

The House reassembled after lunch at two minutes past two of the clock,

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN *in the Chair*

SHORT DURATION DISCUSSION

Economic situation in the country

श्री उपसभापति: माननीय सदस्यगण, शॉर्ट ड्यूरेशन डिस्कशन से पहले, माननीय चेयरमैन साहब ने सदन को एक सूचना देने के लिए कहा है। आम तौर पर शॉर्ट ड्यूरेशन डिस्कशन, माननीय मंत्री जी के जवाब समेत, ढाई घंटे में पूरा होता है। लेकिन कुछ वरिष्ठ सदस्य माननीय चेयरमैन साहब से मिले और इस विषय के महत्व को देखते हुए और अधिक समय देने का आग्रह किया, इसलिए अब माननीय चेयरमैन साहब के निर्देशानुसार यह बहस, माननीय मंत्री जी का जवाब छोड़ कर, ढाई घंटे चलेगी। इस बढ़े हुए समय के अनुसार ही विभिन्न दलों का टाइम एलोकेशन हुआ है।

आप सभी इस समय सीमा का कृपया स्वतः पालन करें।

श्री आनन्द शर्मा (हिमाचल प्रदेश): माननीय उपसभापति महोदय, आज इस चर्चा के माध्यम से मैं सदन और सरकार का ध्यान देश के सामने जो एक गंभीर आर्थिक संकट है, उसकी तरफ दिलवाना चाहता हूँ। भारत का अर्थतंत्र पिछले कुछ वर्षों में चरमरा गया है, जो देश के लिए गहरी चिंता का विषय है। आर्थिक प्रगति ठहर सी गई है। देश का जीडीपी निरंतर गिरता जा रहा है। कारखाने बंद हो रहे हैं, रोजगार टूट रहा है। मांग टूट रही है, बाजार टूट रहे हैं, लोगों के पास आम ज़रूरतों की और आवश्यक चीज़ें खरीदने के लिए पैसा नहीं है। गांवों में स्थिति और भी गंभीर है। देश का कृषि क्षेत्र गहरे संकट से गुजर रहा है। भारत का किसान त्राहि-त्राहि कर रहा है। अमीर और गरीब के बीच में खाई बढ़ती जा रही है।

This widening gap between the rich and the poor is frightening. In the last five years, the share of the one per cent of the rich people in the country in the national wealth has gone up from 40 per cent to 60 per cent. Ten per cent of the rich have four times the share of wealth than the rest 90 per cent of the population of India. So, just in five years, as I have given the numbers, this gap has gone up. The situation, which we are witnessing today, cannot be called a slowdown or merely a recession. It can no more be explained away as cyclical, structural or linked to the global developments. We are staring at a deepening economic crisis which is India specific. Sir, we all know that primarily the economy runs on four engines;

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investments, public and private; factory output; the credit off-take to the industry and the exports of the country. All these four engines are shutting down and that is what the concern is. The numbers are frightening. I consider it my duty to place them on record, and hon. Finance Minister, who is definitely aware, I am sure, of all, what I am going to say. The GDP of the country has fallen to 5 per cent, which is the lowest in the last seven years. The investment rate of India, which had gone up to 36.4 per cent in 2012, has come below 30 per cent, there is a fall of seven percentage points. Sir, that includes both the public investment and the private investment which has gone down very steeply. I will definitely place the figures on record. Our index of industrial production of the factory output is minus 4.3, the biggest fall since the year 2012. The contraction of manufacturing in India is 3.9 per cent, which has led to factory closures, worker's layoffs and mounting job losses. In the last few months alone, with the two critical sectors, the auto industry and the textiles industry, in crisis, we have lost close to 2.5 million jobs. The unemployment rate in the country has gone up. I have the data which cannot be contested, the NSSO data says highest of the last forty-five years. The latest CMIE's data says 8.5 per cent is the rate of unemployment. Historically, our maximum unemployment rate was up to 3 per cent. So, if it is 8.5 per cent, we have to bear this in mind that the opening unemployment rate as any economist would know would be 20-22 per cent because every citizen is not employed, and the labour participation rate that data is a telling number. It has fallen to 43 per cent. I want to point out that only 39 per cent of the working age Indians are employed, and 61 per cent are unemployed. The capital goods formation of our country has touched seven year low again at minus 21 per cent. The passenger vehicle's production has declined—I am talking about this financial year numbers— by 24 per cent. The commercial vehicles have declined the production by 62 per cent. Sir, we have these numbers. When we are looking at the investment part, which I mentioned to, in such situations, it is expected that the Government will take measures to spur investments both in public sector and the private sector and also increase the Government's capital expenditure. But, Sir, what is the situation? The national investments, as I have mentioned, have fallen steeply. But, the Central Government's capital expenditure, in the last five years, has come down by over 3 per cent. So, Government's own capital expenditure has come down. Given the state of the

economy, the private sector does not have much money to invest, and, the corporate investments, which stood at 15 per cent in 2012, went down to 2.5 per cent in 2017, and, now are hovering at zero. Why do I say so? Again, the latest data released confirmed that the credit off-take to the commercial sector has declined by 88 per cent. That is the fall, Sir! It is close to ₹ One lakh crore having fallen from ₹ 7.38 lakh crores. This is the situation of the credit off-take to the industry. So, private sector is not investing; factories are not producing; and, Government is not spending because there is no money. Our people are losing trust. Economies run and grow and become healthy, if there is confidence and if there is trust. लोगों का विश्वास टूटा है, निवेशकों का विश्वास भी टूट गया है और उद्योग जगत का विश्वास टूटा है, इसलिए प्राइवेट सेक्टर के पास कर्जा उठाने की हिम्मत नहीं है। अभी पुराना कर्जा भी देना बाकी है। दुर्भाग्य से हमारी बैंकिंग व्यवस्था में लोगों का विश्वास कमजोर हुआ है, इससे कोई इन्कार नहीं कर सकता है। हमारी डोमेस्टिक सेविंग्स, जो मुख्य आधार हैं, जहां से हमारी इकोनॉमी के लिए पैसा आता है, वह कम से कम पांच प्रतिशत कम हुई है। यह 34.6 प्रतिशत से गिर कर 30 प्रतिशत के आसपास है, पर जो हाउसहोल्ड्स सेविंग्स हैं, उनमें बहुत बड़ी गिरावट आई है। वह 23.6 प्रतिशत से गिर कर 17 प्रतिशत पर आ चुकी है। इसका क्या कारण है? देश में यह जो गंभीर स्थिति है, क्या यह अचानक पैदा हुई या उसके पीछे कोई और भी कारण है? सरकार की नीति, सोच, निर्णय - इसमें कोई दो राय नहीं कि हमारा जो असंगठित क्षेत्र है, भारत के जीडीपी का 40 परसेंट इस क्षेत्र से आता है और 90 परसेंट रोजगार इस क्षेत्र में पैदा होता है, वह तकरीबन टूट गया है - यह सबसे बड़ा मुख्य कारण है। इसका क्या कारण है कि न मांग है, न फैक्ट्री का उत्पादन है और गाँवों के अंदर लोगों के पास आम जरूरत की चीजें खरीदने का पैसा नहीं है? सरकार भले ही इससे इन्कार करे, लेकिन इसके दो मुख्य कारण हैं। पहला, 8 नवम्बर, 2016 का demonitisation का गलत फैसला, जिसका इफेक्ट पूरे असंगठित क्षेत्र पर, पूरी ग्रामीण इकोनॉमी पर और पूरे देश के उद्योग पर आज साफ दिखता है, यह एक हकीकत है। बेहतर है कि सरकार इस पर गौर करे। यह राजनीति की बात नहीं है। मैं राजनीति के लिए यह बात नहीं कह रहा हूँ। आँकड़े सच बोलते हैं, आजकल तो आँकड़ों पर भी झगड़ा है। भारत ने अपने डेटा की credibility पर दुनिया में प्रश्नचिह्न लगा दिया है। अगर unemployment पर NSSO का डेटा आता है, तो उसको रोका जाता है, consumption का जो डेटा आता है, उसको रोका जाता है।

भारत एक बहुत बड़ी इकोनॉमी बनी है। आप चाहे कुछ भी कहें, इसमें निरंतर बढ़त हुई है, 1991 के बाद तेजी से हुई है। जब दूसरे दल, यानी बीजेपी की पहले सरकार थी, वाजपेयी जी प्रधान मंत्री थे, तब भी इकोनॉमी बढ़ी थी और जब डा. मनमोहन सिंह जी प्रधान मंत्री थे, तब जो इनको मिला, उससे चार गुना करके, छोड़ कर गए, यह भी एक सच्चाई

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है। वित्त मंत्री जी उसको अच्छी तरह से जानती हैं। इनके पास भी आकड़े हैं, उससे इन्कार नहीं किया जा सकता है। एक बड़ा कारण वह रहा और दूसरा, जो छोटा उद्योग है, उस पर जीएसटी का प्रभाव पड़ा। जीएसटी जल्दबाजी में लाया गया। शायद वित्त मंत्रालय के अधिकारी भी भूल चुके होंगे, अचानक तो वे भी नहीं बता पाएंगे और बड़े आदर के साथ कहूँ तो मैं भी एकदम से नहीं बता सकता और शायद वित्त मंत्री भी न बता पाएँ कि जीएसटी के रेट्स में कितनी बार चेंजेज करने पड़े। सबसे complex GST we imposed in haste which further wrecked the unorganised sector. The small and micro enterprises were subjected to a huge compliance burden. In this House, when the constitutional amendment was brought in, the Government and the Opposition reached an understanding. We had urged you to not impose it in haste; have a trial run; genuinely assist the medium and small industries; and prepare them for this big change. But that did not happen. Now what is the situation today? I want to draw the attention of the House and of the Finance Minister and the Government to it. We are staring at an alarming fiscal deficit. It is not what the Government is claiming. It is not about the Government and the Opposition. It is about India's economy. The Government's revenue target in the Budget is ₹24.6 lakh crore. But what has actually happened? What we have got up to now is ₹9.2 lakh crore. That is in the first six months of this financial year. To meet the revenue target of the Budget you have direct taxes, income tax, customs, excise, GST and corporation taxes. We have got ₹9.2 lakh crore. That number is for the April-September period. So, ₹15.4 lakh crore have to come in the next six months. That is why I used the word 'alarming'. From where will this money come? That is the question. That is the concern. Last year, we had a deficit of close to ₹1.7 lakh crore, घाटा था और उसे पूरा करने के लिए - आप budget देख लें, Revised Estimates देख लें, जो माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी का फरवरी में आया था - रिजर्व बैंक की सारी की सारी आमदनी और जो हमारा contingency reserve buffer है, उसका एक लाख, 76 हजार करोड़ ले लिया। मान लीजिए इससे घाटा पूरा हो गया, लेकिन अब जो मौजूदा घाटा है, उसके लिए आप क्या करेंगे? जैसा कि मैंने अभी जिक्र किया कि जीएसटी में कमी है। जब फैक्ट्री बंद है, तो जीएसटी कौन देगा? उद्योग टूट गया, तो कहाँ से टैक्स आएगा? भारत सरकार को कई बार घोषणाओं के बावजूद, उद्योगों को दस लाख करोड़ रुपए के टैक्स रिफंड्स, जीएसटी रिफंड्स और पीएसयूज के अनपेक्षित बिल देने हैं। यह Comptroller and Auditor General की रिपोर्ट है, यह हमारी रिपोर्ट नहीं है। वे कहते हैं कि fiscal deficit is more than five per cent. It is not three per cent what the Government is claiming. But if we factor in

