residents of Sikkim State by inserting clause 26AA. It reads as under and I quote:

"26AA. Any income of a person by way of winning any lottery, the draw of which is held in pursuance of any agreement entered into on or before the 28th February, 1989 between the State Government of Sikkim and the organising agents of such lottery where such person is resident in the State of Sikkim in any previous year."

Sir, I am giving an example of lottery. I am not a supporter of lottery. But I am giving an example of income tax exemption in the case of lottery in Sikkim. In the Finance Act of 2008, for the first time, the Government, in the matter of giving exemptions under section 10 of the Income Tax

Act, 1961 chose to make a discrimination between the Indian citizens whose names were registered in the Register of Sikkim Subjects and the Indian citizens residing in Sikkim prior to 1975 but did not opt to register themselves as Sikkim Subjects because that would tantamount to dual citizenship and violation of Indian law. That was prior to 1975. They have not registered themselves. But after that in the new clause 26AAA inserted in section 10 of the income Tax Act, 1961 through the Finance Act, 2008, it is stated and I quote:

It said, "26 (AAA) in case of individual, being a Sikkimese, any income which accrues or arises to him (a) From any source of the State of Sikkim; or (b) By way of dividend or interest on securities provided that nothing contained in this clause shall apply to a Sikkimese woman who, on or after the 1st day of April, 2008, marries an individual who is not a Sikkimese".

Even they have deprived a woman also. If she marries a non-Sikkimese, she is also deprived of this. They have deprived all the non-Sikkimese from this exemption. The point is, the non-Sikkimese Indian citizens residing in Sikkim have been making fervent appeals for the end of this discrimination but of no avail so far.

My Leader concluded his speech by saying that the Government should come with a big heart. There is a difference between big heart and large heart. This decision in the Finance Act has been taken by a large heart. Big heart is generous and humble, but large heart is a disease. If your heart enlarges, you become a heart patient. The hon. Finance Minister may recall that on 19th October in the Economic Editors' Conference one question was asked to you. There you said, "Yes, I am aware of the problem; I am addressing the issue". Sir, my point is, they are very small in number, but they are deprived of their rights. They are part of Sikkim. They are proud Sikkimese. They are proud that they are the people of Sikkim. But they are deprived of all these rights. This should be withdrawn immediately so that justice can be done to the people of mainland who had settled prior to the merger, before 1975.

Apart from this, I would like to submit that recently we have seen natural calamity, a serious earthquake. The people and the Government were expecting good amount of money for rehabilitation of Sikkim. But the amount given by the Government of India from the Natural Calamity Fund is not sufficient. I hope you would be generous. You should also give money with big heart to

this tiny Himalayan State, which is the only organic State, pollution free State. We should be proud of that. You must come out to help that State and send more relief and rehabilitation material so that they can come forward again. With these two submissions, I conclude. Thank you.

**श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि:** महोदय, मैं आपके माध्यम से माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी से अनुरोध करता हूँ कि उड़ीसा को special package दिया जाए और EPF का interest rate नहीं घटाया जाए!...(व्यवधान)...

**DR. BHALCHANDRA MUNGEKAR (Nominated):** Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I thank you for allowing me to participate in the discussion on the Appropriation (No. 4) Bill, 2011. Before I say something on the Appropriation Bill, I must share my pleasure with this House and compliment and congratulate the Government for taking the stand at the United Nations Climate Change Conference. I was privileged to be a Member of that Parliamentary Delegation along with the Minister, Shrimati Jayanthi Natarajan.

**SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA:** The whole House should compliment the Minister. She got a standing ovation. She is the youngest Minister. While expressing the views of the Government of India, she got a standing ovation there for her articulation. It is a matter of pride.

