

**श्री उपसभापति :** माननीय मंत्री जी, प्रश्न काल का समय खत्म हुआ।

**श्री मुख्तार अब्बास नक़वी :** जिसे बढ़ाकर 18 साल किया गया। इस तरह से " जियो पारसी " कार्यक्रम के तहत पारसी समाज के आर्थिक, सामाजिक और शैक्षणिक...

**श्री उपसभापति :** माननीय मंत्री जी, प्रश्न काल खत्म हुआ। The House stands adjourned till 2.00 p.m.

*[Answers to Starred and Un-starred Questions (Both in English and Hindi) are available as Part-I to this Debate, published electronically on the Rajya Sabha website under the link <https://rajyasabha.nic.in/Debates/OfficialDebatesDateWise> ]*

*The House then adjourned for lunch at one of the clock.*

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*The House reassembled after lunch at two of the clock,  
MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.*

## **GOVERNMENT BILLS**

**\*The Appropriation Bill, 2022**

**and**

**\*The Finance Bill, 2022**

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Appropriation Bill, 2022 and the Finance Bill, 2022, to be discussed together.

Shrimati Nirmala Sitharaman, to move Motions for consideration of the following Bills: (a) The Appropriation Bill, 2022, and (b) The Finance Bill, 2022.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE; AND THE MINISTER OF CORPORATE AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI NIRMALA SITHARAMAN): Sir, I move:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 2022-23, as passed by Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

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\* Discussed together.

SHRIMATI NIRMALA SITHARAMAN: Sir, I also move:

"That the Bill to give effect to the financial proposals of the Central Government for the financial year 2022-23, as passed by Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

*The questions were proposed.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Motions for consideration of the Appropriation Bill, 2022 and the Finance Bill, 2022 are now open for discussion. श्री शक्तिसिंह गोहिल, आप अपना भाषण आरंभ कीजिए।

**श्री शक्तिसिंह गोहिल (गुजरात) :** माननीय उपसभापति महोदय, आपका बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद कि आपने मुझे इस विषय पर अपने विचार रखने का अवसर दिया है। महोदय, अगर बजट का कोई एक बहुत अहम पहलू है, तो वह फाइनेंस बिल है। मैं आपके ज़रिये इस सदन के सामने कुछ हकीकतें रखना चाहता हूँ। इस फाइनेंस बिल के ज़रिये डायरेक्ट टैक्स, इन्डायरेक्ट टैक्स, कस्टम ड्यूटीज़ आदि की जो बातें सरकार लेकर आई है, मैंने उनको ध्यान से देखा है। अगर कहना है, तो मैं यह कहूँगा कि लोकतंत्र में यह बताया जाता है कि इसमें सरकार की जिम्मेदारी क्या है। It is the duty of the Government to build a bridge between haves and have-nots. जिसके पास बहुत है और जिसके पास कम है या जिसके पास कुछ भी नहीं है, उनके बीच में सेतु बनने का काम इस सरकार का होना चाहिए। अगर यह काम कहीं से हो सकता है, तो वह बजट से हो सकता है, फाइनेंस बिल से हो सकता है। मुझे दुख के साथ यह कहना पड़ रहा है कि फाइनेंस बिल में यह जो टैक्स स्ट्रक्चर माननीया वित्त मंत्री जी लेकर आई हैं, उसमें तो यह दोनों के बीच के गैप को और गहरा बनाएगा। उपसभापति महोदय, इससे फायदा नहीं होगा।

महोदय, कोरोना की महामारी आई, बहुत लोगों ने इसको झेला, परिवार में कहीं न कहीं लोगों की जानें भी गई हैं और हर गृहिणी का बजट भी बिगड़ा हुआ है। आप देश का बजट देखती हैं, परंतु मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप उस घर का बजट भी अवश्य देखिए। हर घर के उस बजट में दिक्कतें आई हैं। मैं देख रहा था कि आप इस सरकार में कोविड-19 के मेडिकल ट्रीटमेंट में टैक्स का फायदा देने का प्रपोजल लेकर आए हैं - मैं इसका स्वागत करता हूँ। मैं सिर्फ क्रिटिसिज्म नहीं करूँगा, यह अच्छी बात है और मैं इसका स्वागत करता हूँ, लेकिन नेकी और वह भी पूछ-पूछ कर! इससे कितना फायदा मिलेगा?

माननीय उपसभापति महोदय, मैं उस दिन बड़ा खुश हुआ था, जिस दिन इस सरकार ने कोरोना को एक आपदा मानते हुए सर्कुलर निकाला था कि अगर कोरोना से किसी की मृत्यु होगी, तो उसे 4 लाख रुपये दिए जाएंगे। I was happy, मैंने सोचा था कि मैं सदन में प्रधान मंत्री जी, वित्त मंत्री जी और सरकार को बधाई दूँगा, लेकिन पता नहीं क्या हुआ कि कुछ ही घंटों में वह सर्कुलर विदड्रॉ हो गया और कोरोना में जिन्होंने जान गँवाई है, जिस परिवार ने नर्क जैसा वक्त गुजारा है, जिसने बहुत सारा पैसा खर्च किया है, आपने उसे पैसे देने से इंकार कर दिया। आप इस वक्त के सिर्फ मेडिकल ट्रीटमेंट के कुछ टैक्स बेनिफिट्स को उसके साथ नहीं गिन सकते हैं।

इसमें कितने ही लोगों की जानें गई हैं। गुजरात सरकार ने तो कह दिया था कि सिर्फ 10 हजार लोगों की ही कोरोना से मृत्यु हुई है, लेकिन सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने जब कहा कि आपकी इंसानियत कहां गई है, आप इसे थोड़ा ठीक कीजिए, जब एक प्रूफ के साथ सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने कहा कि इस तरह से आप डिटेल्स मांगिए तो सरकार को वैरिफाई करने के बाद यह स्वीकार करना पड़ा कि गुजरात में डेढ़ लाख लोगों की कोरोना की वजह से मृत्यु हुई है। आप इसे ज़रा गौर से देखिये।

आप एक हाथ से थोड़ा देते हैं तो दूसरे हाथ से उससे ज्यादा छीन लेते हैं। Finance Bill में non-availability of illegal expenditure under IT Act, under Section 37, आप इसे सुधार करके ला रहे हैं। ठीक है, कुछ चीजों को मैं मानता हूं कि आप करें, मुझे दिक्कत नहीं है, पर अगर कहीं पर doctors की conference होगी, कहीं पर doctors का कोई convention होगा, आज तक जिसे उसका फायदा मिलता था, इसमें आपने travel, hospitality and conferences को निकाल दिया है - आप gift को निकाल देना चाहते हैं, I have no problem. मुफ्त में doctors को कोई कम्पनी कुछ ज्यादा माल दे रही है, आप उसे बिजनेस के उस फायदे में से निकाल रहे हैं, I have no problem. But, if we put our heads together, तो उसमें से कुछ अच्छाई निकलती है, अगर doctors कहीं conference में जाएंगे, साथ बैठेंगे, अपना एक्सपीरिएंस साझा करेंगे तो इससे मेडिकल साइंस को फायदा मिलना ही मिलना है। आप इस पर पुनर्विचार कीजिए कि travel, hospitality and conferences को आप इसमें से हटा दीजिए और उसका benefit आप शुरू रखिये, यह मैं आपके जरिये गुज़ारिश करना चाहता हूं।

There is no change in basic tax. आप याद कीजिएगा, जिन दिनों में आप इधर बैठे थे, आज जो सरकार में बैठे हैं, मैं उस वक्त के उन नेताओं के भाषण देख रहा था, चाहे सुषमा स्वराज जी हों, चाहे अरुण जेटली जी हों, वे कहते थे कि We are a developing country और developing countries में price बढ़ता ही बढ़ता है, कुछ न कुछ होता है और इसीलिए individual Income-Tax slab हर साल बढ़ना चाहिए। आप कम से कम जो party in power है, उसके manifesto को ही देख लें-आप manifesto में भी कहते थे, आज अपने manifesto से आप बिछुड़ रहे हैं। मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूं कि अपने manifesto को आप देख लीजिए, उसमें आपने ही कहा था तो क्या दिक्कत हो गई? वह कौन सी क्लास है? वह वह क्लास है, जिसने कोरोना में सबसे ज्यादा कष्ट सहन किया है। वे सर्विस करने वाले वे लोग हैं, जो अपनी इन्कम छिपा नहीं सकते हैं, उनकी सैलेरी आती है, तो tax deduction at source हो जाता है, वहां पर उनका टैक्स का पैसा काटा जाता है। उन लोगों को, उन middle-class के लोगों को आपने फायदा देने का नहीं सोचा है, इस बात का मुझे बहुत ही दर्द है।

Definition of tax and surcharges-आपने इस Finance Bill में tax की डेफिनिशन में surcharge को भी ले लिया है और cess भी ले लिया है। Tax includes any surcharge, any cess-यह एक डेफिनिशन बदलने से एक बहुत बड़ा असर उन केसेज़ पर भी होना है, जिनकी appeals आज pending हैं। आप Finance Bill में जो Amendment लेकर आये हैं, this Amendment has a retrospective applicability from the Assessment Year 2005-06, इससे क्या होगा? वैसे मैं तो इसके बेसिकली against हूं कि tax structure में कभी भी retrospective effect से लाना चाहिए। आज मुझे कुछ काम है, मैं उसे कर रहा हूं, मेरे सामने टैक्स क्या है, मुझे पता है, आप retrospective effect से कुछ चीज़ लेकर आते हैं तो उससे एक

बहुत बड़ा नुकसान होता है। आप टैक्स की definition में दो चीजें जो लाये हैं, उनसे pending cases पर भी असर होगा, इसलिए मैं आपके जरिये वित्त मंत्री जी से गुजारिश करना चाहता हूँ कि इस पर जरा फिर से सोचें।

माननीय उपसभापति महोदय, वित्त मंत्री जी बार-बार एक चीज कहती हैं कि देखो, दुनिया के 32 देशों ने कोरोना काल में टैक्स बढ़ाया, आप मेरा शुक्र मानो कि मैंने टैक्स नहीं बढ़ाया। यह बार-बार कहा जाता है। मैं आपके ज़रिए यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि उन 32 देशों ने कोरोना काल में अपने नागरिकों की कितनी मदद की थी, क्या वह कभी आपने देखा है? मैंने कुछ लोगों से बात की है। आप जिन 32 देशों की बात करती हैं, मैंने उन देशों के लोगों से बात की है। उन्होंने कहा कि जब लॉकडाउन था, अगर मेरा मॉटेल बंद था, तो सरकार ने मुझे इतना पैसा दिया कि मुझे एक दिन भी ऐसा एहसास नहीं हुआ कि मेरा रोजगार नहीं चल रहा है, मेरा धंधा बंद है। मैं जो कमाता था, उतना पैसा मुझे सरकार ने दिया है। अगर कोई काम करने वाला भी कहीं दिक्कत में था, तो उन देशों ने उसकी पूरी मदद की। उन्होंने टैक्स लिया, तो किससे लिया? लेकिन हम तो उल्टा करते हैं। हम टैक्स लेते हैं उन दिक्कतमंद लोगों से और देते हैं चंद बड़े पूँजीपतियों को, जिनको shelter देने की आपको जरूरत नहीं है। वे स्वयं में काफी तगड़े लोग हैं। उनके लिए हमें ज्यादा कुछ करने की जरूरत नहीं है।

माननीय उपसभापति महोदय, पेट्रोल और डीजल पर Finance Bill में ये जो provisions लेकर आई हैं, मैं आपके ज़रिए Petroleum Planning & Analysis Cell, जो भारत सरकार का सेल है, उसके आँकड़ों के आधार पर बात करूँगा, क्योंकि otherwise ये कहेंगी कि Opposition वाले तो हवा में बातें करते हैं। मैं सरकार के ही document, Petroleum Planning & Analysis Cell ने अपनी website पर जो figures लगाई हैं, उन्हीं के आधार पर कहता हूँ कि Central Exchequer में आपका कितना contribution petroleum sector की ओर से आया। हमारी भी सरकार थी। 2014-15 में excise से 1,72,065 करोड़ रुपए आते थे। मैं समझ सकता हूँ कि थोड़ी-बहुत महँगाई भी बढ़ती है, यह थोड़ा-बहुत बढ़ सकता है, मैं समझ सकता हूँ, पर आप तो क्या करती हैं! थोड़ा नहीं, 2014-15 में यह 1,72,065 करोड़ रुपए था, you have increased it और 2020-21 में आपने 4,55,069 करोड़ रुपए excise के नाम पर पेट्रोल और डीजल से लिए हैं। अगर आप 2021-22 के दोनों halves को देखें, इन दोनों आधे-आधे भाग में भी एक में आपने Rs. 2,16,000 crores and odd ले लिए हैं और दूसरे half में 2,00,000 करोड़ रुपए और लेने का आपका अंदाजा है। उपसभापति महोदय, मैं आपके ज़रिए कहना चाहता हूँ कि मई, 2014 में जब हमारी UPA की सरकार थी, तो petrol के ऊपर excise duty 9.20 रुपए थी और डीजल के ऊपर सिर्फ 3.46 रुपए थी। आज के प्रधान मंत्री जी ही जब गुजरात के मुख्यमंत्री थे, मैं उस समय वहाँ विरोधी दल का नेता था, वे हाउस में बार-बार सुनाते थे कि आप क्या कर रहे हो, भारत सरकार लूट मचा कर बैठी है। जब यहाँ से भारत सरकार ने कहा कि स्टेट VAT को थोड़ा कम करे, तो हमारे कुछ राज्यों ने कम किया, तब उन्होंने कहा कि तुम्हारी भारत सरकार के \* राज्य सरकारों पर मत फोड़ो।

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\* Expunged as ordered by the chair.

जब प्रधान मंत्री जी गुजरात के मुख्य मंत्री थे, तब उन्होंने ऑन रिकॉर्ड यह बात कही थी कि स्टेट गवर्नमेंट वैट को कम नहीं करेगी, क्योंकि यह स्टेट की ज़िम्मेदारी नहीं है, यह भारत सरकार की ज़िम्मेदारी है, तुम एक्साइज ड्यूटी को कम करो, क्योंकि इसका ज्यादा हिस्सा तुम लेते हो। लेकिन आपने क्या किया? पेट्रोल के ऊपर एक्साइज ड्यूटी 9.20 रुपये थी, उसको बढ़ा कर आपने 18.70 रुपये कर दिया, डीज़ल के ऊपर एक्साइज ड्यूटी को आपने 18.34 रुपये कर दिया। So increase on excise duty of diesel is 531 per cent, आपने एक्साइज ड्यूटी को इतना ज्यादा बढ़ा दिया। ये फिगर्स Petroleum Planning and Analysis Cell के हैं, ये कोई मेरे घर के आंकड़े नहीं हैं। मैं समझ सकता हूँ कि इसका रेट international market के ऊपर आधारित है, चूंकि हमें international market के ऊपर निर्भर रहना पड़ता है, पेट्रोल-डीज़ल हमें बाहर से ही लेने पड़ते हैं, ये हमारे देश में पैदा नहीं होते हैं।

The average price of crude oil in the last three years is 60.6 US Dollar per barrel. जबकि UPA Government के समय में, 2011-2014 तक international market में crude oil का रेट आपके समय से कहीं ज्यादा रहा। उस समय इसका रेट 100 US Dollars से नीचे कभी नहीं गया, लेकिन हमने कभी भी पेट्रोल और डीज़ल के दामों को 100 का आंकड़ा छूने नहीं दिया, यह हकीकत है। मैं आपको यह जरूर बताना चाहूंगा कि हमारे वक्त में जिस दिन crude oil का रेट 108 USD per barrel हुआ था, उस दिन इसका मार्केट रेट क्या था। When the UPA Government was in power, the price of crude oil was 108 USD per barrel but petrol and diesel was at Rs.71.41 and Rs.55.49 per litre respectively, which have been now increased to Rs.98.61 and Rs.89.87. मैंने आपको दोनों गवर्नमेंट्स के समय का comparison दे दिया है।

सोशल मीडिया में एक शायरी आई थी, जिसको अभी मैं भूल गया हूँ, "कहां गई वह नारी, जो होती थी गैस की बॉटल पर सवार", इस तरह की एक पूरी शायरी किसी ने बनाई हुई थी, जो आज मंत्री हैं। आज गैस के जो दाम बढ़े हैं, मैं आपको यह भी बताना चाहता हूँ कि international market में इसका price क्या है? जो LPG है, international market में उसका price बढ़ा नहीं है, उसका price कम हुआ है। हमारे शासन में 2012-13, 2013-14 में international market में LPG का price 885.2 USD per metric tonne था, लेकिन आपके शासन में LPG के दाम महंगे नहीं हुए हैं, बल्कि सस्ते हुए हैं। आपके समय में international market में LPG के दाम कम हो कर 769.11 USD per metric tonne हो गए हैं, लेकिन आपने क्या किया? LPG Gas Cylinder, जो हमारे समय में 410 रुपये का था, international market में LPG के रेट कम होने के बावजूद भी आपने LPG Gas Cylinder के रेट को 1,000 रुपये तक पहुंचाने का काम किया है, यह आपके शासन में हुआ है, यह हकीकत है।

माननीय उपसभापति महोदय, हम बार-बार कहते हैं कि हमें इस देश में pollution को कम करना है और यह हमारी ज़िम्मेदारी है कि हम green energy को promote करें। इसको लेकर आप क्या steps ले रहे हैं और आगे क्या steps लेंगे, इसकी बातें भी आप करते हैं।

लेकिन असलियत क्या है, असलियत यह है कि सोलर एनर्जी की जो आपकी कस्टम ड्यूटी थी, उसे आपने कम नहीं किया, बल्कि आपने उसे बढ़ाने का काम किया। इससे किसका फायदा होगा, क्या इससे आप ग्रीन एनर्जी को प्रमोट करेंगे, क्या इससे आप इस देश के अंदर

पॉल्यूशन को कंट्रोल करने का काम कर पाओगे? मेरी वित्त मंत्री जी से आपके जरिये गुजारिश है कि आपके इस फाइनेंस बिल में सोलर सेल्स पर जो 20 परसेंट करन्ट कस्टम ड्यूटी थी, your proposal in this Bill is to increase it 25 per cent. जो आपका सोलर मॉड्यूल है, इसके ऊपर at present, the customs duty is 20 per cent. वित्त मंत्री जी के इस फाइनेंस बिल में इसे इन्क्रीज करके 40 परसेंट करने का प्रपोजल है। हम किस दिशा में जा रहे हैं? आप कहेंगे कि हमें 'मेक इन इंडिया' को आगे बढ़ाना है, इसलिए हम इसे ज्यादा महंगा कर देंगे। यह जवाब आएगा, expected है। परंतु अगर आपको इस एनवायरनमेंट के लिए चाहिए तो क्वालिटी और लेटेस्ट थिंग्स के साथ 'मेक इन इंडिया' भी कम्पिटिशन कर सकता है, इस बात को ख्याल में रखते हुए हमें यह करना होगा।