the number that I have just given, I am afraid, the Finance Minister, some drastic measures will have to be taken. We may fiddle with the numbers, but we can't hide. The economy is almost a three-trillion dollar economy. And you are crawling towards 7-8 per cent fiscal deficit if all these bills are to be paid, if you want to revive factory production, if you want to revive economy and if you want to raise demand and also consumption. Sir, the problem is कि सरकार स्थिति की गंभीरता से इन्कार कर रही है। This denial is not going to help. आप भारत के अर्थतंत्र में निवेशकों की, आम जनता की, गरीब इंसान की, किसान की, मजदूर की, उद्योग की विश्वसनीयता को खत्म न करें। कृषि क्षेत्र का जिक्र करना भी जरूरी है। जब तक गाँवों में किसान के पास, गरीब के पास, खेत-मजदूर के हाथ में पैसा नहीं होगा, माँग वापस नहीं आ सकती। The demand cannot return and if that does not return, what will the factories produce and whom will they sell to? कृषि में चार दशमलव से ऊपर जो निरंतर बढ़ोतरी हो रही थी, वह गिरकर दो प्रतिशत पर आ चुकी है। ...**(व्यवधान)**... वह वन परसेंट पर आ गई है। पाँच साल की औसत 2 प्रतिशत रही है। ...**(व्यवधान)**... ठीक है। I stand corrected. You are right. That includes allied services. सर, यह बड़ी गंभीर स्थिति है। आज भी 60 प्रतिशत लोग जीवन-यापन के लिए कृषि पर निर्भर करते हैं।

माननीय उपसभापति महोदय, बीजेपी ने अपने मैनिफेस्टो में एक बात लिखी है। मैं उसको याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ। आपने अभी कहा कि आप पाँच साल में कृषि में 25 लाख करोड़ निवेश करेंगे, यानी कि हर साल 5 लाख करोड़। माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी, आपके बजट में 5 लाख करोड़ का नहीं, केवल 53 हजार करोड़ का प्रावधान किया गया। मैं उसी विश्वसनीयता की बात कर रहा हूँ। The question is of credibility, faith and trust. The farmer must trust that what the Government is saying will happen. The industry must believe. There should be predictability and credibility of policies; not dozens or multiples of changes of your tax rates, which confuses everyone, from officials to the industry, to the people and to the consumers. लेकिन, सरकार ने क्या रास्ता चुना? इतने बड़े घाटे के बावजूद भी, एक साल तो आरबीआई से मिल गया, इस साल क्या मिलेगा? आगे का भी देखना है, चिन्ता है। हमने सोचा कि आप कुछ बचाएँगे, कोई रास्ता निकालेंगे, लेकिन आपने गलत रास्ता निकाला। कॉरपोरेट टैक्स -- मैंने अभी आँकड़े दिए कि अमीर और गरीब के बीच की खाई कितनी बढ़ती जा रही है -- उसको 35 प्रतिशत से घटाकर 25 परसेंट पर ले आए। How is it going to help? Will it revive investments? I have my serious doubts and concerns. The big corporates have huge NPAs. It is not a question of political debate as to when the NPAs started and where they are today. The fact is that from ₹3,00,000 crore, it has gone to ₹11,00,000 crore. This is

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a fact. तो 3 लाख करोड़ से 11 लाख करोड़ क्यों हो गया? पर, आपने कॉर्पोरेट्स को जो यह bonanza दिया है, यह पैसा, they will use it to retire their old debts and to deleverage. They are not going to invest.

सर, समय को देखते हुए मुझे आखिर में यही कहना है कि आपने यह ठीक रास्ता नहीं चुना। यह पैसा गरीब के हाथ में नहीं जाएगा, जिससे माँग बढ़ेगी। जब गरीब के हाथ में पैसा होगा, वह बाजार से कुछ खरीद पाएगा। उसके लिए एक सुझाव दिया गया। मैं सदन में उस बात को रखता हूँ कि आप "मनरेगा" को need based कीजिए। हालात को देखते हुए उसे साल में 150 दिन के लिए कीजिए और "मनरेगा" में एक दिन का 400 रुपये दीजिए, ताकि गरीब के पास पैसा हो, हमारा अर्थतंत्र दोबारा सुधरे, कारखाने काम करना शुरू करें, दुकानों में बिक्री होनी शुरू हो और देश के सामने जो यह गहरी चिन्ता है, वह खत्म हो जाए। पर, अमीर का 10 परसेंट टैक्स कम करके आपने यह दूसरा रास्ता चुना है। दूसरा, आज भी सदन में कहा गया -- मंत्रियों का अधिकार है कि वे सरकार की नीति के बारे में बयान दें, सरकार का अधिकार है कि वह नीति बनाए, पर हमारा अधिकार है कि उस पर विरोध करें। आप 70 साल की बात करते हैं, जो 70 साल में इस देश ने पूंजी बनायी- आज grand clearance sale की योजना होती है, कैबिनेट के फैसले आते हैं- Profit-making PSUs would be sold. Not disinvested but would be sold. Shipping Corporation would be sold, Container Corporation would be sold, Bharat Petroleum would be sold, very cleverly under the Repeal Law, all those Acts of this Parliament, which protected these Public Sector Undertakings, for which there were Supreme Court rulings, have been repealed last year without discussion. So, there is a design. One hon. Minister said today that the Government has no right to be in business. It is a very good saying. Margaret Thatcher also said so. Look at the British economy. They are much bigger than you. Do not say that you are at three trillion, but their population is 65 million and we are 1.3 billion people. What happened to their railways? What happened to their education system? What happened to their manufacturing industry? Britain was a leader of manufacturing in Europe. Today, Britain is a laggard when it comes to manufacturing. We cannot afford this in this country. कृपा करके आप गंभीरता से बात करें। बार-बार 5 ट्रिलियन इकोनॉमी की बात कहना- हम भी चाहते हैं कि 5 ट्रिलियन की जगह 0 ट्रिलियन की इकोनॉमी बनाइए, किंतु वित्त मंत्री जी, 5 ट्रिलियन पर तब पहुंचेंगे, जब हमारी जीडीपी की 9 प्रतिशत बढ़त निरंतर 6 बरस तक होगी, without any break, और हमारी जो नॉमिनल income है, जो ग्रोथ है, वह 12-12.5 प्रतिशत होगी।

मैंने अपनी चिंताएं इस सदन में रखी हैं। संकट गहरा है, इसके समाधान की ज़रूरत है। समाधान केवल दावे और सरकार की घोषणाओं से नहीं होगा, ठोस कदम उठाने चाहिए। आपकी नीति देश के केवल 10 प्रतिशत लोगों के लिए है, 90 प्रतिशत लोगों की अनदेखी हुई है, जिनको गलत फैसलों से चोट पहुंची है, जिसका मैंने उल्लेख किया है, धन्यवाद, जय हिन्द।

श्री उपसभापति: आनन्द जी, धन्यवाद। श्री अश्वनी वैष्णव जी।

SHRI ASHWINI VAISHNAW (Odisha): Sir, at the outset, I thank you for allotting sufficient time to discuss this very important topic which affects every citizen of this country, especially, the large workforce that is entering the economy every year. My case is that this is a cyclical slowdown. Yes it is a slowdown but it is a cyclical slowdown. It is not a structural thing. It is likely to bottom out by March and it would be followed by a solid growth. I would be presenting my case in three parts. First, to understand why we are here. Second, what are the tools that we have and third, what are the structural changes that the Government has brought out to bring that solid growth which would come definitely by the turn of this year. Why are we here? I do not want to make it a political discourse. This is an economic subject which should be discussed through economic policy framework, not through a political framework. The seeds of this slowdown started way back in 2011 to 2013 period when the whole 2G scam happened, the coal scam happened, and the Supreme Court in various judgements cancelled the allocation of natural resources which brought in a huge economic shock. It led to various after effects, especially, in the capital goods industry, in the power generation industry, in the telecom industry where the cost of the entire economic base increased. Then, there was a series of populist schemes which weakened our economic structure, the MGNREGA Scheme and the loan waiver schemes, which focused on consumption instead on focusing on the investment which was there during the Vajpayee period. This was a very big shift in economic policy which really, really weakened our economy in my opinion. Then, there was a reckless capital goods import policy which was driven by removal of import duty. That weakened our entire capital goods industry and the industrial base was significantly weakened during that period. Another very major setback which happened was a series of Free Trade Agreements which had a serious negative impact on the Indian economy, on the Indian industry and on the Indian businesses. So, all these things combined were overall weakening

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the system and the credit and money supply significantly reduced. And that was the time when one of our institutions started tightening the monitoring policy in a very strange way. Sir, I will cover that thing in a slightly more detail during this debate. I will just give some numbers. The M3 supply, money supply, which is a very good indicator of how much money is there in economy, and how the flow is happening, from 1999 to 2004, the quarterly average growth rate was 15.7 per cent; from 2004 to 2009 it was 18.5 per cent; from 2009 to 2014, it started reducing; and from 2014 to 2019 because of certain factors, I would like to cover this point in great detail, it reduced to 9.6 per cent. My point is when the economy is going through turbulence and the invisible hand of the market is absent, that is the time when the Government really steps in. It has to step in to steady the path of the economy. This is the Government which has really stepped in. I would like to cover all those points during this discussion.

The fundamental point that I would like to make is how we should look at the economy. What are the principles that should be driving it? The first and foremost is the national interest. Let us take the case of trade pacts. I again want to go above the political discourse, and would like to see it in the framework of the economic principles. Many of the trade discussions, many of the trade pacts that we had with some of the neighbouring countries and, especially, with many of the South East Asian Countries, the goods which were not even manufactured in those countries, they started getting routing through those countries, and in a very systematic way, started weakening our industry, our businesses and our economy. Whereas this Government took a very strong, even though, globally, it might look a bit away from the normal course of discussion, decision which is in national interest, which I am saying as the first principle of economic policy-making, that the Government decided not to sign the RCEP. This was a major decision. This would have really further weakened our economy in a very big way. I thank the hon. Prime Minister, hon. Commerce Minister that we showed our backbone and we took a clear decision in national interest.