**DR. BHALCHANDRA MUNGEKAR:** Ahluwaliaji, I am making this point.

**SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA:** The whole House should support this.

**DR. BHALCHANDRA MUNGEKAR:** She had spoken about the Government's stand in unmincing words that as regards climate change the responsibility of the developing countries would be with equity and differentiated responsibility. As it was mentioned just now, 135 nations gave a standing ovation despite the differences. This is one of the greatest achievements of the UPA Government. I want to put this on record. I just want to mention two or three issues. First, obviously, is inflation. I find that sometimes there is confusion. In the entire debate on inflation, there is a failure to distinguish between 'economics of inflation' and 'the political economy of inflation'. There are no two opinions in this House or anywhere in the world that inflation affects poor people adversely by encroaching upon their purchasing power. But, nevertheless, what is the dynamics of inflation? What is the process of inflation? There is inflation in a static economy and inflation in a dynamic economy. If this distinction is not made, then, we shall be beating around the bush.

And, I would submit that inflation, is essentially a result of mismatch between demand and supply. Between 2004-05 and 2010-11, the average annual rate of growth of Indian economy was about 8.5 per cent, which is unprecedented. This is despite the global economic and financial crisis of 2007-09 and India is the only country, other than China, to experience such growth scenario. I congratulate the Government for making it possible. When I hear that the Government does not have the infrastructure policy, that it does not have the monetary policy, that it does not have the financial policy, that it does not have the social policy, I sometimes wonder whether the Government is just operating on the basis of the Newton's First Law of Motion, that it is working on forces from outside. Are all these continuous growth rates of 8.5 per cent - it is even now 6.9 per cent - happening in the absence of any kind of economic policy on the part of the Government? I, absolutely, find it difficult to agree.

This impressive growth rate has been made possible due to the prompt stimulus measures taken by the Government and the Reserve Bank of India that protected the economy from global financial crisis.

Undoubtedly, the money injected in the economy through the stimulus packages contributed to the building up of inflationary pressures in the economy. In fact, a closer examination of the inflationary process in the Indian economy would reveal that it could very well be traced to the counter-cyclical measures adopted by the Government to overcome the global financial crisis. If global economic crisis had not been dealt with by the counter-cyclical financial measures, the Indian economy, as Mr. N.K. Singh was mentioning, would have been at the lower rate of growth than at the higher Hindu rate of growth, that is, six per cent.

Following the commitment to inclusive growth in the Eleventh Five Year Plan, the UPA Government has initiated several flagship programmes such as Mahatma Gandhi NREGA Scheme, Bharat Nirman, NRHM and housing schemes for the poor. It is unprecedented that from 1st April, 1951 till the Eleventh Five Year Plan, the Eleventh Plan was a turning point in India's economic history where 60 per cent allocation of resources, out of Rs.14.45 lakh crores for the first time, have been allocated for the social sectors. Sir, I am closely aware of the shortcomings and anomalies in some of

these things including some corruption. And I would urge upon the Government to rectify these anomalies and improve their implementation for better results. But is it right to underestimate the importance of these schemes and dismiss them which, for the first time, are helping the rural poor in a substantial manner? I shall just mention one such scheme. Under the MGNREGA Scheme alone, nearly 4.5 to 5 crore poor, rural labour households are annually getting employment. In the financial year 2010-11, more than 5.3 crore households got employment through 50 lakh works that generated 250 crore person days' employment. What is gratifying, more than 50 per cent of the workers are belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and a substantial number of them being women. This is, basically, inclusive growth.

I heard the earlier speeches of my respected colleagues on this, without any reference to inclusive growth. We are discussing micro fundamentals of economy; we are discussing the growth trajectory; we are discussing infrastructure. But ultimately for what? Ultimately, purpose of the growth is not to alleviate poverty of the members of the Planning Commission and Members of Parliament for disrupting Houses again and again. Basically, economic growth is for alleviating poverty and destitution of the poor people.