महोदय, इस फाइनेंस बिल में rationalization of surcharges का एक प्रपोजल लेकर आए हैं। आप disinvestment of public sector companies, according to Section 79 of the Income Tax Act को लेकर फाइनेंस बिल में एक चीज लेकर आए हैं। पब्लिक सेक्टर के बारे में मेरी एक बेसिक बात है, या तो आप जान-बूझकर यह कर रहे हैं या अनजाने में कर रहे हैं, मैं कह नहीं सकता। पब्लिक सेक्टर प्रॉफिट मेकिंग नहीं हो सकता है, यह सर्विस ओरिएंटेड होता है, प्रॉफिट ओरिएंटेड नहीं होता है। आज पब्लिक सेक्टर को आप खत्म करने क्यों जा रहे हैं? इस देश में अगर बीएसएनएल भारत सरकार के अधीन नहीं होता, तो एक छोटे से गांव में टेलिफोन आपका बड़ा उद्योगपति दोस्त कभी नहीं पहुंचाता, यह भारत सरकार का पीएसयू है कि बीएसएनएल छोटे गांवों में भी टेलिफोन लेकर गया।

रेलवे भारत सरकार का पीएसयू है, तो एक छोटे गांव के लिए भी रेलवे सुविधा देगा। कल आप यदि अपने किसी चहेते उद्योगपति को दे देंगे, यानी इसका प्राइवेटाइजेशन हो जाएगा, तो वह अपना मुनाफा देखेगा, वह प्रॉफिट ओरिएंटेड होगा, वह सर्विस ओरिएंटेड कभी नहीं होगा। आज हम बीएसएनएल की क्या हालत कर रहे हैं? एमटीएनएल की क्या हालत कर रहे हैं? अगर आपका ये विभाग मर जाएगा तो तीन-चार बड़ी कंपनियां, जो टेलिफोन ऑपरेट करती हैं, वे ट्रीटी कर लेंगी, साथ मिल जाएंगी और अगर सौ रुपये प्रति मिनट भी करना होगा तो वे ऐसा करके देश में लूट मचायेंगी। यह तो आपका पीएसयू है, तो इसे आप कंट्रोल में रख सकते हैं, आप उस पीएसयू की क्या हालत कर रहे हैं? आप बीएसएनएल को कहते हो कि तुम्हें कोई भी चीज बाहर से नहीं लेने देंगे, आप "मेक इन इंडिया" यूज कीजिए, और अपने दोस्तों के टेलिफोन ऑपरेटर्स से कहते हैं कि आप चाइना से लाइए, कोरिया से लाइए या कहीं से भी लाइए, तुम्हारे लिए कोई दिक्कत नहीं है। How BSNL will compete with these people? आप बीएसएनएल को कहते हैं कि आप 4जी और 5जी में कम्पीट नहीं करेंगे, क्योंकि वहां दोस्त लोग हैं, वही कम्पिटिशन करेंगे, फिर बीएसएनएल जिंदा कैसे रहेगा? आप 'जियो' को जीने दो, पर बीएसएनएल को मत मरने दो, मेरा यही कहना है।

महोदय, मैंने अपने भाषण में कुछ मुद्दे रखे हैं, वित्त मंत्री जी इनके ऊपर गौर करेंगी। इन्हीं लफ्जों के साथ मैं अपनी बात खत्म करता हूँ।

**श्री सुशील कुमार मोदी (बिहार):** माननीय उपसभापति महोदय, मैं एप्रोप्रिएशन बिल, 2022-23 और फाइनेंस बिल, 2022-23 के पक्ष में बोलने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। आज से ठीक दो वर्ष पूर्व 24 मार्च, 2020 को इस देश में लॉकडाउन लागू किया गया था।

National Disaster Management Act, 2005 है, उसको invoke किया गया था। पिछले 2 सालों में देश को एक लम्बे समय तक lockdown से गुजरना पड़ा, देश के लाखों मजदूरों को, चूँकि उनकी फैक्टरियाँ बन्द हो गयी थीं, उनको ट्रेनों में बैठ कर अपने-अपने गाँव लौटना पड़ा। इस संकट के दौर से पूरे देश को गुजरना पड़ा, तरह-तरह की बंदिशें लगायी गयीं। महोदय, इस lockdown के खिलाफ यद्यपि विपक्ष के लोगों ने गरीबों को भड़काने का प्रयास किया, लेकिन पूरे हिन्दुस्तान में एक भी जगह कोई धरना, प्रदर्शन या बन्द नहीं हुआ। एक भी नागरिक या मजदूर lockdown के खिलाफ सड़कों पर नहीं आया।

महोदय, इसके बाद टीकाकरण प्रारम्भ हुआ। टीकाकरण का मज़ाक उड़ाया गया। अभी तक 181.56 करोड़ डोज लग चुके हैं। शुरू में hesitancy थी, लोगों में संशय था, लेकिन टीके के विरोध में कहीं कोई सड़कों पर नहीं आया। आपने तो बहुत प्रयास किया, लेकिन कहीं कोई सड़कों पर नहीं आया। महोदय, फ्रांस, न्यूजीलैंड, यूनाइटेड स्टेट्स, आस्ट्रेलिया और जर्मनी में हजारों लोग vaccination के विरोध में सड़कों पर आ गये। Lockdown के विरोध में न्यूजीलैंड के अन्दर 40,000 लोग सड़कों पर आये। उनको गिरफ्तार करना पड़ा, लाठी चार्ज करना पड़ा। महोदय, अगर आदरणीय नरेन्द्र मोदी जी ने कठोर lockdown लागू नहीं किया होता और जिस तरह से टीकाकरण का काम चालू किया, अगर वह नहीं किया होता, तो इस देश के अन्दर 5 लाख नहीं, बल्कि 50 लाख लोग मरे होते। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने 45 लाख और लोगों को मरने से बचा लिया।

उपसभापति महोदय, बिल गेट्स, Microsoft के Chief Executive या MD हैं, उन्होंने भारत के बारे में कहा कि "India has delivered over sixteen crore doses of Covid-19 vaccines to nearly 100 countries. Thanks to Indian manufacturers." आपने धन्यवाद दिया या नहीं दिया, लेकिन माइक्रोसॉफ्ट के CEO बिल गेट्स ने भारत की सरकार और manufacturers को धन्यवाद दिया।

महोदय, मैं lockdown का जिक्र कर रहा था। आप कनाडा के बारे में जानते हैं! कनाडा के अन्दर, Freedom Convoy-22, जो अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय Ambassador Bridge था, जो कनाडा और अमेरिका को जोड़ता था, वहाँ के truckers ने उसको एक महीने से ज्यादा समय तक जाम कर दिया। 21 दिनों तक 12-12 घंटे हॉर्न बजा कर वे लोग कोविड के प्रतिबंधों एवं टीकाकरण का विरोध करते रहे। कनाडा में ऐसे हालात पैदा हो गये कि वहाँ के प्रधान मंत्री को अपने परिवार सहित राजधानी छोड़ कर अज्ञात जगह पर जाना पड़ा। महोदय, फिर भी जब वे truckers को vaccination के खिलाफ रोक नहीं पाये, तो उनको emergency लगानी पड़ी। कनाडा के इतिहास में यह पहली घटना है कि vaccination के विरोध में जो लोग सड़कों पर आये थे, उनको रोकने के लिए सरकार को emergency लागू करनी पड़ी।

महोदय, यह था कनाडा, यह था यूरोप। लेकिन ये वही Canadian Prime Minister हैं, जो भारत के अन्दर किसान आन्दोलन के समर्थन में बयान दे रहे थे और कह रहे थे कि मैं शान्तिपूर्ण प्रदर्शनकारियों के साथ हूँ, लेकिन जब अपने देश के अन्दर ट्रक वालों की हड़ताल हुई,

तो वहाँ कहते हैं कि यह तुरन्त बन्द होना चाहिए। ये वही व्यक्ति हैं, जिसने emergency लगायी, हजारों लोगों को पकड़ कर जेलों के अन्दर बन्द कर दिया। महोदय, इस देश के प्रधान मंत्री के प्रति लोगों का जो भरोसा था, यह उसी का परिणाम था कि कोई भी व्यक्ति सड़क पर नहीं आया, किसी ने विरोध नहीं किया, चाहे वह टीकाकरण हो या lockdown हो। हमने सफलतापूर्वक Covid-19 का मुकाबला किया है।

महोदय, सरकार पर पूँजीपतियों को संरक्षण देने का आरोप लगता रहा है। मैं विपक्ष के साथियों से केवल पूछना चाहता हूँ कि अगर 19 महीनों तक इस देश के 80 करोड़ गरीबों को 5 किलो अनाज प्रति माह मुफ्त दिया गया, तो क्या वह अनाज अम्बानी और अडाणी के खाते में गया या इस देश के 80 करोड़ लोगों के घरों के अन्दर गया? महोदय, अभी तक 2 लाख, 68 हजार करोड़ का अनाज वितरित किया जा चुका है। मैं आदरणीय प्रधान मंत्री जी को धन्यवाद देना चाहूँगा कि 2 दिन पहले यह निर्णय लिया गया है कि मुफ्त अनाज वितरण 6 महीने के लिए और बढ़ाया जा रहा है। 80 करोड़ लोगों को छह महीने तक अनाज देंगे, उससे 80 हजार करोड़ रुपए का अतिरिक्त बोझ पड़ेगा, लेकिन हम उसकी व्यवस्था करेंगे। यहां माननीय निर्मला सीतारमण जी बैठी हैं, हम बजट में उसका प्रावधान करके उसकी व्यवस्था करेंगे, लेकिन किसी गरीब को भूखे नहीं मरने देंगे। हम किसी गरीब को भूखा नहीं सोने देंगे। दुनिया का सबसे बड़ा, world's largest food security कार्यक्रम सरकार भारत में लागू कर रही है। महोदय, हम 'वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्' की बात करते हैं। यूक्रेन संकट के दौरान केवल भारत के 20,000 लोगों को ही evacuate करने का काम नहीं किया, बल्कि हमने 18 देशों के 150 से ज्यादा नागरिकों को यूक्रेन से निकालने का काम किया है। हमारी सरकार ने यूक्रेन, पोलैंड, रोमानिया, स्लोवाक रिपब्लिक जैसे देशों को 90 टन relief material भी देने का काम किया है। महोदय, अफगानिस्तान से हमारे राजनयिक संबंध नहीं हैं, फिर भी हमने 50,000 मीट्रिक टन गेहूँ देने का एलान किया है। हम 5 लाख डोज़ वैक्सिन दे चुके हैं और 13 टन life-saving medicines दे रहे हैं। महोदय, हमारे बगल का पड़ोसी देश श्रीलंका भयंकर आर्थिक संकट के दौर से गुजर रहा है। हमने अन्य पड़ोसी देशों के साथ श्रीलंका की भी चिंता की और 1 billion dollar यानी लगभग सात हजार करोड़ रुपए का credit line श्रीलंका को उपलब्ध कराया, ताकि वह essential commodities, food, medicines आदि भारत से खरीद सके। अब तक कुल 2.4 billion dollar यानी करीब 16 हजार करोड़ रुपए से ज्यादा की आर्थिक मदद क्रेडिट के रूप में हमने श्रीलंका को देने का काम किया है। महोदय विपरीत परिस्थितियों के बावजूद हमने record direct tax collection किया है, जिसमें Corporate Tax और Income Tax दोनों आते हैं। Budget Estimate 11.08 लाख करोड़ का था, जिसे Revised Estimate में 12.5 लाख करोड़ का किया गया और हम अभी तक target से 1 लाख, 1 हजार करोड़ रुपए ज्यादा संग्रह कर चुके हैं और 31 तारीख आते-आते हम रिकॉर्ड संग्रह करने में सफल होंगे। सरकार ने 13 लाख, 63 हजार करोड़ रुपए संग्रह किया, यह वर्ष 2020-21 से 38 परसेंट ज्यादा है, 2019-20 से 36.6 परसेंट ज्यादा है और वर्ष 2018-19 की pre-pandemic period से 32.7 परसेंट ज्यादा है। इसका मतलब है कि अब आर्थिक विकास की गाड़ी धीरे-धीरे पटरी पर लौट रही है।

महोदय, बार-बार जीएसटी की चर्चा होती है। सदन को यह ज्ञात है कि हम अभी तक 13 लाख, 41 हजार करोड़ रुपए जीएसटी संग्रह कर चुके हैं। एक साल में पांचवीं बार हमने



1 लाख, 30 हजार करोड़ के target को क्रॉस किया है। यानी पांच महीने ऐसे हैं, जहां प्रतिमाह हमने 1 लाख, 30 हजार करोड़ रुपए संग्रह किए हैं। महोदय, एक बड़ी चुनौती पूरे देश और सारे राज्यों के सामने है क्योंकि पांच साल के लिए compensation का वायदा किया गया था, उसकी अवधि 31 जून को पूरी हो रही है। 1 जुलाई, 2022 के बाद compensation नहीं मिलेगा। राज्यों के लिए एक बड़ी चुनौती है। राज्यों को प्रतिवर्ष 1 लाख करोड़ रुपए से ज्यादा का नुकसान होगा। आखिर वह कहाँ से आएगा, कैसे आएगा? 5 साल के लिए compensation assure किया गया था कि प्रतिवर्ष 14 परसेंट की year-on-year growth provide करेंगे और यदि 14 परसेंट से कम की growth होगी, तो बीच का gap है, उसे compensation से provide किया जाएगा। सरकार ने यह भी कहा था कि यह compensation खजाने से नहीं देंगे। अलग से एक Compensation Fund create किया गया। कोयला, पान मसाला, सॉफ्ट ड्रिंक्स, लक़्ज़री गाड़ियों पर लगने वाले 28 परसेंट के ऊपर cess लगाया गया - over and above 28 परसेंट और उससे जो राशि आएगी, उसे Compensation Fund में रखा गया तथा उससे राज्यों के क्षतिपूर्ति की भरपाई की जा रही थी। जब 30 जून को compensation period समाप्त हो जाएगा, तो आगे क्या होगा?

जीएसटी काउंसिल ने निर्णय लिया है कि cess को 2026 तक बढ़ा दिया जाए, भारत सरकार ने कोरोना काल में राज्यों को लोन लेकर compensation provide किया है। चूँकि सेस में इतना पैसा नहीं था और राज्यों को जरूरत थी, इसलिए Rs.1.1 lakh crore in the year 2020-21 and Rs.1.59 lakh crore in the year 2021-22; यानी 2.69 लाख करोड़ रुपए बैंक टू बैंक गवर्नमेंट ऑफ इंडिया ने लोन लेकर राज्यों को राहत पहुँचाने का काम किया है। यह लोन with interest वापस करना पड़ेगा। यह जो 2.69 लाख करोड़ रुपए का लोन है, इसका interest 54,000 करोड़ रुपए होता है, यानी हमें कुल 3.23 लाख करोड़ रुपया repay करना है, वापस करना है। इसके अलावा 2020-21 और 2021-22 के जो arrears हैं, that is, about Rs.3.16 lakh crore, चूँकि हमने 14 परसेंट ग्रोथ assure की थी, लेकिन कोविड में सरकार ने कहा कि 14 परसेंट ग्रोथ देना संभव नहीं है, इसलिए हम केवल 7 परसेंट ग्रोथ प्रोवाइड करेंगे यानी कुल मिला कर Rs.6,39,000 crore, which includes Rs.3.23 lakh crore as the interest plus the principal repayment, जो compensation arrears हैं, उसको repay करना है। महोदय, compensation period को बढ़ाया गया है, उसमें जो भी राशि प्राप्त होगी, वह राशि 6.39 लाख करोड़ रुपए को repay करने में ही खर्च हो जाएगी। 1 जुलाई, 2022 के बाद राज्यों को मिलने वाला compensation बंद हो जाएगा। आखिर राज्यों के पास विकल्प क्या है।

Rate rationalization के लिए कमेटी बनी हुई है, लेकिन कोविड के कारण crisis की स्थिति है, उसमें टैक्स को रिवाइज़ नहीं किया जा सकता है, कोई टैक्स को बढ़ा नहीं सकते हैं। यह समय टैक्स बढ़ाने का उपयुक्त समय नहीं है, इसलिए जीएसटी काउंसिल को इस बात का विचार करना होगा और यह जिम्मेवारी केवल केन्द्र सरकार की नहीं है और जैसा कि मैंने कहा कि केन्द्र ने यह आश्वासन नहीं दिया था कि हम आपको अपने खजाने से निकाल कर 14 परसेंट की ग्रोथ compensate करेंगे। यह जो सेस की आमदनी होगी, उसके द्वारा उसकी क्षतिपूर्ति की जानी थी। अब जीएसटी काउंसिल को यह निर्णय लेना है कि आगे आने वाले दिनों में राज्यों को होने वाली एक लाख करोड़ रुपए से ज्यादा की जो क्षति है, उसकी पूर्ति कैसे होगी।

महोदय, मैं निर्मला जी को धन्यवाद देना चाहूँगा कि क्रिप्टो के बारे में जितने भ्रम थे, उन्होंने उन सारे भ्रमों को दूर करने का काम किया है। उन्होंने 30 per cent income from transfer of crypto assets plus cess and surcharge लगाया है। Mining is not part of acquisition cost, one per cent TDS is for tracking the transaction. Crypto और NFT के बारे में जो advertisements हैं, उनमें भी risk disclaimer देना पड़ेगा।

महोदय, यह क्रिप्टो आखिर क्या है! It is neither a commodity, nor an asset; it is not a good; it is not a service. आखिर यह क्या है? इसकी कोई intrinsic value नहीं है, इसके पीछे किसी कंपनी की ताकत नहीं है। मैं तो निर्मला जी से आग्रह करूँगा कि आपने इस पर 30 परसेंट का टैक्स लगाया है इसे आगे आने वाले दिनों में बढ़ाया जा सकता है। महोदय, यह क्रिप्टो gambling है, जुआ है। यह एक प्रकार की lottery है, एक प्रकार की horse racing है। अगर आप किसी शेयर में पैसा लगाते हैं, तो आपको मालूम है कि टाटा या कोई और कंपनी उसके पीछे है, लेकिन क्रिप्टो के पीछे कौन है? इस पर जापान ने 55 परसेंट, जर्मनी, फ्रांस, ऑस्ट्रिया ने upto 45 per cent, यूएस ने 37 परसेंट तक टैक्स लगाया है, इसलिए मैं निर्मला जी से आग्रह करूँगा कि आप इस पर विचार कीजिए कि क्या हम आगे आने वाले दिनों में क्रिप्टो पर 30 परसेंट से भी ज्यादा टैक्स लगाने का विचार कर सकते हैं?