The second principle, I would say, should be that the economic policy should be relevant to our situations. I honestly don't believe that anything which is directly imported from any foreign country, any economic policy or economic idea which is

directly imported from any foreign country would be directly applicable to us. Our needs, our society, our economy, we all have our unique problems. We have our unique issues and unique situations. We have to make our economic policy in line with our relevant situation. This is where I would like to give examples of how the whole unbanked sector of Indian economy was banked by our Government through the Jan Dhan Yojana and through the Mudra Yojana. I would like to touch that in slightly more detail in the later part of this debate.

Third principle is, it should be aligned with our long-term strategy of the nation. The long-term strategy would definitely mean productivity. It should serve the masses and it should, in today's contest, very much aligned to the climate change challenges that we are facing. I would like to cover these points about energy mix and about how the mobility structural change we are addressing, all these points in a slightly more detail. So, with these principles, we believe that, yes, this Government, we have realized the situation, we have understood the gravity of the situation and we have taken steps which have brought the structural changes which will spur the growth again.

Today, there is no economic law that is universally applicable. We have seen decades and decades of communism, socialism, laissez-faire, capitalism and globalization, all these '*isms*' we have seen. My humble request to this House, and, through this House, to the people is that we should now anchor our economic discourse in realism, in pragmatism, and it should be connected with ground reality. Those are the points which have been covered very emphatically by our Government's policy, and would further be taken into consideration. Let us take two examples of realism. We have seen that the infrastructure finance, which is a very core need for economy, is a very unique structure. Take the example of road. Road, basically, pays back in 30 years. Whereas, the typical loan that is given from the banking system today, is just for about five years, seven years, maximum for ten years. How do we match these two differences in the asset and liability of the banks on the one hand and the requirements of the industry on the other? I wanted to say that this is the realism which our Government has brought in. There was a time when the Development Financial Institutions were doing it. But, in the entire commercial banking sector, despite various unrealistic norms, which were set by the institutional mechanism which was supposed to be independent,—my point is that

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it should be inter-dependent—despite those obstacles, we have been able to bring back, today, the credit growth in the economy, especially, in the infrastructure sector. On the small industries and businesses which constitute a very large core of our economy, more than two-thirds of the employment is in the small industries and this is a sector which was almost neglected. Through Jan Dhan Yojana and MUDRA Scheme, without any collateral, a loan up to ₹ 10 lakh is being given to the small sector in a very large way. Very recently, I thanked the hon. Finance Minister that through Loan Melas, she has really brought the credit back into the economy. It is a slightly theoretical point about the fiscal deficit and because hon. Member, Shri Anand Sharma covered this point, I would like to take up this point in a slightly different way. You rightly said that the GDP is driven by four engines, consumption, investment, Government expenses and export minus import, which is the net export. If you look at the history of development of many of the economies like Japan, South Korea, China, Taiwan, which have grown to a level where from third world they have come to the first world within one or two generations, they have not looked at fiscal deficit as a negative thing. You were trying to portray that we have slipped from the fiscal deficit targets, but I would like to put it in a different way. The engine which spurs, drives, triggers the private investment and consumption, is not the engine which comes from within the private investment and consumption. I don't believe that we should be focussing on consumption. I believe that we should be looking at investment as the prime driver of our economy. I will just give one example. In Japan, between 2008 and 2017, the average fiscal deficit was 6.6 per cent. Even at the current stage of China's economic growth, last year there was a railway programme announced for about 230 billion dollars. The country which has 10,000 kilometres of high speed railway, is still putting lots and lots of investment because that is the future. Just throwing away money for consumption is not the way to build a country. The way to build the country is to put the money in investment rather than putting money in consumption and that is the Government's announcement. Investment of ₹ 10 lakh crore per year is the target that we have taken and that is the direction in which we are moving. The structural changes that this Government has brought in to address the challenge of global slowdown which is affecting us and which is also a hangover of the period during which lots of shocks came, are very important to note. First and foremost, the allocation of natural

resources. A very transparent regime has been brought in, executed and has been implemented for allocating natural resources. Second, banking the unbanked— 30 crore Jan Dhan accounts. I remember that there was so much resistance that even one crore accounts, taken as a target, was considered as यह तो बहुत बड़ा target है, यह achieve नहीं कर सकते, यह नहीं हो सकता। But, I really thank the hon. Prime Minister's resolve and his clear conviction that today, we have thirty-seven crore general accounts which are really bringing the unbanked into the banking economy. The other day we were discussing amendment to the Chit Fund Act. There are many different, informal ways in which the economy and the informal sector was running. But, because of this structural change, I do believe that in the coming years, most of the informal sector will have access to good, clean formal credit.

The third very important point is the rural roads. It has brought in such a silent transformation; it has brought in such a major significant impact in the productivity which will bring a sustainable growth, which is actually bringing the sustainable growth, and it will bring the more sustainable growth. Our Government has taken clear direction towards connecting each and every village not only with roads, but also for electricity. Just compare a village of ten years back and a village of today. Today, we have ability to take produce to market. The farmers have ability to take produce to market. There are roads; there is electricity; so, there is ability to store, there is ability to process, and there is ability to connect with the world through the whole tele-density which has increased. The cell phones have gone to each and every household today. Smart phones are available. People know what the price is, and the farmers are getting better price for the produce. That is a major structural change with focus on rural roads, rural energy, rural electrification and rural cell phone penetration.

The fourth major structural shift is towards the GST, Sir. Ask any industry the kind of complexity that we had because of various laws. A truck moving from one end to other end was a nightmare. That entire thing has been simplified. It is nobody's case that everything is all right. Yes, the Government is responsive; it is continuously responding to the challenges and bringing out changes which are needed to further simplify the law and improve the system, and make it easy for doing business in India.

The next major structural change is the Insolvency Law. The behaviour change

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it has brought in is phenomenal. Compare today's entrepreneur with an entrepreneur ten years' back. Where was the focus on costs? There was continuous gold plating. Where was the focus on productivity? People just used to say क्या फर्क पड़ता है? जो cost आ रही है, वह आए, कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ता है। We can always keep on evergreening the loans. Where was the focus on debt management? Where was the focus on risk? The word 'risk' was not even known among the entrepreneurs. Today, Sir, small little things, like self-burning in coal, even those things the entrepreneurs are actually looking at, and that is what I believe will bring in a sustainable growth. I don't believe that growth can be made as a bubble by just supplying credit. It has to be grounded in solid base; it has to be grounded in realism, and that is what this Government's focus is. Despite the criticism that people make, we believe that we are taking strong steps which will create a country and an economy which is resilient to future shocks.

The next major reduction is the tax rate. Shri Sharma tried to criticize it, Sir. But, I would like to bring in a perspective. Our economy and industry was primarily a debt-focussed economy. It was not an equity-focussed economy. Why was it not an equity-focussed economy? Because of certain historical tax distortions, specially, like the dividend distribution tax, because of those taxes, the entrepreneurs would not like to create too much of equity. With this tax rate cut, we have not only become competitive in the global framework, but, we have also created a situation where our entrepreneurs today think of creating more equities, because retained earnings will increase that will help the economy deleverage and be ready for the private investment cycle which will happen after the Government investment triggers the virtuous cycle. These are not small steps. They require lots of guts, and this is the strength our Government has shown, Sir. Our focus of bringing the economy back into track is primarily through investment, as I have said. Hon. Finance Minister will also explain it in detail during the reply. The highway construction programme has, once again, started. All the problems which were there during a period, have now been left behind. With the focus on housing, especially the rural housing through Prime Minister Awas Yojana, where every kachcha house in the country will be converted into a pucca house, imagine the multiplied effect of that investment in a village economy. That is a major difference which will bring to the economy.

Through Jal Jeevan Mission, piped water will go to each and every household; through Ujjwala, already the energy mix has changed. Today, our rural households are having gas connections which not only take away the health hazard but also bring in productivity.

Sir, major investments are planned in railways. So, all these investments together, along with simplifying the whole credit structure,—through MUDRA, through focus on MSME, through simplifying the restructuring norms given by RBI—through all these steps, the country is actually moving towards a situation where we will be looking at a sustainable growth, at a solid growth and not a hollow growth, a growth with a lot of jobs in it, a growth with a lot of employment in it.

Sir, I would like to conclude by saying that I don't say that we don't understand the situation. I say, please don't paint a doom and gloom picture. I have clear faith in India's future. I have clear confidence in this country's resilience. I have clear belief in the resilience of our society and economy. I know that we have a Government which responds with changes, which does not sit silent, which actually takes steps, which are real steps, which are not hollow promises. These are real steps. We have a decisive leader in our Prime Minister. Sir, we will come out of this cyclical slowdown definitely. And we will see a robust growth. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI DEREK O' BRIEN (West Bengal): Sir, there is no doom and there is no gloom. Yes, Sir, the Opposition is exaggerating the whole thing! Let me give you three solid examples where there is no doom and where there is no gloom. One of the biggest industrialist's net worth in a medium-sized State in western India, in the last five years grew by 121 per cent! Where is the gloom? One young entrepreneur from a State; there are many entrepreneurs; but, this entrepreneur may have been from another State in western India. There is, magically, 15,000 per cent growth in the company's net worth! Where is the gloom? This is all positive.

Thirdly, the Guinness Book of World Records is waiting for an application now for the largest organisation, the largest political organisation in the world. Not only the largest, but also the richest! Where is the gloom?