I was talking about dynamics. Increase in money supply is an importance source of inflation. In a growing economy, money supply is bound to increase. Between 2008-09 and 2010-11, the money supply increased by about Rs. 1,20,000 crores. Between 2009-10 and 2010-11 alone, it increased by about Rs.89,000 crores. Between 2009-10 and 2010-11, bank credit to commercial sector increased by Rs.2,67,000 crores. The Budget for 2010-11-12 has provided Rs.3,75,000 crores towards agricultural credit alone. In this context, what is completely lost sight of is, what is called in monetary economics 'the velocity of circulation of money' in a growing economy that tends to rise, which also equally contributes to the inflationary pressures. Sir, this is the dynamics of inflation in a growing economy so far as the demand side is concerned.

During the last four to five years, the Government has been continuously raising the Minimum Support Prices. Each and every political party, day-in-and-day-out, is swearing on the interests and welfare of the farming community. What happened to the procurement prices during the last six-seven years? Let me quote. Between 2004-05 and 2010-11, the Minimum Support Price of paddy (common variety) was raised from Rs.560 to Rs.1000 per quintal. For this year, that is, for 2011-12, it has been further raised by Rs.80 to make it Rs.1080 per quintal. This constitutes a 90 per cent

increase over 2004-05. This has been happening with respect to all major agricultural crops. During this year, for instance, the MSP for Urad dal and other pulses has been increased to about Rs.3400 per quintal. Isn't it a fact that all political parties unanimously swear in the name of the farmers and demand higher Minimum Support Prices? Is it not elementary economics that increase in the MSPs would contribute to a rise in open market prices of the agricultural commodities? Sir, Dr. Ashok Mitra, in his classical work on Terms of Trade and Class Relations, has demonstrated with econometric modelling that whenever you are raising support prices you are providing signal to the market and the market follows the Minimum Support Prices. In no economy in the world you can have immunity from the rise in open market prices once you raise the MSPs.

Sir, what is extremely important is that in order to control the prices, the RBI has taken protective measures and during the last nineteen months it has raised the repo rate thirteen times and it has, to some extent, affected the rate of growth. But having followed it closely, I understand that even by raising the repo rate thirteen times during 19 months, the RBI has not allowed the rate of growth to be substantially affected.

Sir, times are changing very fast in the global economy. So far as the Indian economy is concerned, the cumulative effect of these changes is that the rupee is depreciating very fast. I urge upon the Hon. Finance Minister that this is not only making our imports costlier but with the growing import intensity of exports, the exports are affected. This would adversely affect the trade balance and ultimately widen the current account deficit. I, therefore, suggest that the RBI should make appropriate intervention in the matter.

Sir, coming to inflation proper, the Wholesale Price Index of food inflation has moderated to 6.8 per cent in March, 2011 after reaching 20 to 22 per cent in February, 2010. Of its two components, primary food inflation touched the historic high of 21.85 per cent in February, 2010 and, thereafter, declined to 9.41 per cent in March, 2011. Manufactured products also showed a similar trend. I compliment the Hon. Finance Minister for taking some measures to contain the prices of essential commodities that included select food items on exports and futures trade in food grains, zero import duty on select food items, import of pulses and sugar by public sector undertakings, distribution of imported pulses and edible oils, through public distribution system, and release of

higher quota of non-levy sugar. In addition, the State Governments were empowered to act against hoarders of food items, by holding in abeyance the removal of restrictions on licensing, stock limits and movement of food articles under the Essential Commodities Act, and so on.

Sir, prices of petrol, diesel and kerosene are seriously affecting inflation and they are extremely sensitive and no expert knowledge is required to spell out the impact of rise in their prices on the overall structure of the cost of production in the economy and how they fuel the cost-push inflation.