महोदय, क्रिप्टो से पैसा कमाने वाले लोग हैं, उन्हें 30 परसेंट से कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ने वाला है, क्योंकि क्रिप्टो करेंसीज़ का जो CAGR (Compounded Average Growth Rate) है, वह बिटकॉइन का 115 परसेंट है, Ethereum का 30 परसेंट है, Binance Coin का 151 परसेंट है। So, investors are attracted by extraordinary profits. उपसभापति महोदय, Swaminathan Anklesaria Aiyar ने अपने एक आर्टिकल में लिखा - Cryptocurrency has no underlying value not even a tulip of 17<sup>th</sup> Century speculative bubble. 17वीं शताब्दी में यूरोप के एक देश के अंदर Tulip के फूल के लिए होड़ मच गई, हर आदमी Tulip खरीद रहा था और उसका दाम 200 गुना हो गया, लेकिन एक दिन अचानक जब bubble burst हुआ, तब हजारों लोग कंगाल हो गए। Tulip की कीमत कम से कम एक रुपया तो होगी, लेकिन क्रिप्टो की कीमत क्या है, यह कोई नहीं जानता है। महोदय, यूक्रेन ने सात दिन पहले क्रिप्टोकॉरेंसी को legalize कर दिया। Dubai adopts first virtual asset law, Dubai Virtual Asset Regulatory Authority और ब्रिटेन ने भी उसकी स्टडी करने के लिए ऑर्डर किया है। इस क्रिप्टो करेंसी में बड़े पैमाने पर फ्रॉड हो रहा है। एक स्टडी के अनुसार, criminals made a record 14 billion dollars in 2021. केरल के अंदर Abdul Gafoor नाम का एक व्यक्ति पकड़ा गया है, जो क्रिप्टोकॉरेंसी के फेक रैकेट में शामिल था। वह 1,200 करोड़ का रैकेट था, जिसमें लोग पकड़े गए हैं। अब एक अप्रैल से पहले-पहले investors started parking these currencies in private wallets. 8 billion worth crypto assets is expected to go out of country. महोदय, मैं माननीया मंत्री निर्मला जी से आग्रह करूँगा कि और विचार होना चाहिए।

मैं ऑनलाइन गेमिंग के बारे में भी कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। ऑनलाइन गेमिंग के नाम पर gambling हो रही है। मैं गेमिंग के विरोध में नहीं हूँ। एक अनुमान है कि 2022 के अंदर केवल fantasy game की 2.8 बिलियन डॉलर की इंडस्ट्री होगी। इस ऑनलाइन गेमिंग, ऑनलाइन lending को कैसे regulate किया जाए? आज का समाचार है कि करीब 40 से ज्यादा digital

lending applications found to be run by Chinese nationals. ऑनलाइन लेंडिंग, सोशल मीडिया, edtech, ये जो नई टेक्नोलॉजीज़ हैं, इन्हें कैसे regulate किया जाए? यह जो आईटी कानून बना हुआ है, यह 20 साल पुराना है। मैं सरकार से आग्रह करूँगा कि जो आईटी एक्ट है, उसे नए सिरे से ड्राफ्ट किया जाए, ताकि वह वर्तमान की चुनौतियों का मुकाबला कर सके। इसके साथ ही, मैं निर्मला जी से भी आग्रह करूँगा कि IMF, World Bank, Financial Stability Board के साथ मिलकर to device a framework, बहुत ही जल्द एक पेपर पब्लिश किया जाए, ताकि public consultation हो सके कि क्रिप्टो क्या है, NFT क्या है, इस पर क्या किया जाना चाहिए। वर्चुअल डिजिटल करेंसी की जो घोषणा की गई है, उस पर भी जल्द से जल्द विचार किया जाए। महोदय, इस क्रिप्टोकरेंसी की बिक्री पर केवल 18 परसेंट जीएसटी लगता है, वह भी जो सर्विस प्रोवाइडर है, जो exchange चलाने वाले लोग हैं, वे जो सर्विस प्रोवाइड करते हैं, उस पर 18 परसेंट टैक्स लगता है। मैंने इसे Zero Hour में भी उठाया था, because it is no asset, no security, no commodity, no goods, no services and cryptos are similar to lottery, casinos, betting, gambling, horse racing और इन सारी चीज़ों की पूरी transaction value पर 28 परसेंट टैक्स लगता है। अगर आप लॉटरी में 100 रुपये लगाएं, तो आपको 28 रुपये टैक्स देना पड़ेगा। अगर आप Casino में 1,000 रुपये की bet लगाएं, तो आपको 28 परसेंट टैक्स देना पड़ेगा और गोल्ड पर भी तीन परसेंट जीएसटी पूरे transaction पर, इसलिए मैं आपसे आग्रह करूँगा कि जीएसटी काउंसिल को इस बात पर विचार करना चाहिए कि भले ही वह 0.1 परसेंट हो, लेकिन क्रिप्टो की जो total transaction value है, उस पर जीएसटी लगाने के बारे में सरकार को भी विचार करना चाहिए।

उपसभापति महोदय, इस सदन में बैंकों पर काफी चर्चा होती रही है। के.वी. कामथ, जो इंडियन बैंकिंग के रिटेल गुरु माने जाते हैं, उन्होंने पिछले दिनों एक लेख में लिखा - In more than 50 years, I have been in banking business. मैं 50 साल से बैंकिंग बिज़नेस में हूँ। I have never seen their balancesheets as clean and healthy as today in terms of bad assets. हमने 50 सालों में आज तक बैंकों की इतनी बेहतर व्यवस्था को नहीं देखा है।

India's banking industry is in its best shape in terms of quality of assets and quantum of capital. Indian Rating and Research नामक एक रेटिंग एजेंसी है, वह लिखती है - Banking system health is at its best in decades.

महोदय, मैं इस बात को स्वीकार करता हूँ कि वर्ष 2018 में एनपीए पाँच गुना बढ़ गया। तब हमारी आलोचना होने लगी कि 2014 में आए और एनपीए five times बढ़कर 2.16 लाख करोड़ से 10.36 लाख करोड़ हो गया! मैं सदन को बताना चाहूँगा कि अगर एनपीए बढ़ा, तो वह इसलिए बढ़ा, क्योंकि आपने अपने 10 साल के कार्यकाल के अंदर aggressive lending किया। लोगों को टेलिफोन पर बैंकों से पैसा दिया जाता था, पैरवी के आधार पर दिया जाता था, इसलिए वर्ष 2008 में जहाँ 25 लाख करोड़ की बैंकों की lending थी, वह छः साल में बढ़कर 68 लाख करोड़ हो गई। नरेन्द्र मोदी जी की सरकार बनते ही asset quality review की एक कमिटी बनाई, इसका रिव्यू किया और एनपीए को आइडेंटिफाई करना शुरू किया। कानून को कड़ा किया। SARFAESI Act में तीन महीने की जेल का प्रावधान किया। अगर कोई willful defaulter है, तो debarred from floating new ventures for five years और वह कंपनी में डायरेक्टर है, तो कैपिटल मार्केट में वह

कोई नया इश्यू रेज़ नहीं कर सकता है। महोदय, इन सारी चीज़ों का परिणाम यह हुआ कि 31 मार्च, 2018 को जहाँ एनपीए 11.18 परसेंट था, वह एनपीए वर्ष 2021 में घटकर 6.39 परसेंट हो गया। यह है नरेन्द्र मोदी की सरकार, जिनके कार्यकाल में बैंकों की हालत बेहतर हुई है। महोदय, बैंकों को कैपिटल की आवश्यकता थी। जब बैंकों की हालत खराब होने लगी तो सरकार ने बैंकों को कैपिटल देना शुरू किया। कुल Rs. 3,36,000 crores, this Government has provided to the banks as a capital infusion. वर्ष 2018 में एनपीए के कारण बैंकों की हालत खराब थी, तब 90,000 करोड़ infuse किया गया, वर्ष 2019 में 1,06,000 करोड़ infuse किया गया। In the year 2021-22, बजट में यह प्रोवाइड किया गया कि हम कैपिटल के रूप में 15,000 करोड़ infuse करेंगे, लेकिन केवल 4,600 करोड़ की आवश्यकता पड़ी और 10,000 करोड़ की बचत हो गई। वर्ष 2023-24 के बजट में कोई प्रोविज़न नहीं किया गया है, क्योंकि बैंकों में कैपिटल infuse करने की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं पड़ेगी।

महोदय, आज बैंकों की स्थिति बेहतर हुई है, उनकी आमदनी बढ़ गई है। एसबीआई को जहाँ वर्ष 2016-17 में 1,300 करोड़ का लॉस था, वहीं वर्ष 2021 में 20,000 करोड़ का प्रॉफिट हुआ। बैंक ऑफ बड़ौदा का जहाँ वर्ष 2018-19 में Rs.8,000 crores का लॉस था, वहीं अब Rs.828 crores का प्रॉफिट है। Punjab National Bank को जहाँ वर्ष 2019-20 में 8,000 करोड़ का लॉस था, वहीं वर्ष 2020-21 में उसे Rs. 2,000 crore का प्रॉफिट है।

महोदय, ये corruption के खिलाफ लड़ाई की बात करते हैं! चुनाव में कहा जाता था कि \* नीरव मोदी, नरेन्द्र मोदी, \* आपने भगा दिया! ...**(व्यवधान)**... उपसभापति महोदय, मैं सदन को बताना चाहूँगा कि विजय माल्या, नीरव मोदी और मेहुल चौकसी, जिन्होंने Rs.22,585 करोड़ का fraud करके public sector banks के पैसे को siphon किया था, divert किया था, out of that Rs.22,585 crores, Rs.19,111 crores की प्रॉपर्टी attach की जा चुकी है। सर, Rs.22,585 करोड़ में Rs.19,111 crores की संपत्ति को जब्त किया जा चुका है और Rs.15,113 crores की संपत्ति बैंकों को वापस सौंप दी गई है। इतना ही नहीं, बैंकों को जो 15,113 करोड़ की संपत्ति वापस मिली, उसको बेचकर बैंकों ने 8,000 करोड़ की राशि प्राप्त कर ली है। महोदय, नरेन्द्र मोदी से कोई बचकर नहीं जा पाएगा, चाहे वह विजय माल्या हो, नीरव मोदी हो या मेहुल चौकसी हो।

महोदय, हमने तो कार्रवाई कर दी, लेकिन आपकी क्या स्थिति है? इसी सदन में एक प्रश्न के उत्तर में बताया गया कि 6 राज्यों के अंदर bank fraud के 128 cases pending हैं। सीबीआई ने मांग की कि हमें consent दीजिए, permission दीजिए, क्योंकि आपने general consent withdraw कर लिया। डेढ़ साल का समय हो गया, आपने consent देने से इंकार कर दिया। महोदय, डेढ़ साल से twenty one thousand crore के 128 cases pending हैं, लेकिन राज्य सरकार consent नहीं दे रही है। यहां प्रफुल्ल पटेल जी बैठे हैं, आप अपने मुख्य मंत्री जी से बात कीजिए। सबसे ज्यादा 101 मामले, जिसमें 20,312 करोड़ के cases महाराष्ट्र में pending हैं, पंजाब में 298 करोड़ के और बंगाल में 293 करोड़ के 6 cases pending हैं, एक का भी consent नहीं दिया गया। आप कहते हैं कि हमने विजय माल्या पर कार्रवाई नहीं की, हमने कार्रवाई कर

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\* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

दी, लेकिन जो पब्लिक सेक्टर बैंक्स के fraud हैं, इसमें consent की ज़रूरत ही नहीं है, यह तो जिन राज्यों ने consent withdraw कर लिया, वहां पूछने की आवश्यकता पड़ती है। महोदय, महाराष्ट्र में मनोज जायसवाल, अभिजीत जायसवाल, अभिषेक और मुन्ना राजीव जायसवाल कौन हैं? डेढ़ साल से Corporate Power Limited -- जिनका 4,000 करोड़ रुपये का bank fraud था, उसमें आपने परमिशन नहीं दी। येस बैंक के सीएमडी राणा कपूर, जिसका 15,000 करोड़ का consent डेढ़ साल से pending है, आपने क्यों नहीं दिया? उपसभापति महोदय, ABG shipyard की बात आयी, आपने 14 महीने तक consent नहीं दिया, जबकि banks ने complaint file कर दी थी। FIR करने में महाराष्ट्र सरकार ने 14 महीने लगा दिए, लेकिन उनको consent नहीं दिया गया।

महोदय, इंडिया का जो एक्सपोर्ट है, आज़ादी के बाद के उसके सारे रिकॉर्ड टूट गए और 10 दिन पहले ही 400 बिलियन से ज्यादा का एक्सपोर्ट टारगेट पूरा कर लिया।

महोदय, प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा कि Local goes Global, History has been scripted, Milestone in India's journey towards Aatmanirbhar Bharat. महोदय, एग्रीकल्चर एक्सपोर्ट में हम 23 बिलियन का टारगेट पार करने जा रहे हैं। आज भारत दुनिया का सबसे बड़ा चावल का एक्सपोर्टर है, हम 90 देशों को एक्सपोर्ट कर रहे हैं। इस प्रकार, हम एग्रीकल्चर एक्सपोर्ट का पूरा टारगेट पार करेंगे। महोदय, हम व्हीट का एक्सपोर्ट 380 परसेंट ज्यादा कर रहे हैं। यूक्रेन-रूस crisis के कारण पूरी दुनिया के अंदर गेहूं का संकट पैदा हुआ है, लेकिन आज हमारे किसानों की यह स्थिति है कि मध्य प्रदेश, पंजाब और बाकी राज्यों के अंदर किसानों को बाज़ार में एमएसपी से 200 रुपये से ज्यादा मिल रहे हैं।

महोदय, मोबाइल फोन एप्पल ने 12 हजार करोड़ रुपये के मोबाइल फोन एक्सपोर्ट किया है और सैमसंग ने 20 हजार करोड़ का एक्सपोर्ट किया है। वर्ष 2017-18 में जहां 1,300 करोड़ रुपये के स्मार्ट फोन एक्सपोर्ट किए गए थे, वह 32 times बढ़ गया और वर्ष 2021-22 में 42 हजार करोड़ रुपये से ज्यादा के स्मार्ट फोन हमने भारत से एक्सपोर्ट करने का काम किया है, जबकि semiconductors की कमी थी, lockdown का disruption था, चीन से तनाव के कारण components के आने में देर हो रही थी, लेकिन यह PLI scheme का कमाल है कि अब एप्पल और सैमसंग ने भी अपने सेंटर्स यहां स्थापित कर लिए हैं।

महोदय, यहां बार-बार one rank, one pension की बात होती है। OROP को सुप्रीम कोर्ट में challenge किया गया था। सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने कहा "No constitutional infirmity." जिस तरह से OROP भारत सरकार ने लागू किया है, उसमें कहीं कोई कठिनाई नहीं है। महोदय, पूरे डिफेंस बजट का 1/5वां हिस्सा केवल पेंशन में जाता है। वर्ष 2013-14 में 45 हजार करोड़ रुपये की pension liability थी, वह बढ़कर 1 लाख, 28 हजार करोड़ हो गई है। वह लगभग 4 गुना बढ़ गई, लेकिन हमने 36 लाख से ज्यादा सैनिक और सिविल डिफेंस के लोगों के लिए OROP लागू करके अपने वायदे को पूरा करने का काम किया है।

यहां बार-बार inflation की चर्चा होती है। शक्तिसिंह गोहिल जी ने तो केवल inflation पर ही दो-तिहाई समय लगा दिया। अमरीका को 40 साल बाद जैसी महंगाई face करनी पड़ रही है, वैसी महंगाई आज तक अमरीका ने नहीं देखी थी। 7.9 per cent Consumer Price Index in February, 2020 which is 40 years high. यू.के. के अंदर 30 साल में सबसे ज्यादा महंगाई

6.2 per cent रही; Euro Zone, जिसमें 19 देश यूरो का इस्तेमाल करते हैं, वहां पर 5.8 per cent inflation rate है और भारत में inflation rate 6.07 per cent है।

### [उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री भुवनेश्वर कालिता) पीठासीन हुए]

महोदय, 2022 में inflation rate 6 के आस-पास है, वर्ष 2008 में आपकी सरकार थी, तब inflation rate 8.4 per cent था; 2009 में 10.9 per cent; 2010 में 12 per cent inflation rate था, 2012 में 9.3 per cent; 2013 में 11.1 per cent था। इनके राज में double digit inflation rate था। आज नरेन्द्र मोदी जी की सरकार ने inflation को RBI six per cent plus minus 2 के within रोक कर रखा है। आप कहते हैं कि दाम बढ़े हैं! इससे कौन इन्कार करेगा कि दाम नहीं बढ़े हैं? अगर यूक्रेन-रूस का युद्ध नहीं होता, तो आज पेट्रोल का दाम नहीं बढ़ता,...(व्यवधान)... हमने महंगाई पर नियंत्रण लगा दिया होता।

महोदय, growth rate का आंकड़ा है, यूक्रेन की लड़ाई, कोविड, भारत-चीन सीमा पर तनाव, इन सारी परिस्थितियों में 2021-22 का ग्रोथ रेट का आंकड़ा, Fitch, दुनिया की सबसे बड़ी रेटिंग एजेंसी है, Fitch Ratings 8.70, World Bank-8.30, IMF- 9 per cent है। वर्ष 2021-22 में भारत का ग्रोथ रेट, दुनिया के अंदर सबसे ज्यादा ग्रोथ रेट वाले देशों में से एक होगा। ये हमारे आंकड़े नहीं हैं, ये Fitch, World Bank, Moody's, IMF and RBI के आंकड़े हैं। इन सारी विपरीत परिस्थितियों में न जुलूस निकला, न प्रदर्शन हुआ और न ही कहीं लॉकडाउन का विरोध हुआ। मैं बताना चाहता हूं कि श्री नरेन्द्र मोदी जी की लोकप्रियता लगातार बढ़ती जा रही है और दूसरे देशों में वहां के प्रधानमंत्रियों की लोकप्रियता घटती जा रही है। एक Morning Consult नाम की site है, जो survey करती है, उसने यह पाया कि श्री नरेन्द्र मोदी 77 per cent rating के साथ दुनिया में सबसे ज्यादा लोकप्रिय राजनेता हैं। Biden Rating 41 per cent है, वे सातवें नंबर पर हैं और Mexican Prime Minister नंबर दो पर हैं। मैं केवल यह बता रहा हूं कि यह कोई सामान्य काम नहीं था, जिस प्रकार से हमने कोविड का मुकाबला किया, जिस प्रकार से हमने इन विपरीत परिस्थितियों में काम किया है।

महोदय, मैं अंत में इतना ही कहूंगा कि अगर नरेन्द्र मोदी जी नहीं होते, तो इन चुनौतियों का मुकाबला नहीं हो पाता। ये नरेन्द्र मोदी और उनकी सरकार थी, उनकी सुदृढ़ इच्छा शक्ति थी। यह व्यक्ति टकराना जानता है, जिसको take the bull by the horns कहते हैं। वह डरता नहीं है, घबराता नहीं है, वह हर चुनौती को अवसर में बदलता है और सफलता उसके कदमों को चूमती है। अंत में, मैं इतना ही कहूंगा कि सीढ़ियां उन्हें मुबारक हों, जिन्हें सिर्फ छत तक जाना है। जिनको केवल छत तक जाना है, वे सीढ़ी पर चढ़कर चले जाएं।

"सीढ़ियां उन्हें मुबारक हो,  
जिन्हें सिर्फ छत तक जाना है।  
मेरी मंजिल तो आसमां है,  
रास्ता खुद मुझे बनाना है।"

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ निर्मला जी को और आदरणीय प्रधान मंत्री जी को धन्यवाद देकर अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ।

**3.00 PM**

SHRI T.K.S. ELANGO VAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir, I have been repeatedly talking about the Budget exercise and repeatedly asking what good this Budget has done to the people, particularly daily-wagers, who are suffering during the last two years. There is nothing in this Budget for the daily-wagers. That is my grievance. It helps others, not daily-wagers. And, Sir, they were jobless for quite some time! When we ask about this, they talk about vaccine. They are going to die for want of food. They need food. They have no jobs. They don't know what to do. What this Budget has done for that section of society? I don't know. There is nothing here.