Sir, now, let us come to the economy. I will now talk of an issue because the way we plan this debate in the Opposition is that the first speaker is from the Congress, which would set the foundation for the economy, and the Congress has

[Shri Derek O' Brien]

done; then we expect a counter; we have not got one. So, maybe, we will get one from the Finance Minister. The basic issue today is what? The bigger issue. Why is industry so unsure? Why are people unsure? Sir, my hypothesis today is based on a five lettered word, 'trust'. Allow me to take you through because, to trust somebody, you have to rely on them. They have to have ability. They have to have integrity. Let us put this Government to the test of the trust quotient. One, are they trusted by the people in their own party or in their own organisation? National Register of Citizens came here. Nineteen lakh people have been left out, 11.5 lakh Bengali Hindus and other eight lakhs of Biharis, Gorkhas etc. Their own organisation from their branch in Assam is objecting to that work done. So, where is the trust quotient? Two, do your allies trust you? I am building a hypothesis on trust because if industry trusts you and everybody trusts you. ...*(Interruptions)*... Do your allies trust you? I don't need to say much because all of us have followed very carefully their 29 year-old relationship and what happened? And No Confidence Motion, a few months ago, also came from their biggest ally. Three, what is your trust quotient on industry? ...*(Interruptions)*... The problem is, when we speak, they don't understand what the economy is. That is exactly what is happening now. ...*(Interruptions)*... Does industry trust you? There was a hasty GST. We supported you with GST. We warned you on implementation. Now what has happened? Traders' segment is 43 per cent down, micro segment is 32 per cent - 35 per cent down in the small business and 24 per cent in the medium business. So, industry will not trust you. I have limited points on demonetisation. We warned you from day one, and we raised it on the floor of the House. There was a NaMo app which stated 98 per cent have said demonetisation is great. The former Prime Minister and Finance Minister was here that day and we were all here. Around 120 people lost their lives and we all know about demonetisation! So, you not only demonetised the economy, but, you also demonetised the lives of farmers, you demonetised the lives of the housewives, you demonetised the lives of small traders, you demonetised everybody's lives, and a very interesting thing about this is, the BJP speaker has given a guideline that we should talk about the economy. This is a political economy. This is not a college debating society. On November, 16th, eight days after the demonetisation announcement — this is very important — three Opposition parties walked from here to Rashtrapati Bhawan. One Opposition Party was of mine because

we were the first of the Blocs and the others, the National Conference and we would like to place on record today which we have stated before too. They were warned at that time by their ally. Shri Uddhav Thackeray gave Shiv Sena the permission to walk with the Trinamool Congress eight days after demonetisation. Economy was more important than any other ideology. After that, all of us came together, all 16 parties. Sir, my fourth trust quotient is: can we trust your data? According to Periodic Labour Force Survey, my State did well, but this is not the time to go and talk about my State. This is a bigger picture. Where is it? You didn't release it. Household Consumer Expenditure Report shows that it has declined for the first time in forty years and we all know what Arvind Subramanianji said about the different focus while calculating GDP. Who else don't trust you? What is your trust quotient? What is your trust quotient with the States? Are you compensating the States enough for GST? Rupees eight thousand to nine thousands of crores have not been paid to Punjab, Kerala, Rajasthan, Delhi and Bengal. To Bengal, it is about ₹ 3500 crores. Every State can give various examples of how you have lost the trust quotient. Can the youth of this country trust you? If all these people don't trust you, industry overall will not trust you. Jobs have been lost. In the Textile sector, it is ₹ 3 crores; in casual farm labour, it is ₹ 3 crores; in the mining sector, it is ₹ 13 lakhs; in the auto sector, it is ₹ 10 lakhs; handsets, it is ₹ 2.5 lakhs. Sir, can the housewife trust you? Can the farmer trust you? Can the labourer trust you? Coming to price rise, these are figures from Agmarknet wholesale price. Okay. I would like to quote what the BJP, opening speaker has said. He said, 'This is a theoretical speech.' My speech is not so theoretical, because I have got the wholesale price of onion of last year and this year. If you look at — I am not getting into retail — the overall onion and tomato wholesale prices, there is a huge increase of a couple of 100 per cent!

Sir, this issue of trust is also seen how the family jewels are being sold.
...(Time-bell rings)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have already taken 8 minutes.

श्री आनन्द शर्मा: इस पर दस घंटे की चर्चा होनी चाहिए।

श्री उपसभापति: मुझे माननीय चेयरमैन साहब ने जो बताया है, वह मैंने स्पष्ट किया है।

SHRI DEREK O'BRIEN: Sir, I just wanted to make a request. Will you give me two more minutes?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Okay.

SHRI DEREK O'BRIEN: Thank you, Sir. I appreciate that.

No matter what we say on various parameters — GDP, consumer spending, seven out of eight crore industries saw a contraction in output, etc., — and I am not so good in different languages. But, the hon. Prime Minister, in Houston, gave us that, basically, everything is well in India and he said it so articulately in 6-7 different languages — All is well. But, why should the hon. Prime Minister listen to any of us?

My appeal today is this. I would like to bring to your notice a very nice public statement made earlier. It says, 'Economy is in trouble, youth want jobs, devote more time to economics not to petty politics, please focus on the job at hand.' My request, through you, Sir, to the hon. Prime Minister is to take heed of this advice given to all of us by the former Chief Minister of Gujarat in November, 2013. Self-advice is always the best advice. Thank you.

श्री रवि प्रकाश वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश): उपसभापति जी, मैं आपका आभारी हूँ कि आपने मुझे बोलने के लिए अवसर दिया है। यहाँ बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण मुद्दे पर चर्चा हो रही है और मेरा अनुमान है कि पूरा देश इसको देख रहा होगा, पूरे मतलब के साथ देख रहा होगा, क्योंकि सबको इस बात की बड़ी आशा है कि शायद पार्लियामेंट से कुछ निकलकर आएगा। हमारे पूर्ववर्ती वक्ताओं ने, आदरणीय आनन्द जी ने, देरेक ओब्राइन जी ने इस पर बोला है, वहाँ से भी कई बातें कही गई हैं और मैं अपने आपको कुछ बातों के साथ संबद्ध भी करता हूँ, पर मैं सिर्फ मतलब की बात कहना चाहता हूँ। इसमें कोई doubt नहीं है कि स्लोडाउन है। देश में स्ट्रक्चरल स्लोडाउन है, इसको तो सरकारें मान रही हैं, लेकिन जो पैरामीटर्स हैं, उनको लेकर बहस हो रही है कि इतना नहीं, बल्कि इतना है। जो चीज दिखाई पड़ रही है, वह सामने है। बाजार में पैसा नहीं है, सरकार का जीएसटी पूरा नहीं हो रहा है, revenue targets पूरे नहीं हो रहे हैं। ये कहा करते थे कि देश नहीं बिकने दूंगा, लेकिन मार्च तक संस्थाओं को बेचने का प्रॉमिस कर दिया गया है कि इनको मार्च तक बेच देंगे। यह सवाल बहुत गंभीर है। हमें याद है, सच्चाई तो यह है कि जिस घर की आमदनी गिरती है, वह घर टूट जाता है, जिस फर्म की आमदनी गिरती है, वह फर्म टूट जाती है और जिस देश की आमदनी गिरती है, उस देश को भी बिखरने से कोई बचा नहीं सकता है, क्योंकि priorities सेट नहीं हो पा रही हैं कि प्राथमिकताएँ क्या हैं? हमारे लोगों

3.00 P.M.

को आमदनी चाहिए, इस देश को आमदनी चाहिए और सब कुछ भूलकर, सर, यह तो आर्थिक आपातकाल की स्थिति दिखाई पड़ रही है। ऐसे मौके पर तो सरकार को कम से कम स्वीकार करना चाहिए कि हाँ, हम ऐसे ही मोड़ पर पहुंच चुके हैं, कुछ फैसले गलत हो गए, चलो आओ, सब लोग मिलकर, सारी पार्टियाँ मिलकर ऐसे रास्ते पर चलें, जिससे हम इस देश को अंधेरे से बाहर निकाल लाएं। सर, आज हालात यह हैं कि अगर हमें दो सौ रुपये की तनखाह मिलती है, तो हमें चार सौ रुपये का काम करना चाहिए। अगर हजार रुपये की तनखाह मिलती है, तो दो हजार रुपये का काम करना चाहिए।

हमारे यहाँ लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी प्रधान मंत्री हुए थे, उन्होंने सच को स्वीकार किया था। उस समय जब हालात खराब हुए थे, तो उन्होंने लोगों से अपील की थी कि हम emergency के हालात में हैं, हमारे पास खाने के लिए रोटी नहीं है, चलो, सब लोग मिल कर एक दिन उपवास करेंगे। सर, इस पूरे देश ने उनका अनुगमन किया था।

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री टी.के. रंगराजन) पीठासीन हुए]

आज के हालात हमें warrant कर रहे हैं कि हमारे पास उस caliber का, उस character का, उस आचरण का कोई एक नेता तो होता, जो हमको अंधेरे से बाहर निकाल कर ले आता! हम लोग अंधेरे की तरफ जा रहे हैं और सब लोग apprehend कर रहे हैं। हर आदमी डर रहा है, लेकिन बोलने को कोई तैयार नहीं है। यह कैसी दहशत है? यह कैसी दहशत है कि हम स्वीकार करने को तैयार नहीं हैं कि धीरे-धीरे हम लोग एक ऐसे अंधेरे की तरफ जा रहे हैं, जहाँ पर point of no return आ गया है।

सर, मैं सर्वे पढ़ रहा था। जिस देश में आबादी के बढ़ने की दर के हिसाब से अर्थव्यवस्था के विकास की दर सामान्यतया 7 परसेंट से 8 परसेंट के बीच होनी चाहिए, वहाँ सरकारी एजेंसीज़ कह रही हैं कि यह 4.7 परसेंट है। यह कोई Ind-Ra नामक एजेंसी है, जिसने आज के अखबार में इसे दिया है, मैं 'The Hindu' में पढ़ रहा था। लेकिन जो दूसरी एजेंसीज़ हैं, वे बता रही हैं कि this is something around 3.2 per cent. This is point of no return. आखिर हम क्या चाहते हैं? हमारे वक्ताओं ने कहा कि हमारी demand खत्म हो गई, उत्पादन खत्म हो गया, नौकरियाँ खत्म हो रही हैं, हर चीज सामने आ रही है। जो data सामने आ रहा है, उस data को लेकर सवाल पैदा हो रहे हैं। हम जानते हैं कि पूरी दुनिया में trade war चल रहा है। उसके implications होंगे, लेकिन यह पहले भी तो हुआ! पूरी दुनिया के अन्दर मंदी आई, हिन्दुस्तान कैसे बचा रहा? जो primary sector था, जो agriculture area था, उसके पास reserve funds होते थे। हिन्दुस्तान में पूँजी खेतों में पैदा होती है, कारखानों में पैदा नहीं होती है। यह खेतों से निकल कर शहरों में आती है और शहरों से निकल कर मुम्बई पहुँचती है। हमने जिन

[श्री रवि प्रकाश वर्मा]