Sir, coming from the teaching profession myself and not being a politician *per se*, I refrain from scoring political points and yet I am constrained to mention that in April 1988 when NDA first formed the Government, the price of crude oil in the international market was 12.50 dollars per barrel and, in May, 2004, when NDA was voted out of power, it rose to 36.25 dollars per barrel. Despite such overall stability in the international crude oil prices, the available information shows that the NDA Government increased the prices of petrol 21 times and that of diesel 24 times! I would like to quote from the Economic Times of 28th June, 2008: "The Vajpayee led NDA regime, which increased fuel prices gradually throughout its tenure, went scot-free even as it raised prices of PDS kerosene and diesel by 258 per cent and 110 per cent respectively. The UPA government, on the other hand, tried to shield people till the fag end of its five year term, that is, 2008-09, and felt penalised for keeping prices of PDS kerosene unchanged and raising the price of diesel by only 60 per cent in its regime." This was despite the fact that during the first four years of the UPA-I the international oil prices had increased by 203 per cent. I thank the Government for rolling back the recent rise in petrol prices and for showing concern towards the *aam aadmi*.

Sir, now having said this, I would like to make the following suggestions for the consideration of the Hon. Finance Minister. I am democrat to the core; because I believe in the right of criticism. That is why I do not believe in the authoritarian Government; I do not believe in any kind of dictatorial Government. But, when I hear the criticism without any kind of concrete alternative suggestions to the Government, I fail to understand the entire purpose of the debate. I would make now specific quick suggestions, regarding the inflation control, to the Government, to the Hon. Finance Minister, before I come to two-three other important points.



Sir, it is a fact that during the last 15 years, Indian agriculture is suffering from a crisis. During the last 10 years, more than 2 lakh farmers committed suicide. This is the culminating result of the sustained agrarian crisis. On 4th May, 2010, in my maiden speech, I had mentioned that continuously during the last 15 years, the investment in agriculture, as a proportion of GDP, is declining. This is the major crisis which is responsible for the demand and supply gap.

Sir, pulses form the most important protein source for the poor. They cannot afford meat, egg and fish. What worries me is the fact that per capita net availability of pulses per day during the decade 1951 to 1960, the first decade after Independence, was 66.4 grams, and it declined to 44.6 grams during 1999-2008. We have been talking of the Second Green Revolution during the last 40 years. It is too late. By this time, we should have actually the Third Green Revolution.

Sir, we have to seriously think about amending a plethora of Agricultural Produce Marketing Acts that make agricultural produce market imperfect -- that is, oligopolistic. These Acts and regulations protect the vested interests in the rural areas more than in the urban areas.

Sir, the public distribution system is the most important instrument to control inflation and is suffering from several shortcomings including the rampant corruption. Therefore, it needs total restructuring, rehauling and reorientation. Sir, we are privileged today to have more than 60 MT of foodgrains and I do not think there is any justification for rising prices of food grains such as rice and wheat.

Sir, distribution of kerosene through public distribution system has become a big failure, as, according to my ordinary guess, 40-50 per cent of the public distribution system kerosene goes to the petrol pumps for adulteration.. Something drastically needs to be done in this. I had suggested in my maiden speech that the BPL families should be given a one-time subsidy for installation of LPG cylinders and the kerosene subsidy should be totally eliminated in a phased manner for over a period of four to five years.

Sir, I submit to the Hon. Finance Minister that the futures trading should be totally banned at least for the essential commodities for a foreseeable future. The prices of fruits and vegetables are absolutely vulnerable and are fluctuating. In this context, I beg to express my concern towards the recent decision of the Government to allow 51 per cent in FDI in multi-brand trade and 100 per cent in

the single brand trade. There is no doubt in my mind that our entire agricultural marketing system needs a total restructuring. But, my concern with respect to FDI in retail market is related to employment. According to the National Sample Survey Organisation' report of 2009, the retail sector provides 35 million jobs of which 20 million in urban areas and 15 million in rural areas. This means, it is providing livelihood to about 170 million people in the country. Since the problem of unemployment is becoming very acute every day, what is the impact of this decision on employment/unemployment needs to be carefully seen.