Hon. Sushil Modi was talking about profits of banks. I know how profits can be made in banks. Banks run on funds from depositors. If you reduce rate of interest for depositors, profit will go up. It is a simple logic. What was the rate of interest for depositors 7-8 years ago and what is the rate of interest that banks are giving today is the question. So, to understand increase in profit of banks is a simple logic. I don't know how much fund from other sources has been transferred to undertake 'profit-making exercise' of individual banks. I think, I have heard that pension fund belonging to employees transferred to banks just to show profits! So, the role of democratic Government, in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, should be to protect and provide socio-economic development to its citizens. What has this Budget done? They talk about rich people. They talk about getting back money from economic offenders. But, what is the progressive idea and concept this Government has for the people who are suffering? Petrol and diesel prices go up. It is not a simple thing. It will have a cascading effect on all food products. The daily-wager could not even afford to buy anything. He is eating half of what he was eating earlier! You don't know this! His consumption has gone down! Sir, even the NSSO had said that domestic consumption has gone down. Sir, NSSO is not me, nor is the Congress Party or the DMK party. It is the organization of the Government. It says that domestic consumption has gone down. Why? It is because people cannot afford to buy anything. See, if a small vendor from a village wants to take his things for sale to the nearest town, he uses moped. He has to pay more on petrol. He goes to town to sell his produce, but forced to increase the price because of hike in the price of petrol. And, nobody buys his produce at a higher price. So, he has to come back. He will also suffer. Sir, look at the people who are suffering. Don't talk of banks and other

things. The duty of the Government is to ensure that people do not suffer. Can you give me figures of the BPL families today? Why are they suffering? What is the role of the Government in protecting them? It is nothing. There is nothing in this Budget. Except some colourful figures, there is nothing in this Budget. This Budget has failed in providing any good thing for the common man — the poorest of the poor. You are increasing the prices. You talk about everything — GDP, GST and other things. But, what are you providing to poor? I cannot see anything in this Budget which will help the poorest of the poor in this country.

I agree as far as allocation to Defence is concerned. I don't say that there is nothing good in this Budget. But, what is the role of the Government? We elect the Government. With a population like India where more than 70 per cent is poor, the duty of the Government is to protect the poor, give him the economic and social security.

Let them live. You can vaccinate people and save their lives. But you have to try to stop people from dying without food. What has your Government done? There is nothing in this Budget. The price of everything has gone up. How can a person buy foodgrain or food material for his use? In 2019, this Government said -- I am saying this repeatedly -- that 150 per cent of the cost of production will be provided as MSP. Now, the farmers, who had withdrawn their agitation after these three Bills were withdrawn, are demanding for MSP. But the Government is not talking about it. The Government does not talk about the MSP. The promise made in the House was MSP at 150 per cent of the cost of production, as recommended by M.S. Swaminathan Committee. The Prime Minister very proudly said that this Congress Government did not act on M.S. Swaminathan Committee Report; we acted. What is the act? There is nothing. This very simple promise of providing 150 per cent of the cost price as MSP is not announced even today. My hon. friend, Shri Shaktisinh Gohil, was talking about private players like Jio. There is a joke. I have read it on the Facebook. 'A small boy asks his father: Father, is Jio a Government company? Father answers: No, my dear son. The Government is Jio's company.' That is the joke. That much of privatisation is taking place in this country. Why? What we are making in India is stopped. But you call for 'Make in India'. So, the problem with this Government is that they want to say something which is factually wrong; they want to do something which will not do good to the poor but do good to the rich. Every Budget -- this is the 9<sup>th</sup> Budget -- has very promising features. But, in practice, nothing is promising. Every year, the situation is deteriorating. Our poor people are still poor. With these words, I conclude. Thank you.



DR. AMAR PATNAIK (Odisha): Sir, I rise to speak in favour and support of the Appropriation Bill, 2022 and the Finance Bill, 2022. However, while doing so, I would like to make certain suggestions and certain concerns that India should be worried about, all of us should be worried about, all Members of Parliament and the entire country should be worried about. Article 38 of our Constitution, amongst many other things, says, "The State shall, in particular, strive to minimise the inequalities in income, and endeavour to eliminate inequalities in status, facilities and opportunities, not only amongst individuals but also amongst groups of people residing in different areas or engaged in different vocations." My concern, which I want to flag here, is whether we have achieved this. Sir, allow me to quote the Gini Coefficient, which is a measure of inequality in society, from the year 2000 to the current year, for a period of 20 years. The Gini Coefficient has increased from 74.7 in 2000 to 82.3 in 2022. So, while we are talking about growth, the GDP growth, the economic growth and increasing the size of the cake, what we have actually increased also simultaneously is the inequality in society. We have to think about this. We have to think about our economic policy as to why the inequality is not decreasing. Growth is not becoming as inclusive as we would have liked where the GDP, the economic GDP, is increasing. The maximum increase was, in fact, during the period 2000 to 2006. Now, if you look at the Gini Index, another indicator of the World Bank, it has also increased from 34.4 in 2004 to 35.2 in 2020. Amartya Sen once said, "There is a kind of tolerance to inequality in this country. It is seen in what is considered acceptable as a means of judging the performance of the economy. If the incomes of a few people rise, that is treated as evidence for the economy doing well. The tolerance for that idea is worrying." It is not only Amartya Sen, if you look at the 2017 World Bank Report, that exactly states the same thing because too much of inequality would give rise to social strife, civil strife and the Arab Spring kind of situations. Currently, the Economic Survey says, and I quote from the last year's Economic Survey, that the total wealth of the middle-class, which was 45 per cent of the total wealth in 1981, decreased to 22.9 per cent in 2020. About 3.2 crore people decreased from the middle-income population. The size of the middle-class decreased. Five out of six multi-dimensionally poor are SCs, STs or OBCs. Twelve per cent of the poor live in female-headed households. Therefore, we need to have greater investment in education, health, nutrition and the purchasing power of the people at the bottom of the income-wealth pyramid has to increase. But, it is very well said there is no use demanding all these and ask for all these things to happen unless we raise the revenues for it. The Finance Bill is a document which basically lays out the plan for raising revenues for it. Now, how do you do it?

The tax-GDP ratio in our country, if I quote the figures, has been hovering around 10.7 per cent currently. During the last five years, it has remained at 9.9 per cent, 11.22 per cent, like that. There has to be something to increase our tax-GDP ratio. Some way, some method has to be devised. One of the ways, which I am going to plead for here and which I think is something that the Finance Bill has missed, is the re-introduction of Wealth Tax or a Covid Tax. How do you generate resources for meeting social sector expenditure? I spoke in my speech on the Budget that the social sector expenditure, as a percentage of the GDP, not in gross terms, has actually remained almost at the same level. Unless we increase that, obviously, the inequality indices will not improve. Now, I have certain figures to present that if you impose this tax, as per the Oxfam India Report, one per cent of Wealth Tax on the 98 billionaires would finance the Ayushman Bharat for more than seven years. One per cent tax on wealth of 98 billionaires can take care of total expenditure for school education and literacy. Two per cent tax on individuals with an income of over Rs.10 crores could increase the Ministry's Budget by an astounding 121 per cent. I would plead that we need to do something to get this revenue so that we can spend on social sector. This is on the appropriation in macro terms.

Now, let me go to the Finance Bill which has significantly good things in terms of capping the long-term Capital Gains Tax at 15 per cent, the show-cause notice being made mandatory before you re-adjust the taxes after a re-assessment. There are many good things. The Dispute Resolution Panel is also one of them. But, I think, the biggest concern, as Sushil Modiji was also saying, is about the digital assets. While the definition is not clear and the regulations are not there, naturally, it is understood that the taxation guidelines are not very clear. He had made suggestions to increase the taxes. I leave it to that, but before that, very importantly, one has to reach the definition; what constitutes a 'virtual digital asset' in an age in which technology is literally generating new virtual private digital assets almost every year or every second. There is confusion over there with regard to the set-off of loss on VDA with capital gains. If it happens in the same year, whether the set-off would take place or not on the same kind of VDA, is something which needs clarification. On the TDS, the problem is of traceability. If the buyer is not able to even identify the seller at all, in that case, how do you collect that particular tax and also the cost of acquisition? I think, the Virtual Digital Assets ecosystem has to be defined in a much broader way. Hon. Finance Minister had already clarified it but I think, we have to act very fast now that the tax has already been imposed. I would now like to talk about unexplained cash credit. It is a very good thing. The only problem is whether the

trade payables, bank borrowings and credit card payments would be included or not. Currently, it seems as if these would be included.

Let me also talk about the faceless assessment scheme, which everyone is talking about. I am sure, each one of us, who has been paying income tax, has faced some kind of technical glitches. I think, it still requires attention by the Government to solve the problems. But more important is that even acknowledgement is not given of a successfully filed submission, which, I think, is very important. Many taxpayers have told me about this problem.

Now, I come to cess and surcharge. During the last ten years, it has been increased five times. It is five-fold increase! From 0.9 per cent of GDP in 2011-12, it has gone to 1.7 per cent of GDP. While the cess and surcharge has increased, what has happened, however, is that the gross tax revenue has decreased from 10.4 per cent of GDP to 9.9 per cent of GDP. The result is - pressure on the State finances because the devolution to the States has decreased to that extent. Currently, if you take everything together, the devolution to the States has actually decreased to 30 per cent of the gross tax revenue.

Sir, the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) had recommended that there should be a proper procedure for allocating the education cess and the health cess which is collected. The other day, while speaking on Budget, I had said that it is currently being taken to actually fund the expenditure which was already meant to be there. It has not actually augmented it because the cess is supposed to have augmented it in a particular and specific aspect of health or education. There is no cap on cess and surcharge. Hon. Chief Minister of Odisha, Shri Naveen Patnaik, has repeatedly written to the Central Government to make cess and surcharge a part of shareable pool. Unless you put a cap on it and you spend it for a specific purpose, as it was intended to be, ... *(Time-bell rings)*

This is my last point, Sir. I will be very brief. This is about Odisha's demands. We are in the age of technology. The Budget emphasized heavily on technology, and, rightly so. But, Sir, 25 per cent of villages in Odisha are without internet connection. Sir, 6,999 villages out of 25,000 villages are without internet connection, and, it requires 2,500 mobile stations/towers to achieve this target. When will that happen? Even now, an amount of Rs. 1,623 crore of GST compensation is pending. Subsidy to be returned by the FCI for procurement of paddy, which is one of our most significant agricultural operation, post-harvest operation, is still pending to be given, and, there is no clarity as to whether the Government of India would lift 15 lakh metric tonnes of fortified par-boiled rice. About 12 lakh beneficiaries are still waiting for the Prime Minister's Awas Yojana houses. When you are having a Budget to address the

common people and all sections of the society, I really do not understand as to why these specific areas of concern, as given by the State of Odisha, could not be met. Thank you.

SHRI V. VIJAYASAI REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, I rise to support the Appropriation Bill, 2022 and also the Finance Bill, 2022 despite some anomalies which I would like to bring to the notice of hon. Finance Minister.

The first point is tax exemption limit. Between 2014 and 2022, the cumulative inflation has increased by 48 per cent, whereas the tax exemption limit has remained the same at Rs.2,50,000 since the BJP Government has come to power. I bring it to the notice of hon. Finance Minister that there has to be a parity between taxation and inflation and you need to maintain the minimum exemption limit. The parity between taxation and inflation is needed because with the falling income, rising inflation and stagnant tax relief, the common man cannot survive. Hon. Finance Minister has to realise it.

The second issue is, decline in the savings of the taxpayers. The interest rate on Employees' Provident Fund has been falling since 2018-19 when it was 8.65 per cent. As of today, in 2021-22, it has come down to 8.1 per cent. The current rate of 8.1 per cent is the lowest interest rate which is being paid to the Provident Fund Subscribers in the last 44 years. This will definitely have a negative impact on the savings of five crore Indians.

The National Pension Scheme is the only savings scheme where tax is levied on payment of maturity which is really deplorable. I request hon. Finance Minister to look into it and exempt the payment that is received by the subscriber on maturity. No tax reform has been made to make the National Pension Scheme (NPS) lucrative for the taxpayers by the NDA regime.

On COVID treatment, the expenditure that is reimbursed for COVID treatment of the family head or the family members is deductible and it is a welcome move by the Government. But the point that we have to realise here is why this is done. The reimbursement occurs where there is no insurance coverage. There is a need to encourage health insurance which can be made affordable to the masses. And it can be made affordable to the masses only if the GST at the rate of 18 per cent is reduced to nil. This is my request to hon. Finance Minister. Hon. Finance Minister may say that it is not in their hands and that it is in the hands of the States and the GST Council. But that is not the reply that we expect from hon. Finance Minister. Though the authority lies with the GST Council, it is the BJP Government which is responsible for that. It can take up the issue, because there are so many States where the BJP is

in power. They can take up the issue in the GST Council and reduce the GST on insurance from 18 per cent to nil.

The next issue is disinvestment of PSUs and Public Sector Banks. By amending the provisions of carrying forward and setting off of losses under Section 79, you are enabling the disinvestment easier. Some of the PSUs are being sold part by part and some of the PSUs are being sold in one go to private parties. Disinvestment process of 18 PSUs out of 36 PSUs is complete in some respect or the other. On the sale of PSBs or GIC, the IDBI is being privatized along with two PSBs and one General Insurance Company is being privatized.

Sir, today and tomorrow, all-India *bandh* has been called for only against privatization. So, we, the State Government of Andhra Pradesh, are supporting the *bandh* and opposing the privatization of public sector undertakings. What is expected of the PSUs by the general public at large? General public at large in this country expects that PSUs would contribute and develop critical infrastructure, provide affordable goods and services, and create lakhs of jobs. I refer to Visakhapatnam Steel Plant. During the pandemic, it helped the public at large, which is being privatized now. Who will take care of the public if you start privatizing all the public sector undertakings which are generating or likely to generate profits?

Sir, now, I come to Vizag Steel Plant. Andhra Pradesh is the biggest victim of the decision of the Central Government to privatise PSUs. The State Government has been agitating against privatization of RINL for the last one-and-a-half years. Nothing is done. The ruling dispensation, sitting in Delhi, is not able to hear anything and that the people are crying there in Visakhapatnam. The Central Government wants to privatise VSP, that is, Visakhapatnam Steel Plant, for the simple reason that it is incurring losses. In reality, it is not incurring losses. I request the hon. Minister to go into the record. For the current year, it is a profit of Rs.1,000 crore. And what has been invested by the Central Government? The Central Government initially has invested about Rs.5,000 crore in Visakhapatnam Steel Plant. Against an investment of Rs.5,000 crore for the last decades, how much has it got back? By way of dividends, it has got back about Rs.51,000 crore when it was earning profits. Just because in the recent past it has incurred losses, decision to privatise Visakhapatnam Steel Plant is really deplorable. It is against the interests of the public. I request the hon. Finance Minister to scrupulously follow three 'R', that is, Restructure, Revamp and Revive public sector undertakings rather than privatizing them.

Sir, why is the Visakhapatnam Steel Plant incurring losses right now; not right now but in the past? It is because the Central Government has not allotted captive mines. Secondly, the Central Government has refused to restructure the debt and

waive the interest. It is because of these two reasons that it has incurred losses for a period of five years or so.

Then, I come to GST compensation. I heard the reply of the hon. Finance Minister when the Finance Minister responded to a question in Question Hour. It gave an impression that the Finance Minister has extended GST compensation to States for a period of five years. I have repeatedly seen the video and tried to find out and understand what the Finance Minister has said. The Finance Minister has said that the surcharge which is levied would be extended for another period of five years for the Central Government to repay the loans that it has paid as compensation to the States. In fact, the Finance Minister has not extended the compensation payable to the States. I request the hon. Finance Minister to kindly reconsider and extend the period of compensation payable to the States for another period of five years. *(Time-bell rings)* I have three more points.