नीतियों का अनुगमन किया है, उनसे आज हमारे ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में पूँजी का निर्माण ठप हो गया है, स्थगित हो गया है। लोगों की savings खत्म हो चुकी हैं और लोगों को एक negative budgeting में जीना पड़ रहा है। उनके पास खर्च करने के लिए पैसे नहीं हैं, घर टूट रहे हैं, खेतियाँ नष्ट हो रही हैं और उससे जुड़े हुए जो भी enterprises हैं, सब मिट्टी में मिल रहे हैं। अभी माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी ने भी बड़े जोर-शोर से कहा था कि हम लोग नए-नए enterprises देंगे, कर्ज देंगे, उनमें से भी बहुत से collapse हुए हैं और नौकरियाँ खत्म हो गई हैं। अभी आनन्द शर्मा जी बता रहे थे कि जितने बड़े पैमाने पर unorganised sector में job मिल रहा था, मैडम, आप मेहरबानी करके बताइएगा कि आज हमारा unorganised sector कहाँ है? हम सब आपके साथ खड़े हैं, आप हमारी मदद तो लीजिए। आखिर हमें इससे इस देश को कैसे निकालना है, अँधेरे से बाहर कैसे लाना है, मेहरबानी करके आप इस चीज को दिखाइएगा।

मैडम, मैं जो बात कहना चाहता हूँ, वह यह है कि एक बात और सामने आई है कि आज पैसे की अनुपलब्धता है। इसने हमें कहीं पर सबसे बुरा झंडा दिखाया है, the issue has been flagged now कि जो Global Hunger Index है, उसके अनुसार खाद्यान्न की उपलब्धता खत्म हो गई है और हम लोग 102वें नम्बर पर आ गए हैं। आज नेपाल हमसे बेहतर है, पाकिस्तान हमसे बेहतर है, बंगलादेश हमसे बेहतर है। मुझे लगता है कि हमें एक serious reconsideration की जरूरत पड़ गई है, जिसको हमें देखना पड़ेगा।

सर, market में slump है, demand कम हुई है। मैं याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि गोदरेज, जो एक बड़े उद्योगपति हैं, उन्होंने अखबार में लिखा था, अखबार में वह खबर छपी थी कि अगर सोसायटी में insecurity रहेगी, violence रहेगा, unpredictability रहेगी, तो आप market को सँभाल नहीं पाएँगे। हम आपको केवल आगाह करना चाहते हैं कि कहाँ पर आपको विशेष तौर पर देखने की जरूरत है, ताकि peace रहे, stability रहे और कोई भी divisive force हिन्दुस्तान में न आने पाए। ...**(समय की घंटी)**...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): You have one more minute.

SHRI RAVI PRAKASH VERMA: Sir, I am concluding.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): Your time is over.

SHRI RAVI PRAKASH VERMA: Sir, please give me two minutes. I will finish. ...**(Interruptions)**... This is a very important debate.

सर, गरीब और अमीर के बीच की खाई बढ़ी है। एक प्रतिशत आबादी के पास 73

प्रतिशत पूंजी खिसक गई है। अभी मैंने एक किताब पढ़ी थी - 'The God Market', आप भी इसे पढ़िएगा। लेखक साफ-साफ कह रहा है ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): Please conclude.

श्री रवि प्रकाश वर्मा: कि जैसे-जैसे पूँजी का धुवीकरण बढ़ेगा, वैसे-वैसे religious dogma भी बढ़ेगा। उसका relation है, उसके पीछे initiative है और आज हम इस चीज को भुगत रहे हैं। सर, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज हमें यह देखने की ज़रूरत है कि चाइनीज़ माल हमारे देश में भरा हुआ है और हम उसे रोक नहीं पा रहे हैं। हमारे उद्योग खत्म हो रहे हैं। निर्णय नेताओं के बजाए नौकरशाही ले रही है और उन्हें इससे कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ता है। जो काम चल रहा है, वह चल ही रहा है। ...(समय की घंटी)... सर, आखिर में मैं केवल इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ ...(समय की घंटी)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): Please conclude. Please conclude. Please.

SHRI RAVI PRAKASH VERMA: Sir, the last point. मैं केवल इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि अब लगभग आर्थिक आपातकाल की स्थिति है, इस बात को आप रियलाइज़ करिए। सारी की सारी पार्टियां मिल करके बैठें और इस देश को अंधेरे से बाहर निकालने का प्रयास करें। मुझे लगता है कि यह बहुत जरूरी है। अगर हम लोग आज भी नहीं जागे, तो यह अंधेरा बहुत गहरा हो जाएगा। मुझे लगता है कि we have reached a point of no return. हर हाल में हमको इससे बच कर चलना है, थैंक यू।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): Dr. K. Keshava Rao. ...*(Interruptions)*...

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, I think, we must increase the time keeping in mind the mood of the House. We hardly discuss the public issues. This is one of the important issues that we are discussing. My appeal to you would be, let us increase the time, and we can talk to the Chairman also, if necessary, because that is the mood of the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): I suggest that you can talk to Chairman first.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: We understand your constraints. But we want to put this on record. In the last Session also, the notices that we had given — the main Oppositions parties — none of the subject was taken up; some other subjects.

[Shri Anand Sharma]

Fine. It did not come from the Opposition. This is the only one. We are grateful to the Chairman, we are grateful that on this, the Government has agreed. But, at the same time, this House historically has, on important matters, discussed for six hours, eight hours. So, why not this subject? When we cooperate with the Government...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): Mr. Anand Sharma, you please go and discuss with the Chairman. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Sir, the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs is here.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): Discuss with the Chairman.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Sir, the Minister is here. ...*(Interruptions)*...

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO: Sir, the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs is here. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): Take the Minister and go and discuss with the Chairman.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Sir, we went to the hon. Chairman, and he agreed. He agreed to increase it to four hours. But then the hon. Deputy Chairman announced that those four hours will include the hon. Minister's reply and the Special Mentions. So, we hardly got anything what we should have got. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): Please, please. Dr. Keshava Rao.

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO: Sir, as I was asking for more time, but now that I don't have a time, I must restrict myself to time limit. I have already discarded three pages out of it because the difficulty of a man coming next to many is, by that time, all the statistics are told. We certainly don't want it to be some kind of a political debate at all, political discourse as Ashwiniji said. We will make it purely 'economies', nothing but economies. But you must also understand that, when I say, 'economies', it is statistics, it is facts and figures, not sentiments. I can understand your observation with 2008; the beginning of all these things that had gone down.

But in 2008, we did not close any industries at all nor did we send the people out. In 2009, we recouped in two years while the world did not do it. Anyhow, I am not holding a brief on behalf of the UPA today.

Sir, as I said, with the Finance Minister known to us so well, we don't want to indulge in politics today. But, at the same time, we must understand that politics is not abstract. It is political economy. We have to bring in the social aspects of economics so that we understand things better.

Sir, I would like to say that everybody is agreeing that there is a slowdown. I would not have agreed, at least, for the sake of our Finance Minister and think that it is cyclical slowdown and within few years, we will recoup and we will do better. But the consistent slowdown that is there for the last eight quarters, tells me that if I am wrong, and it is nothing but slowdown which everybody is saying agreeing.

Sir, the Government has also perhaps thought that it is not that serious for them since slowdown will come down soon. As Derekji said, there is nothing like that everybody is suffering. Because somebody is making 125 times more income. I tell you what has happened is that today the income of ten per cent of people has increased by 63 per cent while the income of 90 per cent of people has gone down minus four. That is what Derekji indirectly told us. Sir, since I am not going in to statistics, I have to jump from figure to figure here. Sir, Anandji raised a big issue that whether it is the working that is going wrong or is it the very policy formulations that are made wrong. आप यह बताइए कि कौन-सी चीज़ क्या है? मेरे view में फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर अपने बजट में एक very progressive legislation लाये थे, levying a surcharge on the super-rich. For no reason, or for reasons better known to their own Government and their own Prime Minister, or our Prime Minister, it has been withdrawn. At what time and at what stage, when a slew of new measures were being undertaken to help the supply side of the economy? When you are thinking of the supply side of the economy on the one side and bringing down the tax on the super-rich on the other. something is wrong. It was not convincing to me and I was not able to come to terms with it.

Sir, please bear with me while I read out a couple of figures as I have skipped all other statistics. There are a few things which are not there. While I am not

[Dr. K. Keshava]

holding a brief for the UPA as I said we find a slowdown in investments during the NDA regime, which has fallen to 26 per cent from 30 per cent in the UPA. I say this because you always talk about UPA. That is their style of talking. Now, farm growth fell to less than three per cent from over four per cent in UPA. A year-on-year comparison of agricultural growth using quarterly data shows a marked decline since 2016-17. You could have done better, but the poor monsoons have affected farm growth. We understand that but what did you do for that? What kind of corrective measures did you bring forth in the Budget? In the Budget, you totally forgot the issue and spending increased only by 1.7 per cent in 2014 and 1.5 per cent in 2015-16. Although the decrease was right before you, you could not correct it in the Budget.

Sir, all Members here are more worried about rural distress today. Shri Anand Sharma talked about agricultural growth but did not elaborate it. It has come down to such a level that even talking about it has become some kind of a sham on our part. We have to hang our heads in shame because it has come down to just 1.2 per cent now from four per cent. It is true that in the initial years of the NDA, we had....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): Your time is over.

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO: Sir, I am talking about farm distress. Farm prices remained worse as in the last few years. I am trying to quote Mr. Derek and others here to say that today the society is divided in such a way that the top-most ten people enjoy a higher rate of increase only as against the...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): Please conclude.

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO: I have to conclude, Sir. I can't go on!

Let me come to PM Kisan Samman Nidhi Yojana. 70 per cent of the people have not yet got their fourth installments from August to November. Now, this is what exactly farm distress is.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): You have already taken two minutes more. Please conclude.

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO: Sir, the time given to me was six minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): It was four minutes.

You have taken six minutes.

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO: Sir, if you had told me that it is just four minutes, I wouldn't have even spoken. It is not necessary.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): Please conclude.

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO: If four minutes is all that somebody gets for discussing the state of the economy, and that is exactly what is happening, then we would not speak. Let those who are getting more time speak; BJP Members could speak. You would get, at least, one side of the story if not the other side.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): You would have to talk about that to the hon. Chairman. Please conclude now.

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO: Sir, then, I would not go any further because there are many figures here. Let me say one thing. Nobody would wish a bad economy and not a fight till the end. Nobody is saying 'no'. The hon. Member here said, five trillion economy. We say, very good; we wish that could happen, but let me tell you — even the last time I repeated the same thing— GDP increase is not that all matters. We had a higher GDP in the initial years and yet, jobs were coming down. So, don't compare the GDP with jobs. What exactly is the economy? Talking about the four fundamentals of economy, investment has come down, jobs have not come, prices have not come down and private investment has not come because of less savings. So, these are the kinds of things we have suffered. Since you are forcing me to close, I do that, with the firm view that I had always wished that our economy did good, but we could not do it. Let us do it through progressive measures that you had earlier initiated which made us all happy for some time. ...*(Interruptions)*... I won't say it policy paralysis, but policy fallacies. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): Please sit down. ...*(Interruptions)*... I am calling the next speaker.