I would like to suggest to the Hon. Finance Minister that the Government should take initiative in opening up thousands of retail shops on the pattern of Kendriya Bhandars in Delhi for fruits and vegetables in all cities with population, say, more than one lakh. Sir, Kendriya Bhandars on Delhi pattern, if they are opened in all the cities having population between one and two lakhs, then, we will be giving substantial relief to both consumers and producers.

Sir, my seventh point is, people perceive that no strong deterrent measures and actions have been taken against the hoarders, profiteers and black-marketeers. The people feel that they are at the mercy of the anti-social elements. I, therefore, suggest the Government to take stern action in this regard, as far as possible.

Sir, I would raise two or three issues very quickly. Sir, so far as social justice is concerned, I had mentioned last time that when we discuss poverty, the discussion becomes statistical in nature. The entire discussion on poverty — Rs.26, Rs.32, one dollar, two dollars -- without referring to the social groups as to who are poor, becomes a statistical exercise. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, minorities, particularly Muslim community, rural widows, unemployed, helpless and destitutes are forming more than 75 per cent of the poor people. The entire debate during the last 40-50 years on poverty is absolutely devoid of which are the social groups which are poor. Sir, I have sufficient data, so far as the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are concerned. Sir, there are two schemes. One is the Special Component Plan for the Scheduled Castes, and the other is the Tribal Sub-Plan for Tribals. Both of them together constitute 25 per cent. The Planning Commission had appointed the Task Force, which exempted 41 Ministries out of 61 that they need not pay

anything to the Special Component Plan and the Tribal Sub-Plan. I urge upon the Finance Minister and the Government to withdraw this Report, and restore the earlier policy of the allocation of Plan funds for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on the basis of their population that has been in practice since 1974-75 and 1979 respectively.

Sir, there is one related issue. The House might be aware that in Maharashtra, the people who consider Dr. Ambedkar as their gospel are demanding 12 acres of land for that Chaityabhoomi Development Project. The Chaityabhoomi is called Chaityabhoomi because Dr. Ambedkar was cremated there. I urge upon the Hon. Finance Minister and the entire Government that before this issue escalates, and becomes full-fledged confrontation between the followers of Dr. Ambedkar -- since we believe in social justice -- and the Government, and the entire House shall join with me, to give that 12 acres of land, disregarding its price, for the development of Ambedkar Chaityabhoomi. That will be a tribute to Dr. Ambedkar, so far as social justice is concerned.

Sir, another important issue is regarding women and child development. When I was hearing the speeches, I did not hear anything about the social sector development. We are talking of empowering of women. In Rajya Sabha, we have already passed the Bill giving 33 per cent reservation to women in the Central Legislature. We have made 50 per cent reservation for women in the local self-governing bodies. Sir, women in this country are not allowed to be born! What is the ratio of women per thousand of men? It was 971 women in 1951, as against, in 2001, they were just 931. The ratio increased; from 927 in 1991 to 931 during a period of ten years. Is this the kind of empowerment we are talking of? What is the stand of the Government on this issue? I am surprised to know that even the political class in the country is not sensitive to what is disgracefully called as 'honour killing'. When we are talking of culture, and when we are teaching culture to the entire world, and we say this is the land of culture, this 'honour killing' is happening in our country. Is there any country in the world where lovers, boy and girl, 16, 17, 20, 25 years of age are kidnapped and they are burnt alive just because they are loving each other, they disgracefully called as honour killing? There is no word in the dictionary to describe this kind of disgraceful act. I urge upon the Government not to treat honour killing on par with normal killings or normal murders, and the Government should enact a law immediately, to deal with such incidents. The last point is about atrocities against the

Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Sir, this country never suffers because of the scarcity of Acts. Prof. Dantewala, who was my professor, told me that this country does not suffer from the scarcity of Acts, from the famine of Acts. It suffers because of non implementation of the Acts or the bad implementation of the good Acts. Five thousand Scheduled Caste women are annually raped so far as the Report of the Scheduled Castes Commission is concerned. This country is not agitated even for a single time on this. There has not been a motion of adjournment for a single time on this. Therefore, people will ask the question, which Ambedkar asked Gandhi in the Round Table Conference, "Mr. Gandhi, I do not have motherland." In order to provide satisfactory answer to this question, I think the Government must adopt serious measures to deal with the menace of atrocities against the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Thank you very much, Sir.