Sir, then, I come to cryptocurrency. It is very important. For the last four or five decades, the Congress has ruled the country; now, BJP is ruling the country. I bring it to the notice of the hon. Finance Minister that there is a possibility of misusing the cryptocurrency and I humbly request the Finance Minister to address this issue. There may be a transaction that is not routed through the exchange. There are about less than 150 cryptocurrency exchanges in the world. There may be transactions not routed through the exchange or transactions which take place between two individuals like myself and my friend, Mr. Ramesh. How will the Government come to know? According to me, there is a possibility of Congress or BJP opening 90 crore accounts and transfer the funds through Direct Benefit Transfer (DBT) scheme to buy the voters, to lure the voters. So, this has to be addressed.

Finally, there is a very important amendment to the finance side. Madam has proposed and amended Section 147 of the Income Tax Act, which Congress Party has misused for four decades. The words that have been omitted from the Section is, according to Section 147, an Assessing Officer who has a reason to believe that the income has escaped assessment, he can reopen the assessment. That reason to believe has been omitted and dropped by the hon. Finance Minister last year. Now, the Assessing Officer has got an unfettered freedom. Whether he has a reason to believe or not, he can reopen the assessment. Now, we are political parties, regional parties, against which the ruling dispensation can take the vengeance. Earlier, they were taking vengeance and the Congress Party had foisted so many false cases. Therefore, I request the hon. Finance Minister to kindly look into Section 147 and then restore the amendments that have been made in the last year.

My last point is about Section 10 (23C). For the charitable institutions, they are charitable institutions, they are not discretionary trusts, which are covered and complying with the conditions of Section 10 (23C), the conditions have been made more stringent and these stringent conditions are imposed at par with those of the trust covered under Section 11 and 12. By doing so, we are not doing justice to the charitable institutions. I request the hon. Finance Minister, the Government can very well delete Section 10 (23C) and make all the trusts claim benefits under Sections 11 to 13 of the Income Tax Act. Such a step would simplify the law and there would not be any special status of the trust claiming exemption under Section 10 (23C). Thank you, Sir.

DR. V. SIVADASAN (Kerala): Respected Chair of the hon. august House, here our hon. Member, Shri V. Vijayasai Reddy referred to the struggle of workers and he also supported the struggle. Today, while we are sitting in the House, workers of the country are on the streets. Their demands are directly linked with the policy of the Government. They are demanding for a better life for the people of our nation. They are demanding better education, better food and better clothing for everybody in our nation. One of the great poets, Pablo Neruda was asked: "Why are you not speaking on the beauty of the native country? Why are you not speaking on big mountain of this native land? Why are you not speaking about the sweet sound of the river?" He answered in his poem: "Come and see the blood in the streets. Come and see the blood in the streets." I think, this is a very important point that Pablo Neruda told us. Here, I would try to recite two lines:

" जब गुलिस्ताँ को लहू की ज़रूरत पड़ी,  
सबसे पहले गरदन हमारी कटी।  
फिर भी कहते हैं अहले चमन,  
ये हमारा है चमन तुम्हारा नहीं"

Sir, 'When the Garden needed blood, you have cut our necks. Even then, you are telling us that the Garden is yours, not ours.' Sir, I am saying, Sorry! This will not work in our nation. Our great nation, India is built by the sweat and blood of the workers of the country. India, the great nation, is built by the sacrifice of the peasants. India, the great nation, is built by the martyrdom of the youth. So, the workers of this country will fight against the policies of the Government. The fighting spirit of workers, you will see, on the streets. The Union Government is trying to help the big corporate houses and they are trying to help them to exploit the people in various ways. We are seeing all these things in different ways. Food, employment,

health, education and other facilities are very important for the development of the society. But, the existing Government is not ready to invest proper amount for the development of the society and for the development of the marginalized communities. They are not ready to help in trying to eradicate malnutrition and poverty, these kinds of illness. They are neglecting education and health facilities for the nation. The respected Finance Minister says that there is a record GST collection, but the marginalized communities are not getting proper share for them. So, the budgetary allocation, the figures have clearly shown that the common people will be charged and the richest will be benefited. This is the existing condition. Again, Sir, I say that there are a lot of incidences which prove the anti-people approach of the Government. One of these is related to the Mid-Day Meal Scheme. Sir, Rs. 1500 crores have been reduced in the present Budget. It will affect the students, especially, those who are from the marginalized section. Currently, in India, young children are facing a lot of crisis. They are facing different problems. We see, child mortality, maternal mortality, stunted growth, wasting and anaemia. The number of anaemic children in India is the largest in the world. Now, the world is discussing the situation in Sri Lanka. There, the common people are in the long queues for getting a piece of bread and water. I am adding something related to this. But, in India, the anaemic children are 94 million. These 94 million means, this is four times of the entire population of Sri Lanka. That means, four crying and starving Sri Lankans are here in India. Again, another thing is, now, we are discussing Ukraine issues and there the bleeding war fields in Ukraine. The number of anaemic children in India are more than two times the entire population of Ukraine. This also will be discussed here. The UNICEF Report says that the major portion of death of children under 5 is related to malnutrition. Every day, in India, more than 4500 children die. In a single minute, we are losing 3 children. In Global Hunger Index 2021, the position of India is 101 out of 116 countries. Global Hunger Index has been prepared on the basis of the performance in under-nourishment, child wasting, child stunting and child mortality.

The Report of National Family Health Survey, NFHS-5 has shown the status of India. In these areas, in India, we also see in all these cases, a huge urban-rural divide. The extreme divide between urban and rural areas is pointed in the report. In neonatal mortality rate, the child death before the first 28 days of birth; urban, it is 18; rural, it is 28 and the national average is 25. Infant mortality rate; urban, it is 27; rural, it is 38 and national average is 35. Under-five mortality rate; urban, it is 32; rural, it is 46 and national average is 41. Child stunting; urban, it is 30; rural, it is 35 and national average is 41. Child wasting; urban, it is 35; rural, it is 37 and national average is 35. ...(*Interruptions*)... Sir, there are two more points. Underweight; urban, it is 27;



rural, it is 33 and national average is 32. Sir, I am quoting all these things from the Government Report. In this Capital city of Delhi, three girls aged between 2 and 11 starved to death. Doctors in the hospital, after the post-mortem report, said that they had not eaten a single piece of bread for the previous seven days. In the previous seven days, they could not take a single piece of bread. The majority of the workers in India are getting very meager amount as their wage. The minimum wage of employees in various parts is below than the price of two litres of petrol. There is a huge decrease in the real wages of the workers. The existing wages of the workers are not sufficient for them to buy even a litre of cooking oil. They are unable to buy even a litre of cooking oil with their wages. The workers have their own dreams. They have dreams for better education, they have dreams for better food, better clothing. On all these things, everybody has has own dreams, but they are unable to fulfill their dreams with these wages. "Workers of the world, unite!", we have heard these words. And Marx in his great work has said, "You have nothing to lose." We have to keep this in mind. So, Sir, I am repeatedly telling you, 'एक बाग़ नहीं, एक खेत नहीं, हम सारी दुनिया मांगेंगे'। Sir, the Preamble of the Constitution says, "We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign, Socialist, Secular Democratic, Republic". Sir, with these words I conclude. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA): The next speaker is Dr. M. Thambidurai.

DR. M. THAMBIDURAI (Tamil Nadu): Sir, the fourth Union Budget presented by the hon. Finance Minister, Shrimati Nirmala Sitharaman, on 1<sup>st</sup> February, 2022, was like a booster dose for the economy in the endemic, post-endemic era, wherein, the Government has chosen to lead the path by heavily increasing the capital expenditure to create a cycle of high growth, employment generation, spur in consumption, which, in turn, is likely to bring buoyancy in the revenue rather than going for the fiscal squeeze which is required to take India at the next level. Sir, I want to make one thing very clear. Some of our opposition Members accused that the hon. Prime Minister has not taken keen note of the needs of the poor and others that there is no development as such. I want to say that the Budget seeks to lay the foundation for achieving the vision of the Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi*ji*. Take for example, agriculture. Agriculture is given more importance during Modi*ji*'s period. He allocated a lot of money, and also the agricultural workers in the rural areas are getting a lot of incentives. They have given them money by putting it in their accounts to give them purchasing power and employment opportunity.

And, also, you know very well, when we are facing this pandemic situation, how the Prime Minister acted to see to it that we get more vaccinations, for encouraging our Indian manufacturers, he visited vaccine labs physically. By taking the risk of his life, he visited most of the labs to see whether they were going on in a proper way or not. That way, he is such kind of a man. He has taken so much stress for the poor people, for the development of this country and also such actions produced more vaccines, which were exported to other countries also. It shows that he is concerned for other countries also. That way he showed his human kindness, we have to appreciate that. Regarding employment, last time also, during Question Hour, we have seen, in respect of employment issue, our hon. Minister gave an elaborate reply. I raised a question. At that time, he answered that how, in the recent years the employment ratio increased year by year. That showed how the employment opportunities, our Prime Minister is giving to the youth, especially, for education, health and other sectors. Especially, you take schemes, for example, the drinking water scheme. He has allocated a lot of funds for that scheme. Then, also for housing scheme, the Prime Minister has allotted a lot of fund for that. For roads, historical allocation has been given for the development of roads. In education also, in same way, allocation has been made. As regards Defence, he is more concerned about the security of this country. That is why, from the time, the Prime Minister took over the reins of this country, he is concentrating more on the Defence itself, to see that external threats must not be there, especially from Pakistan, China and other countries. That shows his capacity. When he is investing more, it is creating more employment opportunities. Also in MSME sector, he has given more than 9 per cent increase to give them lot of employment opportunities.

Sir, I want to say one thing regarding Tamil Nadu also. Edappadi K. Palaniswami, as Chief Minister, at that time, started a lot of welfare schemes, socio-economic schemes and implemented those schemes, based on the vision of our *Amma*, Madam Jayalalithaaji. At that time, same way, he had done what M.G.R. did. But, Shri Elangovan said this Government is not caring about the poor people. Repeatedly, he went on arguing that this Government is not bothering about the poor people and there is no socio-economic development. Sir, I want to put one question to the hon. Members. When they presented the Budget in Tamil Nadu, what sort of projects were included in Tamil Nadu? They did not include what the promises they made in the election manifesto. For example, thousand rupees will be given to every family member, I want to know whether they have implemented it or not. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI P. WILSON (Tamil Nadu): He need not talk about Tamil Nadu Budget.

DR. M. THAMBIDURAI: No, no, I am telling. And, also for example, Rs.2,500 was given to every cardholder by Edappadi K. Palaniswami Government during the pandemic situation. Not only during pandemic situation, he had given Pongal gift. But, that has been withdrawn. Sir, Mangalsutra is a very good scheme for poor people giving gold to Thalikku Thangam. Madam Jayalalithaa brought this...  
...(Interruptions)...

SHRI P. WILSON: He need not talk about Tamil Nadu Budget.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA): No, no; it is not your time, it is his time. Let him speak.

DR. M. THAMBIDURAI: When he said that this Government is not caring about the poor. I want to ask them whether that Government is caring about poor. Thalikku Thangam is a good scheme for the educated people, poor people. Madam had introduced that scheme. That scheme was implemented very well by Edappadi K. Palaniswami. But, now this Government has stopped it. Then, how can they come, discuss and criticize this Government when Modi ji is giving lot of welfare programmes? Madam Nirmala Sitharaman is from Tamil Nadu. She has presented a good Budget. When everybody is appreciating it, why he has to go on telling that there is socio-economic neglect. In the same way, the D.M.K. has been doing, and they neglected this kind of programmes. That is why what we are seeing is all these things. Regarding education, our country needs to concentrate on four, five sectors. One is agriculture, second is education, third is health, fourth is defence and fifth is industrial activities. I appreciate that. But what I am suggesting is that on education and health side, we require to give a lot of importance for which our Government is ready to come forward. I request the Finance Minister about one problem that is facing the self-financing institutions or trusts. It has been just mentioned by our friend from Andhra. He has said that the Trust Act was brought when the Congress was in power. They brought an Act making all 85 per cent of the Trust money is spent and they cannot save it, otherwise, Income Tax won't accept. But, now the pandemic situation has come. More than two-thirds of the institutions in India are run by the Trusts. When a Trust is not having money because they are not saving it, how can they give salary to the people? Therefore, that clause is affecting the Trusts. Therefore, if somebody says that 'don't pay the tax in the country', can you run the Government? Therefore, in the same way, if a Trust does not have the money, how

can it give salary to the workers, to the teachers? So many institutions are suffering because of that. Therefore, I am requesting the hon. Finance Minister to look into this how the Trust Act is going to affect so many employed people whether they are teachers or workers. The country is suffering a lot because of that. The Government is not in a position to finance these institutions. Banks are not going to give them loans. How are they going to run that? Therefore, the lacuna which was created by the Congress Government should be rectified by the present Government seeing the situation. This is what I am requesting about it. In the same way, I would like to request about income tax. Madam had given certain concessions last time in the income tax. I appreciate that. At the same time, previous Governments have done nothing, I know that. But, I once again request the hon. Finance Minister to see the problems faced by the salaried class sympathetically. When price index will go on increasing, how are they going to maintain their status? Therefore, they are not in a position to pay tax. I humbly request the hon. Finance Minister to look into the problems of the salaried people and see how you can give them further concession. That is my humble request. I welcome this Budget. It is a fine Budget. It is sympathetic Budget towards socio-economic situation of the country. Shri Narendra Modi is very concerned about the poor people and he has brought so many schemes for them. I once again appreciate this Government. Thank you very much, Sir.

SHRI SUKHENDU SEKHAR RAY (West Bengal): Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, for giving me this opportunity. While participating in this discussion on the Appropriation Bill and the Finance Bill, the first thing that occurs to my mind is that this Government has given a return gift to the nation after the elections in the five States recently held. First of all, the petrol and diesel prices have been risen six times in seven days. LPG cylinders are costlier by Rs.50 and it is almost Rs.1,000 per cylinder. Prices of kerosene oil have doubled. Edible oil prices are up by 25 to 40 per cent. There is 11 per cent hike in essential medicines and there will be further rise in the coming months according to reports. Sir, rise in prices of cereals, fruits, vegetables is driving up the food inflation. Petrol price for bulk users has been increased by Rs.25 per litre and jet fuel price has also been increased by 18 per cent. Everybody knows in this country that when the price of bulk users, particularly of diesel, is increased, there will be cascading effect on all the essential commodities because of the transportation of the goods from one station to another. Moody's Investor Services has estimated that fuel retail has together lost around Rs.19,000 crores in revenue for keeping petrol and diesel prices on hold during elections in five States because the Government did not want to rationalize the price during elections

because of the political reasons, and after five six month, it has been doubled, tripled and going up every day. My submission to the Government would be that it needs to be ensured that these losses are not entirely transferred to the common people.

So far as the Finance Bill is concerned, it was passed in Lok Sabha after accepting 39 Amendments to the Bill that was tabled! Why were there so many Amendments? Was it because of poor drafting? Was it because of careless proof-reading or failure to take concrete stakeholder consultations and feedback-gathering, ahead of introducing the Bills in Parliament? Everything is done in a hush-hush manner and, all of a sudden, it is tabled in Parliament, either in this House or in the other House; so far as the Finance Bill is concerned, it is tabled naturally in the other House.

Sir, the Government is emptying out the piggy banks, borrowings from small savings. Small savings are designed to support households and pensioners, not to finance the Government's deficit. In 2020-21, the Government budgeted to borrow Rs. 2.4 lakh crore from small savings, but ended up borrowing more than double of this figure. For 2022-23, the Government has budgeted for Rs. 5.6 lakh crore, a figure bound to increase, as it is lower than last year's revised estimates.

Sir, there are poor allocations for marginalised groups. This year's Budget has allocated Rs. 70 crore for the rehabilitation of those involved in the manual scavenging under the Self Employment Scheme for Rehabilitation of Manual Scavengers (SMS). This is 30 per cent less than the last year's allocation of Rs. 100 crore. Shockingly, even this Rs. 100 crore was revised down to Rs. 43.31 crore. Why isn't the Government able to utilise the allocations made towards Manual Scavenging? Is there no seriousness in ensuring that the people are not forced to risk their lives and dignity like this? Instead the Government tells us in this House that no workers have died due to manual scavenging! It is a matter of shame on the part of the Government authorities! The Central Government has SHREYAS, an umbrella programme, comprising four highly important higher education programmes, namely, National Fellowship for SCs, National Overseas Scholarships for SCs, Top Class Education for SC Students, and free coaching for SC and OBC students. But this House will be shocked to know that it saw a combined allocation of only Rs. 364 crore!

So far as women and children are concerned, the Gender Budget has decreased from 0.71 per cent of the GDP in the revised estimates for 2021-22 to 0.66 per cent in the estimates of 2022-23, according to an analysis of the All India Democratic Women's Association. I don't know how far it is true, but the Government should be in a position to tell this House as to what the truth is about. Sir, at Rs. 92,736.5 crore, the children's Budget has also dropped from 2.46 per cent of the

expenditure this fiscal to 2.35 per cent in the next fiscal. Between April and December, 2021, only 48 per cent of the approved Budget for Mid-day Meal had been released. For ICDS, it was 52 per cent. The allocations for Mid-day Meals are 11 per cent lower than the Budget Estimates for the previous year.

Sir, so far as education is concerned, the Budget allocation made last year saw a 6 per cent decrease from the Budget allocation made in 2020-21. This year, the Budget allocation saw an increase of 12 per cent as compared to the last year's, but only a 5 per cent increase over the Budget allocation of 2020-21. The entire allocation on education for the previous year has not been used in spite of the Economic Survey finding an increase in the number of children not enrolled in schools after the pandemic. Ironically, the total expenditure in education is less than one per cent of the GDP whereas the cash-strapped States are contributing three to four times than the Centre. The States are more effective than the Central Government in providing funds for expenditure on education head.