SHRI ELAMARAM KAREEM (Kerala): Sir, our economy is in deep crisis. This is not a cyclical crisis, but a systemic crisis. This crisis is of the system of capitalism.

[Shri Elamaram Kareem]

Our GDP growth is at the lowest level; agricultural production is going down; IIP is going down; construction industry is going down and all our economic growth sectors are going down. Unemployment figure is at the highest level in the last five decades. Automobile industry which is giving employment to 4 crore workers, which is contributing at 7.5 per cent to country's GDP and 49 per cent to the manufacturing GDP, is also in deep crisis. About ten lakh employees are sacked from this sector. My colleague, Shri K.J. Alphons, from Kerala knows that MRF Company and Apollo Tyres, both in Kerala, are in deep crisis due to the crisis in the automobile sector. Not only is the automobile manufacturing sector, but also the components manufacturing industry is in deep crisis. This crisis in the Indian economy stems from a sharp contraction in domestic demand. This is because people have very little or no purchasing power in their hands. Unless demand grows, the industrial and manufacturing sector, which is now under recession, cannot revive. For domestic demand to grow, what is required is a big dose of public investment to build our much needed infrastructure. This, in turn, will generate a significant rise in employment and put purchasing power in the hands of people. When this money is spent, country's manufacturing and industrial sector would begin reviving. Instead of doing this, the Government is giving further concessions to the rich with whopping tax cuts and facilities to increase their wealth. However, this is precisely the direction of the Government's announcement declaring that these are meant for reviving the economy. This Government has provided concession to the tune of ₹70,000 crore to the realty housing sector and for export promotion. People are not buying houses today simply because they have no money. In a situation of global economic recession, how can we expect growth in export? On top of this, the Government has recently announced a slew of further concessions, including big tax cuts to the corporates and Foreign Institutional Investors. This is to the tune of ₹1,45,000 crore. With this money, how can you stimulate the market of our country? After the neo-liberal policies, what happens in the industrial sector is that the structure of working class has collapsed. Permanent employment is reducing, contractual workers and daily-wage employees are increasing, trade unions are weakening, collective bargaining is weakening and, due to that, the created wealth is accumulating in few hands. India has become the biggest country with uneven economic growth. Because of that, the workers, who constitute a major portion of the population, have no money to purchase the commodities.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): Please conclude.
...(Interruptions)...

SHRI ELAMARAM KAREEM: Even Parle and Britannia Biscuit companies say that they cannot sell their products. Textile companies say that they cannot sell their products. To find a solution for this economic problem,... ...(Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): Please conclude.

SHRI ELAMARAM KAREEM: You have to take a policy decision to increase the purchasing power of the people, to divert the money into the hands of these people. ...(Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): Please conclude.

SHRI ELAMARAM KAREEM: In such a way, we can find a solution for this economic crisis.

SHRI T.K.S. ELANGO VAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the basic problem here is not the economy. The basic problem is that this Government's priority is not development. Their priority is something else. That is shown in all these things. Their priority is not the development. Their priority is to change this country into a different country, not economically. The hon. Finance Minister, while delivering her Budget speech, made a comment on the increase in the tax structure. She said, "Due to slew of efforts taken by our Government, the direct tax revenue has significantly increased over the past couple of years. It has increased by over 78 per cent, from ₹6.38 lakh crore in the financial year 2013-14 to around ₹ 11.37 lakh crore in the financial year 2018-19." They are giving a rosy picture. My dear friend, hon. Ashwini Vaishnaw, was giving a rosy picture. All these pictures are given to the public. But, the real facts are hidden. The NSSO Survey on employment was not made public. More than two hundred economists have written a letter to the hon. Prime Minister, for the release of this NSSO Survey on domestic consumption but the Government is not willing to release it because they know what is there. The people should not find out what is there. If the priority is development, this Government would not have gone to the extent of selling all their PSUs. The hon. Minister of Petroleum had made a statement that the Government is not for selling petrol. Sir, we have seen in the past 50 to 60 years, the PSUs have been the

[Shri T.K.S. Elangovan]

backbone of the economic development in this country. Now, most of the PSUs, which are profit making, are being sold to outsiders. And, this Government is the biggest retail trader in the world today. The only thing they are waiting for is to attach this Government with the Amazon or the Flipkart online agencies. They want to sell off everything. Then, how can you create employment? This is the pride of India. 'Made in India' is the pride of India not 'Make in India'. 'Made in India' is the pride of India. We can boast, this is made in India. So, when you have made in India with you, you want to sell everything. About the financial management, I mentioned about the rosy picture, which hon. Finance Minister was reading in her Budget speech. But what has happened now? The Fifteenth Finance Commission's Terms of Reference was amended. That too after the Finance Commission Chairman's meeting with all the Chief Ministers, the leaders of all the opposition parties in each State, fixing a quantum to be shared with the States, and finalizing and giving the report to the Government. The Central Government wants to take away some portion for their Defence expenditure. Why should the States bear the cost of Defence when Defence is the subject of the Central Government in the Constitution? That is one failure. There are many failures. ₹1.76 lakh crores are taken from the Reserve Bank. So, this Government is looking for money, going around for money. Is this good management? This is all because this Government's priority is not development. It is something else. The priority is religion or anything else, definitely not development. If the Government changes its mind and come to the development and prioritize development, keep development as their priority, this would go. Otherwise, we will further suffer, The NITI Aayog itself has said that in the next quarter, the GDP will go further down. In this quarter, it has gone down. In the next quarter, the GDP will go further down. It has been stated by NITI Aayog itself. All the Government agencies are warning the Government about the real situation, but the Government does not want to understand this, read this and correct themselves. With these words, I thank you, Sir.

SHRI K.T.S. TULSI (Nominated): Sir, I hope entertaining views, as I do, with regard to Indian economy which are at variance with my worthy opponents in the Government will not be considered disrespectful to them. I believe that if we don't look at the reality in the eye, if we don't acknowledge the reality, we are not going to find any solution. So, it is important for us to be able to see what it means.

Seventy-eight of the largest companies in the country are facing dissolution. Twenty have already been declared insolvent. The debt of these companies was to the tune of ₹1,40,000 crores.

It is my submission that the present state of the economy is because of the unwise step of demonetization. If we look at the reality, today, 60 per cent of the manufacturing orders have dried up. They have all dried up post-demonetization and post-GST. The foreign investors are leaving our market in droves. The rupee has plunged to 71.7 to a dollar, as against 65 on 31st March, 2019. According to the Economic Survey for the year 2018-19, the growth rate was reported to be 6.8 per cent, which is lower than the average rate of 7.5 per cent. There is low agricultural growth, low food inflation. Farmers produce less and spend less and there is an overall dip in the economic activity. Government data itself shows that the value of farm produce, at constant prices, grew at 15 per cent in the past five years, as compared to 23 per cent in the five years before that. The latest price trends show that the market prices are lower than the inflation-adjusted prices. Market prices in the mandis seem to be significantly lower than the Minimum Support Price that is fixed. The Index of industrial production, which recorded the growth rate of 8 per cent in May, 2016, fell sharply to 1.7 per cent in May, 2017. The trade deficit was 8.1 billion dollars in June of 2016. It has increased to a whopping 12.95 billion dollars in June, 2017. Even countries like Bangladesh have reported the export growth rate of 26.54 per cent in July, the exports in the readymade garment sector, whereas India's export growth trend has slowed down to 3.94 per cent from 4.39 per cent in June, 2017.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): Please conclude.

SHRI K.T.S. TULSI: Export in gems and jewellery has reduced by 23 per cent in July. I just want to submit that India Today of May, 2019, has reported that at least 30 crore people have been direct or indirect victims of demonetization. Of these, 22 crores are in agriculture, 4.5 crore are in textiles, 5.2 crore are in real estate and about 40 lakh in telecom.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): Please conclude. Your time is over.

SHRI K.T.S. TULSI: Another 46 crore are in gems and jewellery and 20 lakh in rubbers and plastics. If this is not the critically ill health of Indian economy, then what is it?

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): The time for discussion is already agreed in the Business Advisory Committee. So, we have to follow that.

SHRI V. VIJAYASAI REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, there are three causative factors which contribute to the slowdown of the Indian economy. The first one is the non-performing assets during UPA regime, the rampant corruption during the UPA regime and no reforms during second UPA regime. Sir, the banking crisis which we see today is as a result of large number of loans that were given during the year 2006 and 2008, when UPA was in power. The public sector banks are to be blamed for the bad loan problem today. This act of reckless lending during the UPA regime is a very clear indication of crony capitalism, absolutely no fear of consequences and lack of sensitivity towards the poor and the down trodden and account holders who have put their hard earned money in the banks. The second point is about the corruption. Sir, during the regime of UPA 1 and UPA 2, there was massive corruption at the top level. There were scams in allotment of spectrum, coal mines, contracts and what not. There was absolutely no accountability for the loss caused to the Indian economy. The third point which I would like to highlight is that there were no reforms in the economy during UPA 1 and UPA 2. For example, whether it is insolvency resolution which was slow, there was no focus on the digitalization of payments; there were no steps towards the implementation of GST, though they had initiated it; no action was taken on black money and benami transactions. These three are the causative forces which contributed to the slowdown of Indian economy. Sir, now, I want to ask, is the present Government doing enough? I understand the growth estimates of India have been revised downwards in the recent past, and this is definitely a cause of concern. This is only because of several changes that are taking place in the economy of the country which are essential and the economy is adjusting towards the change. Sir, I emphasise that these changes are very much necessary due to the inactivity and total disregard of the economy during UPA 1 and UPA 2. The growth during UPA 1 and UPA 2 was only because of the cash economy which bloated the GDP numbers. Sir, we must also look at the growth of India from the global perspective, the world economy is

also stagnant. At the end, I would like to say in a technical sense that we are not in a slowdown, it is just a bit slowing down of growth, which I am sure the Government will address and there is absolutely no need to spread pessimism which the opposition is doing about the Indian economy. It will further affect the reputation of India as a growing country. Thank you very much.

SHRI A. NAVANEETHAKRISHNAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am really thankful to you for giving me the opportunity. Many speakers have spoken at length about the Indian economy, the cyclical or structural slowdown and recession. All these terms are applicable to the world, all these are applicable to whole of India but it is not applicable to the State of Tamil Nadu. I humbly submit that the average rate of India's growth is 6.1 per cent but in case of Tamil Nadu. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): It is a separate island. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI A. NAVANEETHAKRISHNAN: What steps have been taken by us must be taken by the Government. What is wrong in it? It is the Council of States. Sir, the growth rate in the State of Tamil Nadu is 8.1 per cent. It is at number one and it is two per cent above the national growth rate. It is because of the steps taken by Amma that we have been able to continuously progress. So, recession, -slowdown, cyclical or structural, all these terms are not applicable to the State of Tamil Nadu. We are a performing State. We are getting prize from the Central Government as number one State in the field of agriculture, in the field of health and also in the field of maintenance of law and order. This is to be noted.