SHRI KUMAR DEEPAK DAS (Assam): Sir, this is a Bill which has been passed by Lok Sabha. I would like to give some observations in the light of the discussion by our hon. Members. The Government is actively pursuing the economic reforms for the sustainable growth of our economy. Sir, my suggestion is that the Government should more and more concentrate on micro economic policies to promote growth, develop products as well as financial markets and increase social spending for providing a stronger foundation to protect the poor. The growth rates projected by the World Economic Outlook, WEO, for the year 2011-12 are 6.6 per cent and 6.4 for emerging and developing economies and 8.2 per cent and 7.8 per cent for India. Now the growth rates for emerging and developing economies and for India projected by WEO for the year 2012 is less than that for 2011. Sir, it means the growth has shown a declining trend. On the other hand, we must understand that we will have a due role to reduce unemployment. The present economic growth fails to reduce unemployment. In its latest Country Overview of India, the World Bank says, "A long section of the population, especially the poor, the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes, minorities and women lack access to the resources and opportunities needed to reap the benefit of the economic growth." Sir, the unemployment rate in India was last reported at 9.4 per cent in fiscal year 2009-10. From 1983 to 2000, the unemployment rate averaged at 7.20 per cent reaching historically high of 8.30 per cent in December 1983 and a record low of 5.99 in December 1994. There is every need for greater investment in infrastructure as priority for generating employment. I should mention here that resources mobilization on the part of the Government is

tardy as well as it fails to tap new avenues. What the Government needs to do is to exercise its fiscal power formulating and enacting good structured policies that will encourage growth and employment. The Government should take more effective steps to boost up agriculture productivity, modernizing agriculture and cutting the fiscal deficit and should sharply enhance farm productivity and control inflation.

Sir, now I am coming to my State, Assam. My State Assam is the largest State in the North-Eastern Region. Sir, Assam has a moderate growth rate of 5.3 per cent between 2000-01 and 2009-10 as compared to country's average of 8.7 per cent. Large scale illegal migration has eaten up the whole economy and development process of our State. Our economy is dominated by service and agriculture sector. Going into the details of sectoral growth experience of the States, out of 78.44 lakh hectares, only 23.86 lakhs hectares (excepting tea plantation area) is not cropped. Assam is a major producer of rice and tea in the country. Tea is the major industry in Assam. It provided huge opportunity in employment. But tea industry now is in a stress. After tea, the petroleum refinery industry is at Guwahati, Bongaigaon, Numaligarh besides Digboi. But, these refineries are also in stress. The new financial decision taken by the Government on Excise duty and Customs duty affects the refineries in the North-Eastern Region very much. I urge upon the Government to fix the Excise and Customs duty earlier. ...(*Time bell rings*)... Sir, I want only one minute. Every year, considerable portion of the cropped area has been chronically affected by floods and droughts. Let the Government take steps to take flood and erosion problem of the State as a national problem. Let it take steps to adopt more scientific and progressive methods to save the cropped land as well as life and properties of the State for speedy economic growth. State needs change of the presently dominated traditional service by the business services like IT and ITES industry in the State. Sir, corruption is the one of the main hurdles in our sustainable growth of economy. Let us take the example of food and public distribution system. We are talking about development of *aam admi*. It is a fact that according to Chief Economic Advisor, Government of India, 44 per cent of the foodgrains meant for the poor never reach them through the Public Distribution System. Sir, you will be surprised to note that at the tune of Rs. 30,000 crores PDS...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI KUMAR DEEPAK DAS: Sir, I am concluding. It has been unearthed in our State that

there is corruption to the tune of Rs. 30,000 crore in PDS by way of issuing fake ration cards. I urge upon the Government to look at such type of serious problems and such type of serious issues so that they can be resolved and the State. As a whole, India can go for a sustainable growth of economy. Thank you very much.