**4.00 PM**

Sir, my next point is, the Government has made tall claims about resource mobilisation. According to me, the main target of this Government for resource mobilisation is only to sell out the public properties lock, stock and barrel. They have not spared any sector, any of the public sectors like airports, ports, rail, banks, insurance and even *miniratna* companies of the public sector. I am now coming to one or two provisions of the Constitution. Article 36 of the Constitution deals with the Directive Principles of the State Policy. This should be a Gita or a Quran or a Bible for any Government in the governance of the country. ...(*Interruptions*)... सर, यह संविधान की बात है। आप पहले समझिए, फिर बोलिए, समझने के बाद बंगाल भी बोलिए, गुजरात भी बोलिए।

Sir, I am submitting my next point to you. Article 38(2) says and I quote, "The State shall, in particular, strive to minimise the inequalities in income, and endeavour to eliminate inequalities in status,.." Then, Article 39 (b) says, "...that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good;" and Article 39 (c) says "...that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment." And what is happening? When the Modi Government came to power or rather the BJP Government came to power -- I stand corrected -- when the BJP Government came to power in 2014, there were 103 billionaires and they had Rs. 22 lakh crores of wealth at that point of time. In

2021, i.e. last year's assessment, it rose from 103 billionaires to 142 billionaires and these 142 billionaires are having Rs. 53 lakh crores wealth. And what is the average of our total Budget? It is only Rs. 35 lakh crores. So, the Government Budget cover is Rs. 35 lakh crores and 142 billionaires are having Rs. 53 lakh crores of assets. So this is the inequality which is detrimental to the common good as enshrined in the Constitution under the head of the Directive Principles of State policy. Therefore, I urge upon the Government to follow the constitutional provisions in letter and spirit rather than to sell out everything to the big corporate, the crony capitalists. It seems, to mobilise resources, this Government has become bankrupt or insolvent, and the Insolvency and the Bankruptcy Code may be made applicable for the Government also because of the figures I have mentioned before you. It is crystal clear from the figures that the Government has totally surrendered to the crony capitalists and all the economic policies of the Government are being dictated upon by the crony capitalists and this Government is only implementing their policies. So this Government is an agency. This Government has become an agency of the crony capitalists. So, these are my submissions. Thank you very much.

**श्री विशम्भर प्रसाद निषाद (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपका बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद कि आपने मुझे इस विषय पर बोलने का अवसर दिया है। महोदय, मैं विनियोग विधेयक, 2022-23 के लिए समाजवादी पार्टी के राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष माननीय अखिलेश यादव जी एवं प्रो. राम गोपाल यादव जी की तरफ से बोलने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

महोदय, जहाँ आज पूरे देश में बैंकों की हड़ताल है, वहीं आज हम सदन में 'विनियोग विधेयक' पर चर्चा कर रहे हैं। पूरे देश के लाखों bank employees, निजीकरण को लेकर सरकार की जो गलत नीतियाँ हैं, उनको लेकर आज से दो दिन की हड़ताल पर हैं। हम अपनी पार्टी की तरफ से उनका सपोर्ट करते हैं और मांग करते हैं कि बैंक कर्मचारियों की जो समस्याएँ हैं, जो निजीकरण है, उसे बंद किया जाये। गांधी जी ने गांव-गांव में बैंक खोलने की व्यवस्था कराई थी, चूंकि अगर गांव-गांव में बैंक रहेगा तो गांव में आदमी बैंक में पैसा जमा करेगा, लेन-देन करेगा। आज सब जगह प्राइवेटाइजेशन हो रहा है, जिससे किसान, मज़दूर, गरीब सब परेशान हैं। जब निजीकरण होगा तो लोगों की नौकरियां जाएंगी। महोदय, डा. बाबा साहेब अम्बेडकर ने एस.सी., एस.टी. के लिए, ओ.बी.सी. के लिए आरक्षण दिया था, निजीकरण होने से धीरे-धीरे लोगों की नौकरियां जा रही हैं, आरक्षण खत्म होता जा रहा है। इस तरह से एस.सी., एस.टी., ओ.बी.सी. के लोगों का आरक्षण खत्म करके उन्हें गुलाम बनाने की साजिश की जा रही है। इसीलिए ओ.बी.सी. के लोग मांग करते हैं, जो देश की आबादी में आधे से अधिक लोग हैं, चाहे आबादी की गणना करा ली जाये कि हमें जाति के हिसाब से सभी सेक्टर्स में भागीदारी दी जाये।

हम देख रहे हैं कि लगातार इस पर बात चल रही है। अभी डीजल, पेट्रोल के दाम बढ़ रहे हैं। जब उत्तर प्रदेश में चुनाव था, पांच राज्यों में चुनाव था तो एक महीने तक डीजल, पेट्रोल के दाम नहीं बढ़े। सरकार यही कहती थी कि दाम अन्तरराष्ट्रीय बाजार पर निर्भर हैं तो उस समय

दाम क्यों नहीं बढ़ें? अब अचानक 50 रुपये रसोई गैस में बढ़ा दिये गये, डीजल, पेट्रोल के दाम अब रोज़ बढ़ रहे हैं और जीवन रक्षक दवाएं, जो आम आदमी की दवा Paracetamol भी है, वे कई गुना बढ़ने जा रही हैं। हम देखते हैं कि जीवन रक्षक दवाओं के लिए 10 गुना से लेकर 200 गुना तक दाम निर्धारित रहते हैं और उनकी इतनी कालाबाजारी होती है कि जो एम.आर. होते हैं और मेडिकल स्टोर वाले होते हैं, डाक्टर वही दवा लिखता है, जो एम.आर. उसे सजेस्ट करता है। उनके दाम 200-300 गुना होते हैं और दूसरी तरफ किसान घाटे की खेती कर रहा है, उसे उसकी लागत का मूल्य भी नहीं दिया जा रहा है। लोगों की जेब में पैसा कम है और खर्चा ज्यादा है। आज हम देख रहे हैं कि देश के गरीबों पर, किसानों पर टैक्स लगाया जा रहा है। महोदय, आम आदमी की सवारी साइकिल है, लेकिन साइकिल पर 18 परसेंट टैक्स है। हम माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी से मांग करेंगे कि गरीब मजदूर आदमी साइकिल पर चलता है, उस पर टैक्स कम किया जाना चाहिए। आपने हीरे पर टैक्स खत्म किया है। बड़ा उद्योगपति, बड़ा अमीर आदमी ही हीरा खरीदता है, पहनता है, इसलिए साइकिल पर टैक्स खत्म किया जाना चाहिए।

शिक्षा में, स्वास्थ्य में, सब में बजट की कमी की गई है। खास तौर पर एस.सी., एस.टी., ओ.बी.सी. के बच्चों को जो छात्रवृत्ति मिलती थी, मिडल क्लास तक, आठवीं क्लास तक, तो उनकी स्कॉलरशिप ही खत्म कर दी गई है। जो मेन बजट था, उसमें बजट घाटा आ गया है।...(व्यवधान)...आज हम देख रहे हैं कि देश में समान काम-समान वेतन की कर्मचारी मांग कर रहे हैं। 10-10, 12-12 घंटे लोगों से काम कराया जाता है, देश के चाहे आंगनवाड़ी वर्कर्स हों, चाहे आशा वर्कर्स हों, चाहे शिक्षा मित्र हों, चाहे पंचायत मित्र हों, चौकीदार से लेकर सब लोग मांग कर रहे हैं कि हमसे जो 10-12 घंटे काम लिया जाता है, हमारा समान वेतन किया जाये। इसी तरह से देश की केन्द्रीय सेवाओं में और प्रदेश सेवाओं में लोग पुरानी पेंशन की बहाली की मांग करते हैं।...(व्यवधान)...2004 में वाजपेयी जी की बी.जे.पी. की सरकार ने पुरानी पेंशन को खत्म किया था।...(व्यवधान)...80 लाख आवासों की बात कही गई है। मैं याद दिलाना चाहता हूं कि माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी के चुनावी भाषण उठाकर देखिये, उन्होंने कहा था कि 2022 तक देश के सभी गरीबों को पक्का आवास देने का काम करेंगे।...(व्यवधान)...हम बताना चाहते हैं कि उन्हें मकान 1,20,000 रुपये का मिलेगा। आपने बालू के दाम, मौरंग के दाम चार गुना कर दिये हैं, सीमेंट के दाम दोगुने कर दिये हैं। गरीब आदमी कैसे 1,20,000 रुपए में मकान बनाने का काम करेगा? हम देखते हैं कि उसमें भी \* होते हैं। बाँदा-फतेहपुर में हम देख रहे हैं कि जितने भी आवास हैं, उनमें भी \* हो रही है।...(व्यवधान)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA): Interventions made by other Members, except Shri Nishad, will not go on record.

**श्री विशम्भर प्रसाद निषाद :** मान्यवर, हम बोल रहे हैं, तो ये लोग disturb कर रहे हैं। आप उनको रोकिए।

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\* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.



मान्यवर, किसान आज घाटे में खेती कर रहे हैं। अन्ना प्रथा से हमारे पूरे देश के किसान परेशान हैं। आमदनी अठन्नी खर्चा रुपया। जब से नोटबंदी हुई, GST आया और लॉकडाउन हुआ, तब से लोगों के रोजगार चले गए। मान्यवर, किसानों के लिए स्वामीनाथन रिपोर्ट के ऊपर इन्होंने कहा था कि हम स्वामीनाथन रिपोर्ट लागू करेंगे। ये इसे क्यों नहीं लागू कर रहे हैं? मान्यवर, हम सब चाहते हैं कि MSP का कानून बने। जिस तरह से आप उद्योगपतियों के लिए कानून बनाते हैं, उनके लिए मूल्य निर्धारित करते हैं, उसी तरह से किसानों के लिए MSP का कानून बनना चाहिए।

मान्यवर, आज देश के किसान आत्महत्या कर रहे हैं। ...(व्यवधान)... देश के किसान चाहते हैं कि उनके ऊपर जो कर्ज है, वह कर्ज माफ किया जाना चाहिए। आप चुनाव में तो अरबों रुपए खर्च करते हैं! जब चुनाव आता है, तो आप कर्ज की बात करते हैं, लेकिन जब चुनाव खत्म हो जाता है, तो आप कर्ज की बात नहीं करते हैं। इस बजट में उनका कर्ज माफ करने की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। ...(व्यवधान)...

मान्यवर, ये हमें disturb कर रहे हैं, हमें बोलने नहीं दे रहे हैं। जब इनका मौका आए, तब ये बोलें। ...(व्यवधान)...

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री भुवनेश्वर कालिता) :** आप चेयर को address कीजिए, आप बोलते जाइए। बाकी कुछ रिकॉर्ड में नहीं जाएगा, सिर्फ आपकी बात रिकॉर्ड पर जाएगी।

**श्री विशम्भर प्रसाद निषाद :** मान्यवर, हम आपसे विनती करना चाहते हैं कि जब से नोटबंदी हुई, लॉकडाउन हुआ, देश की हालत बहुत खराब है। ...(व्यवधान)... आज देश के किसान और नौजवान आत्महत्या कर रहे हैं। इलाहाबाद में तीन-तीन बच्चों ने आत्महत्या कर ली। लोग इनकी सरकार में अपनी डिग्री जला रहे हैं। ...(व्यवधान)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA): Hon. Members, let him speak. ...(Interruptions)...

**श्री विशम्भर प्रसाद निषाद :** उन लोगों को नौकरियाँ नहीं मिल रही हैं। ...(व्यवधान)... ये लोग शोर मचा रहे हैं। इन्होंने केवल सरकारी मशीनरी से, EVM से ...(व्यवधान)... पूरे उत्तर प्रदेश में तो लोगों ने अखिलेश यादव जी को जनादेश दिया था, \* ...(व्यवधान)... आज उत्तर प्रदेश में जनता में हताशा और निराशा है। ...(व्यवधान)... मान्यवर, ये हल्ला कर रहे हैं, शोर मचा रहे हैं, तो मैं इनको जवाब दे रहा हूँ। ...(व्यवधान)... मान्यवर, आज किसान की आमदनी बढ़ाने की जरूरत है। उनकी लागत के अनुसार उनके लिए MSP का कानून बनाने की जरूरत है। हम यही माँग करेंगे कि बजट में किसानों के लिए खाद और बीज पर सब्सिडी दी जाए और किसानों के लिए निःशुल्क सिंचाई की व्यवस्था की जाए, साथ ही निजी ट्यूबवेल के जरिए सिंचाई free की जाए।

\* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

मान्यवर, इस तरह से ये तमाम माँगें करते हुए हम वित्त मंत्री जी से निवेदन करेंगे कि वे किसानों के ऊपर विशेष ध्यान दें, जिससे किसान आत्महत्या न करें। बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

SHRI PRAFUL PATEL (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I will be as constructive as possible without getting into this blame game on either side. We must look at the situation in the country for the last two years, especially with the Covid pandemic. It has been something very unsettling not only for the country but also for the whole world. I must say that we must compliment both the Government of India as well as all the States, irrespective of their party affiliations, the way everybody has collectively fought this pandemic. We have not entirely come out of it but, relatively, the impact to India has been much softer than what one had expected. In fact, in the March of 2020, when the pandemic started, and for the first three months, when the country was under complete lockdown and the uncertainty which was prevailing all over the world, we didn't know what the pandemic was about and what the cure is. Then, we just barely came out of it. We had a second wave. Fortunately, the third wave was a little bit of milder one. But, nonetheless, I think the pandemic has been a very unsettling movement for the country. Well, some of the figures do reflect that the things are much better now, like the GST collection as many speakers have mentioned it and the hon. Finance Minister mentioned it in her Budget Speech also. But, purely, going by GST numbers, while it is a good sign that we have achieved Rs.1,30,000 crore for, at least, five months in this current fiscal year, it doesn't reflect the true state of the economy.

There are many sectors, and I am sure the Finance Minister is aware of it, which still have a lot of stress. They need to be addressed and they need to be addressed timely, especially like her latest intervention in the Budget about the hospitality, tourism and related sectors, where she has announced a further package which was over and above the MSME package which was announced last year. Well, I must say that while some of the benefits have reached some of the industries, but, I am sure there have been a lot of fatalities, mortalities in this sector also. In the MSME sector, many a small company have closed down permanently, which needs to be addressed and I am sure it is a matter of concern.

The most unstabling, destabilising factor, that has come after the pandemic, is the Ukraine war. I think, when she delivered her Budget Speech on the 1<sup>st</sup> of February, Madam Finance Minister was not aware that this could be a situation which would arise a few days later. The Ukraine war has demonstrated that suddenly, we can see the prices of fuel going up. They were earlier going up, but they have really hit the roof and the Petroleum Minister is also sitting here in the House. He will

acknowledge what the special circumstances are. We are comparing the current fuel price increase with something which happened during 2008-09. While we are comparing it, I don't think it is apple to apple exactly because in 2008-09, there was no Ukraine conflict. There was some different situation. At the same time, the rupee then was around 40 rupees to a dollar. Right now, the rupee is at around 77 rupees to a dollar. So, there is going to be a major impact on the finances of the Government of India, no matter how good we want to portray the numbers. While 400 billion dollars of exports have been achieved, which is very creditable, very laudable, but we must also understand the imbalance in the Balance of Payments and that we are also going to face an equally higher deficit because of the higher import fuel bill which will still lead to a disparity between the exports and the imports and that will be close to almost 200 billion dollars this year. So, I am sure the Finance Minister is aware of these issues and will address them suitably.

I would also like to mention here that her Budget Speech mentioned some money coming from disinvestment of public sector undertakings. Now, the LIC disinvestment itself is on hold. This reflects that because of the uncertainty of the Ukraine war and the current economic climate, there is going to be a challenge for her to meet some of those numbers also. While I am not a complete proponent of disinvestment or not disinvesting, I would like to look at it objectively. But, at the same time, I think, your numbers on all heads of the Budget are going to be impacted hugely because of this current situation which has arisen after the Ukraine war.

I would also like to reflect on the middle class because the middle class is, I would say, the most sandwiched class of the country. They have very little flexibility. They cannot reduce their spending. They cannot increase their earnings. Most of them resort to minor savings. Most of them go to the banks. Still, there is less, I would say, an eagerness for the middle-class people to invest in other instruments. Some people do go to mutual funds and all, but that is a very small number compared to the number of people who want to put their savings in a more secured format. Therefore, today, with banks offering 3 to 3.5 per cent interest rate and compared to the official inflation figure of 6 per cent plus, which you yourself have mentioned, you can imagine very well that an average middle-class person cannot make two ends meet and cannot beat inflation with the amount of interest. In fact, the income will be reduced to that extent year on year. The middle-class people feel the heat of high petrol prices, diesel prices, cooking gas prices and all the general items on inflation list which we normally see. Therefore, I feel, at least, on the savings account, some kind of a balance has to be maintained. I am sure the Reserve Bank and everybody wants to reduce interest rates for lending especially, but for the people who go for

savings, especially the lower-income people, I think, we need to have a relook because 3 or 3.5 per cent interest rates certainly don't do justice to anybody. On the other side, some of my colleagues have spoken about tax exemption limits. Again, it is the middle class which is feeling the heat on account of the exemptions not being increased year on year to keep pace with inflation, and, I feel, something needs to be done meaningfully on this count also.

Sir, my next point is about the current situation after the Ukraine War. We feel an increased threat perception all around the world, especially in our neighbourhood. We have Pakistan, a perennial problem to deal with, and, China is also equally another perennial problem. With the kind of geo-politics which is playing around in the world, India's with its issues with Pakistan and China, the continuous border issues going on in Ladakh and parts of Arunachal Pradesh, I think, we need to look at our infrastructure development, especially, in these areas much more meaningfully.

Yes, you are doing a lot in the road sector, thanks especially to the big cess you are collecting on petroleum products, which again is being re-deployed for infrastructure building. I think, it is good and there is nothing to complain about that. But, at the same time, the infrastructure in certain sensitive areas of the country which affects national security, needs to be addressed much more aggressively because considering the way China is building roads, bridges, airports, railway lines and all other peripheral infrastructure all across Arunachal Pradesh and in Ladakh, I think, it is very important that we spend much more money on our Defence expenditure than what we are doing. When we go through some of the figures and when we talk in general with some of the people who are experts in the field, it comes out that there is a mismatch in the amount of money that is allocated for capital expenditure versus the amount that is actually spent. I hope it is not there, and, if it is there, it needs to be corrected.

There was a lot of discussion on crypto. Sir, I would like to state very clearly, and, I share the sentiments expressed by my colleague, Shri Sushil Modi and many other colleagues, that the concept of crypto currency is something which even somebody like me was unable to understand. I called a crypto currency expert, I sat with him, and, with all the wisdom at my command, I tried to understand the concept but I failed to understand anything about crypto currency till date. ...*(Interruptions)*... I have not purchased it but I wanted to understand about it. I wanted to educate myself and understand as to what this animal is all about. As Members of Parliamentary Standing Committee on Finance, we went to the Reserve Bank of India and tried to discuss with them. The Reserve Bank is also very clear that they cannot allow this kind of currency to be officially allowed in the country. I agree

with your sentiments which you expressed in the Budget Speech. I also agree with some of the provisions of tax and other restrictive measures which you brought in the Budget. I think, it needs to be much more aggressively tackled because it is an unknown animal. And, if people like me, even after calling an expert, are not able to understand it, I can imagine the average Indian, who could be lured by things like easy money access and quick money multiplier, to fall into the trap of this crypto currency, and, most of them are fake. Every day, we read articles about people being fooled into buying crypto currency. Some of my colleagues may not agree with me. I know that. I know, some of the proponents of crypto currency are also there both in this House and the other House. Notwithstanding that, you need to be aggressive and take even stronger posture.