SHRI B.K. HARIPRASAD: You are better than Gujarat model.

SHRI A. NAVANEETHAKRISHNAN: That is your view. I am making my humble submission. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): Please address the Chair.

SHRI A. NAVANEETHAKRISHNAN: Now, many times, I have spoken about our medical students. ...*(Interruptions)*... I stand corrected. The growth rate last year was 8.79 per cent. Anyway, it is exceeding 8 per cent.

[Shri A. Navaneethakrishnan]

Our medical students are performing very well. Our hon. Prime Minister has acknowledged that fact. Now, for this year alone, 9 medical colleges have been sanctioned. The contribution to be made by the Central Government is ₹ 1,755 crores. So, I thank our hon. Prime Minister. Already the State of Tamil Nadu is having very good infrastructure and talent in the field of medicine. We are giving medical facilities at affordable cost and we are providing quality treatment. Our students are best students. Even in London, there are many hostels, which are called Stanley Hostel, Kilpauk Hostel, MMC Hostel. That is why we are fighting for this cause.

DR. K. KESHA RAO: Thank the Finance Minister also.

SHRI A. NAVANEETHAKRISHNAN: Yes, she is from our State. I really thank her. She belongs to Tamil Nadu and I have to thank her. I would like to quote Thiruvalluvar, "Nandri Marappadhu Nandrandru, Nandralladhu Andre Marappadhu Nandru." We are thankful to hon. Prime Minister as well as the hon. Finance Minister. Now, with regard to my humble submission, the rural agricultural economy is depending on water and natural forces. People are talking about structural or cyclical slowdown but I am not able to comprehend it because we only know how to pledge the gold jewels and immediately raise the funds. So, whatever happens in villages, whether it is child birth, whether it is marriage, whether it is death or any hospitalization or other event, only crowd-funding is in place. Of course, I thank our hon. Prime Minister for launching the Jan Dhan Yojana. It increased the awareness amongst the rural people and many accounts have been opened by them. Earlier, people in the rural areas were having some aversions to approach the banks. So many formalities were required to be fulfilled for opening an account. Now, account can be opened without any difficulty. Now, many villagers have made banking a habit. So, I thank the hon. Prime Minister.

One senior colleague was telling that sixty per cent of the population of India is dependent on agriculture. In the last Budget, our hon. Prime Minister talked about zero-Budget farming, which is being encouraged by the Central Government. Now, my humble submission is that sufficient allocation should be made in the Budget. Without funds, nothing moves on. So, zero-Budget farming is a good principle and it must be adopted by every Indian agriculturist. I very humbly request our hon. Finance Minister to allocate more funds for Zero Budget Farming. I am again and

again saying this that the concept of NPAs should not be made applicable to the agricultural loans and the educational loans. In the banking sector, all the banks are suffering from NPAs. Two days back, our hon. Finance Minister chaired a bank function. The name of the bank is City Union Bank which is headquartered at Kumbakonam. It has a good culture. It follows good practices. In mid-size banks, it stands number one. In its history of 116 years, there was no strike. Its NPA rate is either very negligible or minimum. They follow good practices. At my request, the Chairman of the Bank, Mr. Kamakodi, opened a bank in the village which I adopted in Thanjavur District. Certain banks are having a good policy which they are practising properly and that is how they are serving the rural agricultural people. There is no doubt about it. But what is worrying me is that in Thanjavur District, you open any newspaper, you will find 'auction of gold jewels'. It is hurting us. The people are not able to redeem their gold jewels. Agriculture must be supported. Other fields also should be supported. But more support must be given to agriculture.

Once again, I thank hon. Prime Minister and hon. Finance Minister for sanctioning nine medical colleges in a single year at the cost of ₹1,755 crore. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): Shri Digvijaya Singh. Your party has two speakers. That means Shri Jairam Ramesh is also there. For both of you, there are only five minutes. Try to adjust.

श्री दिग्विजय सिंह (मध्य प्रदेश): धन्यवाद, माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी। यह तो सर्वविदित है कि देश की अर्थव्यवस्था बिगड़ चुकी है और केंद्र सरकार के पास कोई रास्ता नजर नहीं आ रहा है। इसके लिए कौन जवाबदार है? इसके लिए कोई जवाबदार है, तो माननीय प्रधान मंत्री नरेन्द्र मोदी जी जवाबदार हैं, जिम्मेदार हैं, क्योंकि वे एक्शन पहले लेते हैं, निर्णय पहले लेते हैं, सोचते बाद में हैं। नोटबंदी में निर्णय ले लिया - तत्कालीन वित्त मंत्री जी को मालूम था या नहीं मालूम था, यह नहीं कह सकते हैं, लेकिन 50 दिन में 55 अलग-अलग निर्देश निकले। इसका मतलब यह था कि बिना सोचे-समझे उन्होंने निर्णय ले लिया। 87 प्रतिशत करेंसी को market से बाहर निकाल लिया गया और नए नोट नहीं छपे।

दूसरा, जीएसटी में निर्णय ले लिया, वे ही मुख्यमंत्री के रूप में इसका विरोध करते थे, लेकिन यश पाने के लिए उन्होंने निर्णय ले लिया। किसी भी देश में multiple slab GST सफल नहीं हुआ है और यहां पर निर्णय लेने के बाद भी हर तीन महीने में, छः महीने में

[श्री दिग्विजय सिंह]

रेट बदले जा रहे हैं। माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जीएसटी का जहां तक सवाल है, मैं आपसे अनुरोध करना चाहता हूं कि आज हालत यह है कि कश्मीर में इंटरनेट नहीं है। कश्मीर के व्यापारी इंटरनेट के बिना ऑनलाइन रिटर्न कैसे भरेंगे? इसके लिए कौन जवाबदार है? इसी के साथ-साथ, जैसा कि देरेक भाई ने बताया कि पांच मुख्यमंत्रियों ने तो joint चिट्ठी लिखी है। आप राज्यों को उनका हिस्सा नहीं दे पा रहे हैं। अन्य प्रांतों के मुख्यमंत्रियों की भी यही हालत है। आखिर यह सब क्यों है? क्योंकि जिस प्रकार से आपने जीएसटी को फॉर्मूलेट किया है, उससे आपके revenue में कमी आई है। मेरे पूर्ववक्ताओं ने जो बातें कही, मैं उन्हें दोहराना नहीं चाहता हूं। लेकिन बात यही है कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी का नेतृत्व और इनकी नीतियां पूर्ण रूप से सूट-बूट की सरकार के पक्ष में हैं। मैं बताना चाहता हूं कि हमारे भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने कहा था कि मॉडर्न इंडिया - जो पब्लिक सेक्टर एंटरप्राइजेज़ उन्होंने बनाये थे, the public sector enterprises were temples of modern India. अब उसके बाद एक-एक करके उनको बेचा जा रहा है। ...**(समय की घंटी)**... उनको बेचा जा रहा है। ...**(समय की घंटी)**...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): Only two minutes are left.

SHRI DIGVIJAYA SINGH: Sir, I have just started. I have very important things to say. I want to raise the issue of public sector enterprises, which are being sold out. I will give you an example of Life Insurance Corporation. In 2014, the Life Insurance Corporation had 33 crore policyholders. In five years, number of policyholders has come down to 29 crore. In 2014, there were 13 lakh LIC agents. It has come down to 11 lakh agents. Endowment policyholders were getting a bonus of ₹78 per thousand; it has been brought down to ₹51 per thousand. Life policy holders were getting a bonus of ₹102 per thousand; it has come down to ₹72 per thousand. Interest on policy loan has gone up by one-and-a-half per cent, from nine per cent to 10.5 per cent. And on delayed payment of premium, they are charging 18% GST also.

Sir, they are taking away the reserves. From LIC, a sum of ₹11,00,000 crore has been diverted. They have given ₹15,000 crore to Railways with a moratorium of five years. Who are the losers? It is the policyholders. At the same time, they forced IRDA to exempt investment in IDBI which was having 23 per cent NPA. They forced LIC to buy 51 per cent of its equity. What has happened? Its share has come down from ₹74 to ₹34. Who are the losers? It is the policyholders. Again, an amount of ₹25,000 crore has been given to real estate. They are dipping into the reserves of

LIC which is the savings of crores of policyholders. They have taken the money from RBI also. Now, what I want to say and the point that I want to make is that purchasing power has to be given in the hands of the common man. If the purchasing power has to be given, we have to consider what our Nobel Prize winner, Shri Abhijit Banerjee, has suggested. He suggested a basic universal income for every family in this country. If you give that family an amount of ₹6,000 per month, it gives them a purchasing power and that will drive the economy. I had a lot of other things to say, but now, I would like to conclude. मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से इस बात को कहना चाहता हूँ कि पूरे देश की अर्थव्यवस्था बिगड़ रही है, आप इस बारे में सोचिए कि ऐसा क्यों हो रहा है? हमारे इस देश का जो मूल आधार रहा है, वह पब्लिक सेक्टर का रहा है, उसको आप धीरे-धीरे कम करते चले गए हैं। आप कोई भी बैंक देख लीजिए, पीएसबी देख लीजिए, यह भी एक अजीब बात है कि पब्लिक सेक्टर बैंक्स की हालत बिगड़ती जा रही है और प्राइवेट सेक्टर बैंक्स के रिजर्व्स बढ़ते चले जा रहे हैं। अंत में, मैं आपसे इतना ही कहूंगा कि आपके पास इसे ठीक करने का समय भी है। माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी, यह बात तो सही है कि Mr. Prime Minister has developed the expertise of fixing the people,- he doesn't have the expertise to fix the economy. Let him take the advice of Dr. Manmohan Singh. Thank you.