SHRI NARESH GUJRAL (Punjab): Sir, India clocked an enviable growth of almost nine per cent in the five years from 2003 to 2008. This made us optimistic that we could perhaps have a double digit growth and soon our economy would overtake that of China. Unfortunately, thanks to the miserable performance of UPA-II which is not only a prisoner of indecision, but, also perhaps the most corrupt that the country has witnessed after the Independence of India. There is a sense of despondency, gloom and pessimism all around. Only blaming the world financial crisis for all the ills that face our economy would be too simplistic. Sir, there are several initiatives that the Government needs to take and should have taken. The foremost initiative should be in the field of agriculture. Although it comprises only 15 per cent of our GDP yet almost two-thirds of our population is dependent on it.

The foremost challenge before the Government is to step up agriculture production and productivity. For this, we have to make agriculture a viable business. Today, overwhelming majority of the farmers, all over the country, is mired in deep debt. They are dependent on *Artiyas* and money-lending sharks in the absence of organized farm credit facilities. To make matters worse, the MSP that they get is not in line with the cost of production. For example, in the last one year, prices of fertilizers have gone up by almost 60 per cent to 70 per cent. Seed prices have gone up by more than 25 per cent and fuel/energy prices have gone up by more than 40 per cent. Yet, the MSP has gone up by merely 10 per cent to 12 per cent. Since this Government came to power, the MSP of wheat and rice has gone up by only 8.5 per cent and 9.5 per cent per annum compounded whatever the other figures show. As a result, we see thousands of farmers committing suicide every year.

Sir, we have millions of tons of foodgrains rotting in the open. Yet, the poor go hungry to bed. Why have we not invested in modern storage facilities? The Government needs to rope in the private sector to set up modern silos which would help in eliminating waste as well as theft.

I would like to suggest to the hon. Finance Minister, like in the case of power generation, the Government should allow a predetermined rate of return on investment to the private sector, say 14

per cent or 15 per cent, to set up silos and provide infrastructure status to this industry so that bank credit is available to this sector. Engineers India Limited or any other Government agency can be asked to design and work out the cost of setting up of silos. You will see an overnight change in the investment scenario in this sector and millions of tonnes of our foodgrains are saved.

The second challenge before the Government is expanding our employment base. We have to put millions of our young people to work and make them a national asset and not a liability. For that, we need to invest in education and especially in skill development.

Our experience with the 7,000 odd ITIs has not been very encouraging. Again, we need to involve the private sector if we are to bridge the gap between demand and supply. We churn out 3.5 lakh engineers every year, but barely a quarter are employable.

May I suggest to the hon. Minister that in the next Budget, please give a weighted deduction for expenses incurred in establishing and running skill development centres to companies. Similarly, corporate that hire people from these skill development centres should get some credits when it comes to payment of excise by way of incentivizing them to hire more people.

This brings me to a very important point of labour reform. Right now, there is a perverse incentive to push labour into the unorganised sector. Liberalization of labour laws need not necessarily be anti-labour. We must have a compassionate policy, but it does not mean that this subject should be a closed chapter for all times to come. If we have to compete with China and make India an industrial and manufacturing hub to ensure jobs for our young population, then labour reforms is the need of the hour. I hope the hon. Finance Minister, with his well-known persuasive skills, would be able to build a broad consensus on this issue as well along with the FDI in multi-product retail and GST.