We brought in the IBC Code with a good intent. You did get some success initially but the NCLT and NCLAT are still struggling to cope up with the numbers of cases which they have to deal with. There are so many vacancies there. Please do something in this regard, otherwise, the intention with which the IBC was legislated, that is, efficiency and quick resolution, stands to be defeated somewhere. I urge you to look at it very meaningfully. Sir, a lot has been spoken about exports. Agriculture exports can be one of the strongest pillars, or, I would say, the backbone of the Indian exports. I think a lot is being done there. It is not that it is not being done. But we need to strengthen that. We really need to support that. Today, in aquaculture, we are the largest exporter of prawns in the world. We need to strengthen that and give more incentives there. In the field of agriculture, somebody mentioned that we are the largest exporter of rice. Yes, we do export rice to most of the world. We are exporters of dairy products. We are exporters of almost any item you can name under the head of agriculture. But are we doing enough to promote agriculture exports? I think we can improve on what is being done so far.

Finally, I would like to say about the industry. Industrial licences have been dismantled many, many years ago. Anybody is free to set up an industry wherever he or she wants. Fine. But that is not the real issue. The issue is that even today, after so many years, my colleagues, especially those who come from remote areas of the country, who do not come from Mumbai or Pune or Delhi or Faridabad or the NCR or other big cities or Bengaluru for that matter, tell me that still the primary demand when you go to remote districts will be हमारे यहाँ इंडस्ट्री कब आयेगी, हमारे यहाँ लोगों को रोज़गार कब मिलेगा? How will that happen? While we are being aggressive about industrialization of our country, I think the time has come when we must come up with some innovative measures where we incentivise industry, especially when it comes to backward regions of the country, the backward districts of the country. We have

identified so many backward districts. We already have it in our schedule. The Government of India has it. There are some incentives given to those backward districts in terms of financial and monetary benefits but those are very miniscule. But if you really want to industrialize those parts of the country, I think we need to have some more aggressive measures so that the industry feels incentivized enough to go there and set up shop there. That will lead to lesser migration to bigger cities and strengthening of agriculture, increase in irrigation outlays and industrialization are all those areas that will change the landscape of India from rural migration to urban and will uniformly develop the country. I think that would be in the interest of the nation. Thank you very much, Sir. I hope some of my suggestions will have meaningful thought of the Finance Minister.

SHRI KANAKAMEDALA RAVINDRA KUMAR (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, the Union Budget is for the entire country. It is because its proposals require the States, the constituents of the Union of India, to undertake and execute certain financial commitments for the development of the country along the path scripted in the Union Budget.

The Union Budget for 2022-23 has been framed to pull the economy out of the ill effects of COVID-19 pandemic through increased capital expenditure. However, I would like to point out the inadequate allocations in health, education, agriculture, including research, MGNREGA, etc. We need to increase investments in human capital alongside physical infrastructure. Necessary funds should be made available under these heads as we go along in due course.

Similarly, the hon. Finance Minister, Shrimati Nirmala Sitharaman, announced in her Budget Speech of 2022-23 that under PM e-Vidya Scheme, a further 188 TV channels would be launched for enabling supplementary education to classes 1 to 12 with a slogan of 'One Class one TV channel'. However, the allocation towards PM e-Vidya Scheme in the Budget documents was a mere lakh rupees. How is it possible? More allocation of funds are required for this.

In this context, within the given limited time, I would like to touch upon two aspects -- the broad principles of the Union Budget for 2022-23 and the philosophy and the state of finances in my State of Andhra Pradesh.

Firstly, about my State. The Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India on the Budget of Andhra Pradesh for 2020-21 was presented to the State Assembly only four days back which is the 25<sup>th</sup> of this month. It revealed a set of very disturbing facts that should be of serious concern for this august House and the Union Government as well. These revelations include expenditure of Rs.1,11,000 crore,

without the approval of the State Assembly for 2020-21, which is about half of the total expenditure. There are transactions of Rs.48,234 crore, which is about one-third of the total Budget expenditure, without proper accounting and documentation and in violation of the Treasury Code, not informing the State Assembly, borrowings of Rs.38,312 crore, diversion of about 30 per cent of the Central funds to unintended items of expenditure, utter mismatch between Budget allocations and actual expenditure and particularly for the welfare of backward sections, Scheduled Castes, women and minorities, grossly inadequate capital expenditure which is essential for the development of the State, heavy reliance on borrowings in the name of the welfare schemes, etc. The questionable transaction of Rs. 48,234 crore is about 730 times that of the alleged Bihar fodder scam. This misappropriation is deeply troubling and this is only for one financial year that an amount of Rs.48,234 crore has been misappropriated from the Budget.

Elaborating on various misdeeds of the Andhra Pradesh Government, the CAG observed that they are in violation of the provisions of the Constitution which stipulate that not even a rupee can be spent without authorization by the State Legislature. The CAG also noted that such misdeeds promote financial indiscipline and even probable misappropriation. Stating that it is rare in the history of auditing of public finances in the country, the CAG refused to certify one-third of the financial transactions by the Andhra Pradesh Government for 2020-21, perhaps for the first time in the history of the country. This august House needs to know why it is happening in a major and important State like Andhra Pradesh and what it amounts to.

Sir, our country has been suffering the consequences of externally sponsored terrorism for a long time. The dictionary meaning of terrorism is, 'it is calculated and unlawful use of violence and intimidation, especially against civilians, in the pursuit of political aims'. Going by this definition and the modus operandi of the present Andhra Pradesh Government, there is financial anarchism in Andhra Pradesh, to serve the political interests of the ruling establishment in the State. With all responsibility, I venture to say so because the irresponsible financial mismanagement, including utter indiscipline and gross violation of the Constitution and the attendant consequences, has all the elements of anarchism, the consequence being a serious threat to the future of the people of the State borne out of the calculated consideration of the ruling establishment to serve their political objectives. The present Government in Andhra Pradesh is unleashing a quiet violence against the people of the State in the form of gross misuse of public finances for personal gains.

The Andhra Pradesh Government has not so far responded on spending over Rs.1,00,000 crore without the approval of the State Assembly. On the expenditure not certified by the CAG, the State Government only said that it was only a book adjustment. This defence did not seem to have been accepted by the CAG. ...(*Interruptions*)...

To arrest this financial anarchism in Andhra Pradesh, the Central Government should seriously consider imposing financial emergency in the State under Article 360 of the Constitution of India in the interest of the State of Andhra Pradesh. ...(*Interruptions*)... Otherwise, the present and future of the people of the State will be seriously endangered. We cannot keep quiet when the Andhra Pradesh Government has unleashed a serious attack on our Constitution and on our Parliament, in the form of violation of the Acts made by it like Fiscal Responsibility and Budget Management Act and the recommendations of the Finance Commission regarding disclosure of borrowings, etc.

Sir, regarding allocations for my State of Andhra Pradesh, the High Court has clearly stated that only Amravati can only be the Capital of the State. In my view, the State Government, at present, did not choose to go on appeal to the Supreme Court on the judgment passed by the Division Bench of Andhra Pradesh High Court but discussed the said judgment in the State Legislative Assembly and undermined the judiciary, particularly the Andhra Pradesh High Court, which is not warranted.

The hon. High Court categorically declared that the Andhra State Legislature has no legislative competence to enact any law for shifting the organs of the State. Since the Capital Amravati has been established pursuant to Article 4 of the Constitution of India read with Sections 6 and 94 (3)(4) of the Andhra Pradesh Reorganisation Act, 2014 which was enacted by the Parliament and it issued mandamus directing the Government of Andhra Pradesh to develop the Amravati Capital Region by providing all infrastructural facilities, etc. Instead of implementing the same, the State Government made an attempt to attribute some motives to the High Court in the name of discussion on the powers of the legislature. However, it is high time to develop Amravati Capital. So, I urge the Central Government and the hon. Finance Minister to ensure substantial allocations for development of the Capital Amravati.

The earlier Telugu Desam Party Government has allotted lands to 43 institutions of the Union Government and its PSUs in the Amravati Capital region. I appeal to the hon. Prime Minister, the Finance Minister and the concerned Ministers to do the needful for quick launch of these institutions.



Sir, Vizag Steel Plant is of great concern to the people of Andhra Pradesh. With regard to the disinvestment proposal and privatization of the Vizag Steel Plant, I request the hon. Finance Minister to drop such proposal and continue it as it is.

I would like to make a political point with regard to the cess and surcharge. The 80<sup>th</sup> Constitution Amendment provides for all Central taxes, except the surcharge and cess, to be shared between the Centre and the States. That means cess and surcharge would not be a part of the divisible pool. Till 2015-16, surcharge and cess were just five to six per cent of the Gross Tax Revenue. Now, it has increased more than nine per cent of the Gross Tax Revenue. So, the intention of imposing surcharge and cess instead of imposing taxes, to avoid sharing of the tax with States, has to be relooked into and reviewed.

Finally, I appeal the Government to do the needful and save the people of Andhra Pradesh from the financial anarchism of the State Government and secure their future, if necessary, by invoking Article 360 for imposing financial emergency in the State of Andhra Pradesh. Thank you, Sir.

**श्री सैयद जफर इस्लाम (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** महोदय, मुझे फिर से opportunity दी गयी है, इसके लिए मैं अपनी पार्टी की लीडरशिप और आपका धन्यवाद करता हूँ। मैं Appropriation Bill, 2022 और Finance Bill, 2022 के समर्थन में बोलने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

सर, मैंने अभी कई माननीय सदस्यों को सुना, I have heard many speakers. Many of our colleagues, who are very learned Members, have spoken about Budget and given their opinion लेकिन मैंने एक चीज़ बहुत common देखी, मैं यह बड़े अफसोस के साथ कह रहा हूँ कि budget exercise के जो objectives हैं और जिस backdrop पर बजट को बनाया जाता है, उनके बारे में किसी ने चिंता नहीं की। सरकार ने इसके लिए किस तरह budget exercise की, उसके पीछे सरकार की कुछ intentions होती हैं, किन circumstances में बजट को बनाया गया है - ये सारी बातें होती हैं। आप पिछले सात सालों में देखिए और खास करके पिछले दो सालों में देखिए। जब FY-2020 का बजट पेश किया गया था और उसके बाद अगर आप FY-2021 का नंबर देखेंगे और FY-2022 का नंबर देखेंगे, तब आपको समझ में आएगा कि सरकार assumptions को लेकर बजट बनाती है। हमारी सरकार की जो compassionate approach है और आदरणीय प्रधान मंत्री जी ने जो एक basic principle के बारे में कहा और उन्होंने demonstrate किया है, दिखाया है कि he would not do things beyond his means and he would never punch above his weight. What does that mean? It means कि सरकार के पास जितने identified revenues हैं, resources हैं, उनका properly allocation करना चाहिए। जब resources का appropriately allocation होगा, तो उसका क्या मकसद है? उसका मकसद welfare of the State है, जो हमारी सरकार कर रही है। उसके साथ-साथ, to safeguard the interest of the country, वह हमारी सरकार कर रही है। पिछले सात सालों में जिस तरह से देश दुनिया की

नज़रों में उभर कर आया है, जिस तरह से हमारी economy तेजी से दौड़ रही है, लेकिन आज मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ रहा है कि कैनेडी ने एक बार कहा था, winners have many fathers but a loser have none, he is an orphan. आज मुझे ऐसा ही लगता है। जब देश की economy पूरी दुनिया में जगमगा रही है और लोग देख रहे हैं कि India is shining. It is a bright spot among all the emerging economies. आज दुनिया वाहवाही कर रही है, लेकिन अफसोस की बात है कि देश में इसके बारे में criticism चल रहा है।

मुझे अच्छा लगा, जब प्रफुल्ल पटेल जी ने कहा कि पिछले दो सालों के backdrop में, कोविड की सिचुएशन में इस बजट को पेश किया गया है। सर, एक बजट को पेश नहीं किया गया है - हमें देखना चाहिए कि यह sequence है। हमने आत्मनिर्भर पैकेजेज पेश किए और एक नहीं, बल्कि अनेक आत्मनिर्भर पैकेजेज पेश किए। जब मार्च, 2020 के बाद हमने लॉकडाउन लगाया, वह unprecedented situation थी। We were living in times of uncertainties. उस वक्त हमने बजट पेश किया और आज जब उस बजट को देखते हैं - *Atmanirbhar* Package-1, 2,3, 4 and then followed by several Budgets, तब मुझे लगता है कि हाँ, इस देश में दो आदरणीय प्रधान मंत्रियों की सोच थी कि देश को आत्मनिर्भर बनाना है और इसके लिए उन्होंने policy initiatives लिए, जो आज के इस बजट में दिखते हैं, पिछले बजट में दिखते हैं, जो आत्मनिर्भर पैकेजेज दिए गए हैं, उनमें दिखते हैं, लेकिन अफसोस की बात है कि लोग criticism करने से पहले उस बात पर ध्यान नहीं देते हैं। सर, यह बात किसी ने कही थी और मुझे लगता है कि आज मैं आदरणीय प्रधान मंत्री के बारे में ऐसा कहूँ, आदरणीय फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर के बारे में कहूँ, तो गलत नहीं होगा - 'A wise man is one who is able to see darkness in the light or who can see light in the darkness.' सर, इसका मतलब है कि अगर कोई ऐसी बुरी चीज़ हो रही है, अंधेरा दिख रहा है, जगमगाती दुनिया में अंधेरा दिख रहा है, तो जो वह स्पॉट, अंधेरा देख सकता है, वही अक्लमंद आदमी है, इसलिए वह policy initiative लेता है। लोग कहते थे कि अमेरिका ने इतना सारा पैसा बांट दिया, हम क्या कर रहे हैं। Consumption नहीं बढ़ रहा है, तो लोगों को पैसा बांटे। आप देखिए, अमेरिका में क्या हो रहा है! आप देखिए, यूनाइटेड किंगडम ने बोला था कि सब जगह पैसा बांट दीजिए। हमने क्या किया? हमने कल्याणकारी योजनाएं, welfare schemes निकालीं, लोगों तक राशन पहुंचाया, जिसकी जरूरत थी। हमने डीबीटी भी किया है। हमने बहुत सारे ऐसे initiatives लिए हैं, जिन्होंने welfare of the state, आम नागरिक को मजबूत करने का काम किया है, लेकिन हमने किसी और को follow नहीं किया, क्योंकि हमारा एक principle था - 'Never punch above your weight'. हमारी जितनी सलाहियत है, देश को उसी सलाहियत पर रखना है और आगे बढ़ना है, उस ताकत को multiplier effect देना है, इसलिए प्रधान मंत्री जी ने इंफ्रास्ट्रक्चर पर फोकस किया और जाहिर है, इंफ्रास्ट्रक्चर पर फोकस multiplier effect लेकर आता है। अगर इंफ्रास्ट्रक्चर में एक रुपया invest करते हैं, तो जाहिर है, नेशनल जीडीपी में वह एक रुपया एक रुपया नहीं रहता है। जब वह नेशनल जीडीपी में जाता है, तो with backward integration and forward integration वह नेशनल जीडीपी में पाँच, छः, सात रुपये तक का contribution देता है। रोड के संबंध में भी इसी तरह से है। आप देखिए, रोड पर जो budgetary allocation हुआ है, रेल में हुआ है, जिस तरह से identify किया है, जो इतने सारे hundred lakh crores से ऊपर के इंफ्रास्ट्रक्चर प्रोजेक्ट्स थे और जिस तरह से हमने गति-शक्ति को एक रूप

दिया है, उससे समझ में आता है कि हमारी कोशिश है कि हम इंफ्रास्ट्रक्चर को बढ़ावा दें, हमारी कोशिश है कि हम logistics को priority दें, ताकि manufacturing में हमारा जो फोकस है कि इंडिया को एक manufacturing hub बनाना है, उसमें हम कामयाब हो पाएं।

सर, आप ज़रा policy initiative को देखिए। मैं तो कहता हूँ लोगों को आकर देखना चाहिए कि सरकार ने कैसे initiative लिए हैं। लोगों ने बहुत सारी ऐसी रिपोर्ट्स बनाई हैं, I think, मैं लोगों से रिक्वेस्ट करूँगा, यहाँ पर अपने learned मेम्बर्स और अपने colleagues से रिक्वेस्ट करूँगा कि उन सब रिपोर्ट्स को कभी-कभी पढ़ लेना बुरा नहीं है। उन्हें पढ़ने से सरकार के काम और देश की जो शक्ति बढ़ रही है, उसके बारे में अंदाजा भी लगता है। I think, there are many such initiatives, small, small initiatives, which have been undertaken by the Government, are now bearing the fruits. We have also taken various structural reforms which are also, now, giving us the desired outcome. Look, we were talking about the GST. Everybody was criticising about GST. Now, everybody is talking about the outcome of GST. Now, consistently, we are getting 1.3 trillion rupees every month, after month, after month. Why? It is because we have gone through the pain when we had to do these structural reforms. We knew that there will be some slowdown and people will criticize us. It is because when you undertake structural reforms, it slows down the economy a little bit. It did and we are not afraid of that. It is because we know that what we are doing and that we are doing is good for the country. It is in the interest of the country and that is what we did. The result is for everyone to see. It is for everyone to see that there is a GST collection of 1.3 trillion rupees per month and it is going on a month-to-month basis. Secondly, what is important is this. We had set a target of export of 400 billion dollars. I must compliment the Government. I must compliment the concerned Minister for achieving this target on 20<sup>th</sup> of March. It is not an easy achievement because given the global situation and circumstances we are operating currently, it is indeed a very good achievement because we had set a very stiff target for us. Sir, 400 billion dollars is a very good outcome, and I am sure that given that initiative which the Government is taking, given the priorities which we have set in for our Government and for the growth of exports, we will, certainly, go much higher in the future. सर, आप देखिए कि लोग हमारी सरकार के बारे में compare करते हैं और हमारे बजट के बारे में criticize करते हैं। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि मैंने लोगों को सुना है। आप ज़रा यूपीए के टाइम को देख लीजिए। चाहे आप हेल्थ सेक्टर में देख लीजिए या एजुकेशन सेक्टर में देख लीजिए कि हमारा किस तरह से allocation है। आप ज़रा रूरल सेक्टर को देख लीजिए। सर, आप ज़रा देखिए तो सही! मैं कहता हूँ कि अगर हम हेल्थ सेक्टर में 1.6 trillion rupees खर्च कर रहे हैं, तो आप सारे heads को मिला लीजिए और आप देखिए कि यह कितना बड़ा है। It is four times of what it was in 2014 because we are extremely sensitive and sincere about the people of this great country. We want their welfare. We understand, that is our priority, that is our responsibility, but we cannot ignore the interest of our country

because we have to ensure that we should stand on our legs very firmly and that is why it is important for us to take some tough calls, tough measures and that is what we did. We have done and we will continue to do that. We will take reform measures time and again because it is important not for us, it is important for our country. Today, our country wade very differently, despite the Ukraine crisis, despite the Ukraine war. We had faced similar kind of a situation in 2008 when we had a global crisis, economic crisis. What had we done at that time? We had given our bank standing order to give loan to everyone; not to evaluate. Why? Do not do proper credit evaluation process. Do not follow that. As a result, what happened? Inflation was in double digit. There was a debt curse. I think, everybody should read that report.