SHRI SURESH PRABHU (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, it seems the discussion that is going on in the House has a context. I heard so many words called 'slowdown'. Where does the 'slowdown' come from? It is because in the first five years of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, the growth rate of economy was 7.5 per cent. So, obviously, when you have such a high growth of 7.5 per cent for a consecutive period of five years, you would like to compare that with today's situation and then try to form your own assessment. I would like to put this issue into perspective. All over the world, what is happening? Sir, IMF has already said that growth in 2019 is lower from 3.6 per cent in the previous year. UNCTAD which talks about trade has already downgraded the forecast from 3 per cent to 2.3 per cent for the current year. If we take the largest economies of the world, the U.S.A, which is the largest economy of the world, is now witnessing a phenomenon of negative yield spread. Dr. Manmohan Singh would tell you what it means. It is a signal for a recession to come. The second largest economy, China, has already registered slowest growth in the last probably thirty years. The European Union, group of 27, is also witnessing very serious crisis in terms of progressing. The largest economy in European Union,

[Shri Suresh Prabhu]

Germany, is also probably hoping that they would have to avoid the recession. Japan, the third largest economy, has been facing a challenge for a long time. So, what we are saying is, thanks to Dr. Manmohan Singh, our share in 1991 was only 6.8 per cent and it has become 20.8 per cent in the exports. So, that means we are more integrated into global economy than before. Obviously, if somebody sneezes, you might catch cold. So, whenever there is an economic slowdown globally, obviously, India cannot be immune from it and would be affected by it. Therefore, it has a context; so, we must keep in mind and then try to form our own judgement. But, Sir, one must keep in mind that the common man really faces the biggest challenge in terms of inflation. Price rise is probably the worst. If somebody who has suffered, it is the common man. I am happy to see that inflation now is only 3.4 per cent, which is much below the targeted rate of even Reserve Bank of India which is four per cent. Who is benefitting? It is the common man. The purchasing power, that you talked, gets consumed. When the price rise happens, the effective purchasing power in the hands of the people goes down. Therefore action against inflation is the best promise and insulation that we provide to them. Somebody was saying that India is not getting enough investment. Sir, the Foreign Direct Investment in 2018-19 was 30.7 billion dollars. I was also looking after it. And 2017-18, was also in the similar region. So, that means that India is getting investment from foreign countries. Already, we are the third-largest economy in PPP. Despite so many challenges, I would say our fiscal situation is still quite robust. The fiscal deficit is also manageable. It is Fiscal Responsibility Budget Management Act (FRBM), which we passed in this House. We are actually trying to follow it in spirit. The earlier Governments used to always flout it by saying that they want to postpone the commitment under the FRBM by a few more years. The public debt to GDP ratio is also far better than it was. In the last few years, to address some of the challenges that we are facing, so many measures have been taken. I would like to highlight one of them which is Ease of doing Business. Also, somebody was saying that we have some problem. Not to forget the foreign exchange reserves today are the highest in terms of 448 billion dollars.

Sir, there are legacy issues. I am very happy that my dear friend and my colleague Shri Derek talked about it. He reminded us what the economic situation in 2013 was. I am happy that you gave a perspective to this whole debate. You

said that in 2013 the situation was so grim that the then Chief Minister of Gujarat had to say, 'the challenges faced by economy'. You actually provided a perspective because the economic challenge that was prevailing in 2013-14 was the challenge as part of our legacy issues. What was the legacy? We are facing some legacy challenges. One of the legacy is in telecom. I do not want to say why it happened, what happened but telecom has been a challenge, not just today. It has been going on for years. This Government has actually tried to address that challenge, catch the bull by the horns and tried to work on it. Banking has been a perennial problem. The way the banking system had been run over a period of time has caused this problem.

So, today, we are trying to address this challenge and trying to work on that. Another one is lack of competitiveness. I think this has always been an issue that we had to address, and today we are trying to address it. We are trying to address the entrepreneurship of India. So, many issues, that we are facing today, are also part of a legacy which is long-drawn and we have to address it. This is a continuous process. We are working on it.

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF HOUSING AND URBAN AFFAIRS; THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF CIVIL AVIATION; AND THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY (SHRI HARDEEP SINGH PURI): Civil Aviation.

SHRI SURESH PRABHU: Civil Aviation, I will just come to that. Actually, it is part of the prescription that when you go to a doctor, Dr. Manmohan Singh, the doctor of economics, he will tell you what needs to be done. So, the thing that really needs to be done is to first identify the problems. Diagnosis is far more important than what you really need to solve. The CapEx which has been one of the biggest problems, and we had to put money into CapEx. So, actually, now, we will be putting in funds of ten lakh crores of rupees into the capital expenditure in the next five years' time. We are trying to work on increasing the demand. There are several measures which have been taken to boost domestic demand and to create real incomes so that purchasing powers will rise. I don't want to spell out all of that. I am sure that the Finance Minister would give a detailed reply on that. But, the point is, we are trying to work on it.

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Next is infrastructure, Sir, has been a perennial problem. People have been saying that we have to invest 10 per cent of our GDP into infrastructure. For how many years have they been talking about it? It is way back from 30 years. Today, first time, we are putting money into infrastructure.

Sir, civil aviation is the shining example. We have become the third largest aviation market in the world in the course of the last few years. Thanks to the Prime Minister's initiative of making sure that every common man can fly. As a result of that, everybody can fly today who could never even aspire and could never even imagine to fly. And, therefore, this is something which has happened. Next is infrastructure improvement and interest rate reduction. So, this is one of the problems that high cost of capital has always been one of the big challenges. The interest rates are coming down and, now, I am sure that the transmission of that of deduction of interest rate is also happening to the end borrower. So, that again will create the purchasing power. People will buy more and that again will bring in demand. Next is tax simplification. We have talked about GST. Isn't it is there for many years? Every Government wanted to talk about GST. The political strength and the leadership the Prime Minister displayed in introducing GST, and we are talking about changes that are made into GST. The Income Tax Act..

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Sir, the fact is...

SHRI SURESH PRABHU: Please, please. No, I am not yielding.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): Sharmaji, he is not yielding. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SURESH PRABHU: Did I interrupt you?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): Sharmaji, please sit down. He is not yielding. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: I am correcting a fact that the GST could not be earlier introduced because of the opposition of the then Chief Minister of Gujarat and the BJP. ...*(Interruptions)*... If the Constitutional Amendment was passed, it was because of us. So, don't take the credit. It would have never been passed. ...*(Interruptions)*...

4.00 P.M.

SHRI NARESH GUJRAL (Punjab): Your Finance Minister was not flexible at all. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: That is a separate thing. But, do not defend it. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): Please start the debate again. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SURESH PRABHU: Sir, I am talking about third largest economy by PPP size. Please give me some time to make my point.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN): Yes, you continue. You have enough time and only Alphonsyji will lose the time.

SHRI SURESH PRABHU: Sir, tax simplification is what we are talking about. Someone mentioned so many times, GST has been amended and GST has been looked into. Sir, how many times the Income Tax Act, 1961 has been amended. Every time, we amend this Income Tax Act and GST, not even two years old, we obviously bring changes, and who is making those changes? It is not the Prime Minister, Shri Narendra Modi, but it is all the Chief Ministers put together, their representatives, sitting in GST Council, they are working on it. So, I think this tax simplification is one of the important things that we are trying to do it. We are working on issue of low savings. We are trying to increase the savings rate. The savings rate can be increased in many ways. As you know, there are household savings, corporate savings and Government savings. So, the reduction in corporate tax rate is going to boost a huge amount of corporate savings. This should also create investment because people will plough back the profit and re-invest into businesses. It will create jobs. Therefore, reduction of Corporate Tax to 25 per cent and it is a very forward-looking measure, I thank the Finance Minister, of 15 per cent for manufacturing companies, which will bring more manufacturers into India to boost 'Make in India' at another places.

(MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN *in the Chair.*)

Sir, I have just mentioned about ₹ 100 lakh crores of investment in the next

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year. Public sector banks had two major issues of legacy, governance and erosion of capital, thanks to irrational lending, which now we are working on by making recapitalization of banks. Six lakh seven crore farmers have got money in their hands, into their bank accounts, through PM-Kisan in the course of last few months. It means that we are really working on it in an aggressive way. Social capital is something which will guarantee that economic growth will happen even faster. And when we talk about economists, several economists have said that if you invest into human capital, it will pay off economically in many other ways. *Ayushman Bharat*, schemes for women, technology like UPI and digital economy, health and education, all these will bring in huge benefits in spin-off in terms of economic growth as we go along. Sir, geo-politics and geo-economics go hand in hand. Thanks to our Prime Minister's very aggressive initiative, with engagements with foreign countries, whether it is Saudi Arabia, U.A.E. or Japan, they have always been willing to lend huge facilities to us in terms of finding out that we can get over foreign exchange crisis whenever we come into it. The foreign policy of the hon. Prime Minister has also helped because we are the single largest destination for remittances in the world. Who send the remittances? They are the people from Kerala, Bengal, U.P., Bihar, all over the country, who go and work in 50-53 degree centigrade. Nobody cared to go and meet them, talk to them. Hon. Prime Minister met them in Dubai, in Abu Dhabi, at many other places because they are, actually, the mainstay of India's external sector. They send more money than what we get from FDI. But we never cared for them and, therefore, I feel that this again will ensure that they will feel at home and feel that they are supporting the economy, that they must contribute more, and, therefore, over a period of time, we will also get benefit from it. In the last few months, we have been seeing that this challenge of economic slowdown is being addressed effectively. Thanks to so many measures that the hon. Finance Minister announced, and I am glad to see that out of 34 such measures that have been made, at least, 13 to 14 have already been fully implemented, and she will give a detailed answer. I am not privy to that information. But what is the effect? We are already seeing some changes. Sensex is the barometer of capital market and nobody can control the capital market. Capital market is the reflection of what is really happening all over the economy because that shows corporate sector performance, that shows governance issue, that shows public finances. Sensex has registered the highest ever number. In the last few years, it crossed the 40,000 benchmark for the first time. People talk about auto sector. Incidentally, auto sector

is very important as it constitutes 50 per cent of our manufacturing and creates so many jobs. So it is very important. Maruti Suzuki, the largest producer with largest market share, has sold maximum cars in October. So we are already seeing the changes into this. But what I am saying is, we are in very challenging times in which India's growth potential, as it is always being articulated, is definitely going to be 5 trillion dollars in seven-eight years, 10 trillion dollars in 15 years, but to reach that, we need to work on structural changes, we need to work on reforms, we need to work on improving governance, for which we need to work on public finances, and we must encourage private investment, we must allow entrepreneurship. All these issues are being addressed by the Government currently. I can very surely see and understand the concerns of all my colleagues from all the sides of both the Houses. But we must understand that our common goal is to reach there and to reach there, obviously, sometimes, we have to take a step back only because of so many global changes that are happening, global trends which are affecting us. But for sure, India will be there where we are destined to be and we will certainly reach there with the combined will of 1.3 billion people.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Message from Lok Sabha.

MESSAGES FROM LOK SABHA

The Prohibition of Electronic Cigarettes (Production, Manufacture, Import, Export, Transport, Sale, Distribution, Storage and Advertisement) Bill, 2019

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

"In accordance with the provisions of rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose the Prohibition of Electronic Cigarettes (Production, Manufacture, Import, Export, Transport, Sale, Distribution, Storage and Advertisement) Bill, 2019, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 27th November, 2019."

Sir, I lay a copy of the Bill on the Table.