Finally, I would like to reiterate that a stable and predictable macro economic environment is a pre-requisite for growth. May I suggest to the hon. Finance to revisit the MGNREGA to ensure that it not only generates employment but more importantly creates assets and enhances productivity for the economy. As things stand, this scheme has only created a shortage of labour for labour-intensive industry as well as agriculture without creating any corresponding asset or increasing productivity. Unfortunately, in this Government, power and responsibility are totally divorced -- the Government

keeps on wasting money on populist schemes without a delivery mechanism in place, with only an eye on the elections and not the economy. I would only like to remind the hon. Finance Minister that in the ultimate analysis it is only good economics that makes good politics. Finally, Sir, I have six suggestions for the hon. Finance Minister's consideration: (1) Simplify the rules of taxation under the new tax code. Discretionary powers of assessing officers should be eliminated. Clearly define what is short term, long term and business income. Presently, huge bribes are being demanded by some unscrupulous assessing officers because of lack of clarity on this issue. Reduce the direct taxes and increase the indirect taxation so that savings are encouraged and consumption is taxed; (2) while I welcome the package that the hon. Finance Minister has given to his home State of West Bengal, I would like to remind him that Thirteenth Finance Commission had recommended that the case of West Bengal, Kerala and Punjab should be considered. I hope the Finance Minister will not ignore the claims of the Punjab, the Prime Minister's home State; (3) we used to have the Food For Work Programme in the 70's. Since the country has unmanageable reserves of food stock, the MNREGA should be amended by giving some food and some cash for those covered under this scheme. It would help contain food inflation as well as wastage of our food reserves; (4) the country is headed for huge power shortages because fuzzy environmental concerns have put the brakes on the development of our coal reserves. A fast-track GoM should be constituted to provide clarity on the issue and give expeditious clearances to projects which are held up; (5) Hasten the privatization programme. The Government is no where near its target for the year. This would reduce the pressure on banks as Government's borrowings would be reduced and it would help in containing the deficit; (6) may I suggest that the Government re-calibrate the currency? I would suggest the hon. Minister to please remove, at least, one zero, if not two zeros from the currency. The currency has lost value in the last sixty years. This would help in (a) eliminating black money that has been stashed away; (b) eliminating the counterfeit currency that is circulating in the market today. Thank you, Sir.

DR. ASHOK S. GANGULY (Nominated): Sir, I was not planning to say anything, but I could not resist from making a few points. And, as usual, I will take two minutes. Whenever the Budget deficit grows, it is a sad event. I can't see that the Finance Minister is listening to all the speeches



6.00 P.M.

with a great happiness. But it is indeed a very sad event that our deficit is growing. I don't wish to quote statistics, I don't wish to go into depth because my friends have done that. India is losing a golden moment to get out of the gloom. All major reforms, in recent days, have been blocked. Let us not forget that; let us not tell the Finance Minister how to run the finances of this country alone. We are all responsible. People are apprehensive the way this House wishes the nation to move and in what direction. People are waiting for direction from this House and the Lower House. They are not looking to us to quote statistics to the Finance Minister. It is not too late yet to reverse our self-inflicted setbacks. Let us not blame each other. Nature has been very kind to us. Nature will not continue to be kind forever. Let us not turn our backs on the India story by making this country, which has got everything going for it, into a country that falls prey to its own ill wishes. Mr. Finance Minister, I wish you all the best. You don't have an easy task. We are not making it any easier for you. But we wish you all the best. I have watched you for the last forty years. You have led this country's finances with great skill.

I am only praying that you are able to rise to the challenges that we face with the help and support of all of us in this House, in order to understand the gravity that this country and every Indian is facing and not pretend that we have solutions to some of the insurmountable problems we face. I thank you, Mr. Deputy Chairman, for this opportunity for a brief talk.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The debate on the Appropriation Bill is concluded. The reply to the debate and passing of the Bill will be made tomorrow.

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## MESSAGES FROM THE LOK SABHA

### (I) The National Capital Territory of Delhi Laws (Special Provisions)

Second Bill, 2011 - *laid on the Table.*

### (II) The Life Insurance Corporation (Amendment) Bill, 2011 -

*laid on the Table.*

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Sir, I have to report to the House the following messages received from the Lok Sabha, signed by the Secretary-General of the Lok Sabha:-