Hon. former Finance Minister is here. I would request that he must also read that report which has not been published by us or any of the Member of this House, but it was published by the independent agency, Credit Suisse, and it suggests that at that point of time, when we were distributing loans free, without doing proper due diligence, we were not even worrying about the collateral. And as a result what happened! Since 1947 to 2006, the loan book of our nationalized bank was 18 lakh, but suddenly it ballooned to 52 lakh. Why? What happened? We were giving loans without doing proper due diligence. As a result, we had NPA, we suffered. The country suffered; we suffered. As a responsible Government, we did not make hue and cry. What we did under the leadership of the hon. Prime Minister is, we have set it right. We have capitalized the banks. We ensured that the banks are healthy and they are able to lend again and we have also come up with many legislations to ensure that recovery is done, and we have recovered money. And with this new legislation in place, we are able to recover that money. The credit growth is now so visible. On a month-to-month basis, the credit is growing. Despite the fact that we have Ukraine crisis, despite the fact that there is still the threat looming on our head, some time of second wave, some time Omicron, some time people talking about some other virus, some other infection; we have seen everything, we are seeing everything. Yet the vaccination effort of the Government is being talked about across the globe unlike in the country, despite what we have achieved is unachievable for many people, for many countries. Yet, people are still criticizing. We are feeling safe, you are feeling safe, and everybody is feeling safe because of the Government's initiative. But what have we to do? We have to criticize the Government. Put the Government in the dock. We are not afraid of being put in the dock, but you have to also evaluate your own experience. What was the size of the GDP in 2014? What is the size of the GDP now? Where were we in 2014? Where are we in terms of our

standing in the global economy? See, the global landscape where we stand today! We are ahead of the United Kingdom. We are very close to; we are almost on a neck to neck with Japan. We are knocking the door of Germany. By 2030, we will see, we will be the third largest economy and the biggest market in the world because we have our strength and we are capitalizing our strength. This Government feels that our strength needs to be capitalized for the welfare of the people and for the betterment of country, not for a particular family, not for a particular community but for the society as a whole. That is what the Budget is. That is what the Budget is meant for us. And, people are talking about we have not done that, we are not giving subsidy. We have not given the subsidy, give the subsidy. Sir, I would like to bring the attention of every single Member of this House that when the Budget was presented, it is only a Budget, and when there is a compassionate Government like us, you need to see the Revised Estimates and then you see the final allocation, what has been made. Where the poor needed, the marginalized section of the society needed support, it is us. We have supported it. Didn't we open our coffer for them? Yes, we did. Despite the fact that there was no revenue during the lockdown, there was no economic activity, the Government was struggling for resources, yet, what we did. We prioritized that our people are our strength. They are our strength. We must protect them. What we did, we provided them free ration. We provided every possible support that they expected from the Government. And, it is so feasible today that people feel that there is a Government of the day who will always stand by them despite whatever be the situation because at the end of the day, it is our responsibility, and we will not shy away from our responsibility. Under the leadership of the hon. Prime Minister, we have demonstrated not once, time and again, and time and again, we will continue to demonstrate that for our country, for the betterment of our people, for the welfare of our people, we will not shy away from taking any tough decision, any tough measure, and so it is visible from the Budget which has been presented. I heard one of the Members was speaking about retrospective tax. Who had introduced this retrospective tax? It is this Government which has put to bed all these speculative approaches which the earlier Government had. It is this Government. People are happy. There is stability. There is simplicity of our tax structure. People feel comfortable. People feel that yes this is the place to invest. That's why our FDI is going up and up every time, and we are growing. FDI is growing because they feel comfortable. They feel that there is a Government of the day, and there is an initiative of the Government and the leadership of the State which lends lot of comfort and confidence to global investors, and that is why global investors are putting lot of money here and they will continue to put money. Last week, I was travelling abroad.

Even though it is not warranted to speak here, but I am tempted to speak because there were Parliamentarians from 200 other countries in an Assembly which I was attending, and I was speaking there. I felt really so proud and I must compliment the Government and the leadership of this Government that, despite Ukraine crisis, people were talking on the one side Ukraine crisis, and on the other side, they were saying India is in a very strong position. India is in a very commanding position. They were always talking about the strength of India, and that has lent lot of confidence even in me, a new Parliamentarian; who came to Parliament barely a year ago. But, that shows that what initiative Government of India has taken in the last seven years which actually make every citizen of this great country feel proud, confident, comfortable and secure because the Government's initiative is such that we do not leave anyone. We will never leave anyone. Those who need support from the Government, we will hold their hands and empower them. And, that is what the hon. Prime Minister has done. That is what the hon. Finance Minister has done when she presented this Budget. Just see the numbers and I am not even talking about the numbers, Sir, but somebody was talking about that too GDP. I feel it is better than what we had projected, what we had presented last year. Did we not go beyond our own expectations? Are we not growing? I mean this is just for us to see. The country is growing. The economy is growing. The tax collection is growing. The certainty of tax collection is so visible now. It is so evident because of the initiative which we have taken. Yes, I can still understand, and, I have spoken many times on this and many people have spoken on this. There are many people here who understand economy they will understand that that when you do difficult back to back structural reforms, it slows down and when the global economy is also compressing then, yes, your Indian economy is not in isolation or is operating in isolation, it will also be impacted. So was the situation before 2020. But today we are in a very robust position. The economy is firing all cylinders. The initiative which has been undertaken by the Government is giving fruits to the country and all the numbers which you will see will only lend you confidence. You just see all the numbers like the E-way Bill, PMI. E-way Bill is going on a month to month basis; PMI again it is in expansionary mode. It is consistently beyond 50 and it is not only beyond 50, it is 53-54, both on services side as well as manufacturing. Again, the Government's intention is that we want to make India as a hub for manufacturing and that is what the initiative that they have taken that those who have China plus one policy will definitely engage India and put their money and they will have set-up here in India as well and export from here. A lot of initiatives the Government has taken, some have been announced and some will be announced, but the trajectory is absolutely clear. The decision process should be seen in

continuity and not in isolation. This is not a process of extrapolation of one number every year, the way people speak here. I feel that they are expecting that the Government should extrapolate the number which has been presented earlier. That is not the approach. That should not be the approach because the Government has the responsibility. The Government has responsibility not just to one section of the society or one particular segment. The Government has the responsibility for the entirety. I mean sometimes they have to give here, prioritize here, next time they have to prioritize here. So, it cannot be extrapolated. When the Garib Kalyan Yojana has to be introduced, you have to have higher allocation for subsidies and it is evident from the number when they will withdraw, it will come up. But again they have extended it yesterday, then, of course, the allocation will be more than what has been presented in the Budget. It is so simple for everyone to understand before criticizing the Government. The intent is very important for us to understand. Sir, the intent, it is so evident that anybody who will evaluate or analyse the budgetary approach of our Government, they will see. The hon. former Finance Minister is sitting and when last time he was speaking about the Budget, he criticized about unemployment. I must tell him that the number that he picked up was a weekly number and not the monthly number and I would request him what you had presented and what it was. These were two different numbers. It is very important for all of us to understand what number is being presented, whether the House is being misled or whether the number is not actually being presented the way it should have been presented because if you take a particular number, slice it the way you want to slice. Of course, it will give a different perspective and different colour. But if you follow the methodology which everyone is following, then you will get the desired result which everybody will get. I mean it will be in uniformity even for you to evaluate. I think the day it was presented and I can always request them to go back and see CMIE number on a month and month basis and we have gone much better than prior to pre-COVID period and where consumption level has gone up, unemployment rate has come off, the savings rate has gone up. The demand is going up, the salaries are going up. Every number is giving a lot of confidence. Power demand has gone up.

**5.00 PM**

Fuel demand has come up. The economy is firing on cylinders. What do you expect from the Budget? The Budget is to ensure the policy initiatives of the Government at that period of time; whatever it does should propel the economy and safeguard the interests of the people. That is what is happening. The economy is

firing on all cylinders. The people are happy. We are winning election after election. Why? Because the common people on the street feel comfortable. They feel that there is a leadership of the Government which will empower them, hold them in hand and empower them. So, they feel much more comfortable. I request you, Sir, that on all the macro-economic parameters, you evaluate our performance. You will get to know how our Government is faring, how our Government is performing. Of course, there are people who would say, 'You keep spending the money!' The basic principle--never spend beyond your means because that would keep you in good stead--which the hon. Prime Minister followed, I would say, is the wisest decision he has taken. Yet, the road for fiscal consolidation is being actively followed by the hon. Finance Minister. It is so evident that the fiscal deficit has come down; the road map is very clear. It is a very transparent approach unlike the previous regime, which was so opaque that everything could not have been taken into fiscal deficit calculation. But, today, I can say with conviction and show you that there is no opaqueness and there is clarity; everything is loud and clear as to what comes into fiscal deficit number and that fiscal deficit is known to everyone. For the fiscal consolidation, the road map is so evident for everyone to see. I must compliment the hon. Finance Minister for being so clear, so transparent that she lends confidence and comfort to every global investor. That is why the portfolio investment is growing, FDI is growing, GDP is growing, export is growing and credit growth is growing. Yes, one cylinder is not yet fired to its potential and that is the private investment. The Government has taken an initiative; the burden is on the shoulder of the Government. It will make all the commitment which is needed to ensure that the economy is booming. So, Rs. 7.5 trillion has been committed, an all time high, highest in eighteen years in terms of percentage to GDP.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA): Please conclude now. Your party has four more speakers.

SHRI SYED ZAFAR ISLAM: Sir, 2.9 per cent of the GDP has been allocated in the Budget. It is huge, highest in eighteen years. Why? Because the Government feels that if we start spending money, it would not only support the economy, but also give confidence to private investors. They will also start investing together with us. It is slowly visible because the credit growth number also suggests that private investment is coming back slowly.

My last point is, the ratio of tax collection to GDP; it is 10.9 per cent as against our budgeted number of financial year 2020-21, which was 9.9 per cent. That only



shows the meticulous exercise which is being done by the Finance Minister, under the leadership of the hon. Prime Minister. It is for everyone to see. Today, not only I strengthen the hands of the hon. Prime Minister by supporting this, but also all our colleagues would support. I also take this opportunity to compliment the hon. Finance Minister for presenting a wonderful Budget. Thank you very much, Sir.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, thank you very much for calling me to speak on behalf of the Congress Party. I am happy that the Appropriation Bill and the Finance Bill are taken together. I believe that it gives us a fairly wide canvas to speak on the economic and financial situation of the country.

On the Finance Bill, I have a few points and I will be very brief on each point knowing that I have very few minutes left. The Income Tax Act has 298 Sections, if you do not count Sections with suffixes like A, B, AA, BB etc., and it has 14 Schedules. The Finance Bill has 125 Clauses, of which 84 pertain to Amendments to the Income Tax Act and the hon. Minister has moved 39 Amendments to the 125 Clauses in the Amendment Bill. Now, honestly, every Member has to search his heart and say whether anyone understands these things. I did not. I spent a lot of time trying to understand, and I can't say I understand it. This is a legacy issue. I concede that. This has been going on year after year after year, but this must stop. This Government claims that it will dump all old legacies. This is one legacy this Government must dump immediately and I think, the entire Income Tax Act must be replaced by a Direct Taxes Code.

When we were in Government, I had helped draft a Direct Taxes Code when hon. Shri Pranab Mukherjee tried to improve it. When I returned to the Finance Ministry, I tried to improve it. There are three versions of the Direct Taxes Code. Many of the provisions will be outdated. So, get rid of all of them, but please bring a Direct Taxes Code immediately. No one benefits from this Income Tax Act except the chartered accountants and the lawyers. I come to specific points. Firstly, what are you doing about charities? Now, the most famous clause in the Income Tax Act is Section 10 (23C). In the printed book, it occupies eight pages. The Finance Bill has Amendments which run into nine pages. So an eight-page clause is being amended by a nine-page Bill and Sub-Section 23C alone occupies nine pages. That is exempt income, including charities and then we have Sections 11 and 12 under which income from charities are exempted. They are subject to conditions in Section 12A, 12AB and Section 13. The hon. Finance Minister once again amended Section 12A and there is another section called 115 TD which was about accreted income. Now, a day will come when charity or a religious institution which is a charity, or, an institution,

a trust, which is a charity, will say, 'let us get out of the clutches of the Income Tax Act. If we have an income, let us pay the tax at ten per cent or twenty per cent or thirty per cent whichever is the applicable rate. Let us get out of the Income Tax Act.' Most charities today, most trusts today are crippled by these provisions and the repeated amendments year after year after year. Please clean up these provisions. If you believe that charities and trusts have a place in this country, let them function with a reasonable degree of independence and light regulation. This is no way to encourage charities and trusts. If I were to start a charity or a trust, I will say, 'I will pay my tax. Just leave me out of the Income Tax Act.' And, this whole concept of accreted income is very regressive. If the exemption is cancelled, under 12A or 12AA, the entire income which has been exempt for the past several years is, now, deemed as accreted income and on that accreted income you will have to pay tax! I think, these are gross provisions. These are burdensome provisions. This is not the way to encourage large charities and large trusts. Yes; if there are mis-conducting charities and trusts, take action. But, don't stifle. Don't throttle the throat of charities and trusts by these provisions.

The next provision is the novel concept called 'faceless assessment.' Sir, earlier, there was an Assessing Officer. He knew the Assessee's history. He has the entire records with him. The Assessee may have been an Assessee for the last 30 years or 40 years or 50 years. He knows his history and then he will deal with assessment. There are enough provisions to ensure that no income escapes assessment. Today, you have introduced a faceless assessment! We don't know who the Assessing Officer is. We don't know where he is. We don't know whether he has all the past records of the last 20 or 30 years. We don't know what assistance he gets. How is this an improvement? Of course, some people will argue a faceless assessment is a great improvement. According to me, this is a regressive provision. Numerous people have complained to me that this faceless assessment has put them through enormous hardship, because we even don't know who is hearing the matter, who is deciding the matter and what records he has. The amusing part is, the National Faceless Assessment Centre has three units. There is an Assessment Unit. There is a Technical Unit. And, there is a Verification Unit. I ask the hon. Members, if you have time and inclination, go through these provisions. By the time an assessment is completed, if there are queries, submissions, clarifications, etc., it will go from unit to unit to unit — from Faceless Centre to the Assessment Unit, back to Faceless Centre; to the Technical Unit, back to the Faceless Centre; to the Verification Unit, back to the Faceless Centre; and, back to the Faceless Assessing Officer. This is completely regressive. I am sure, sooner than later, the hon. Finance

Minister will recognize that this is not a progressive step, this is not a liberal step and this is causing huge hardship to Assesseees.

The next provision I wanted to draw the hon. Finance Minister's attention is Section 149(1)(b). This is about the time for reopening assessments. Earlier, the time limit was four years. But, the Assessing Officer had six years under certain circumstances. Now, last year, the Finance Bill reduced the second part to three years. You have to open it within three years, but you can open it beyond three years under certain circumstances. It was a great relief to a lot of people, because past assessments will not be reopened beyond three years. But, this year, somebody in the CBDT decided that we should tighten this. I don't know if it escaped the scrutiny of all the Board Members of the CBDT. Today, you have said that it will be opened beyond three years and reopened up to ten years! If the income that has escaped assessment, is it in the form of an asset or is it in the form of expenditure related to an occasion or is it relatable to an entry in the Books? Now, I spent about ten minutes trying to think of what else can they have. If income has escaped the assessment, it should be either an asset or it should be expenditure which has been incurred, you had an escaped income and you spent it, or it relates to an entry. What else can it there be?

Sir, virtually, in every case, you will reopen it beyond three years up to ten years if the Assessing Officer or now the National Faceless Assessment Centre, decides in his case to reopen it beyond three years. This Amendment is regressive. This defeats the purpose for which you reduced the time limit to three years. Please reconsider this Amendment. This Amendment is going to cause huge hardship and a huge amount of litigation. Finally, Sir, what shape the Finance Act, as amended and as amended by the Lok Sabha, will take, nobody can visualise it until our Universal Publishers publishes the book; nobody can understand what it is. So, we are all waiting for the Income Tax Act, as amended, and as amended last year, and as amended this year, to be published so that we can make sense. Believe me, I speak as a lawyer and I also know several Chartered Accountants. They have asked me to say this in the House: 'You cannot today apply the Income Tax Act, as amended this year; you will have to have all the books of every year because there are sunset clauses, there are prospective clauses and there are retrospective clauses; for some assessment years, last year's amendments will apply; for some assessment years, two-year-ago amendments will apply; for some assessment years, the prospective amendments will apply.' It has become a complete minefield. Nobody escapes in this minefield. All you find is a lot of people crippled when they walk through this minefield. I appeal on behalf of the House and on behalf of all the taxpayers'

community -- let's assume this a legacy issue -- please, replace this with a clear, clean and simple Direct Taxes Code. I must compliment the Finance Minister for introducing 139(8A) which is called 'Updated Assessment' within a period of two years. Although it is severely restricted, you can update your assessment only if you offer to pay more tax. If you are asking for reduction of tax, you can't update your assessment; if you are asking for refund, you can't update your assessment. Who have told you this? There was a simpler way. Why do you have to touch your nose by taking your hand round your neck? You can touch it straight. All that they have to do is, say, put the number of times you can file a revised assessment, which is now any number of times, limited to, say, two times and give a time limit of, say, 12 months or 18 months. Any assessee can file a revised assessment only for maximum two times and within a period of 12 months or 18 months. That is a much simpler provision. On the one hand, you have a revised assessment provision in which you can offer to pay more tax, claim more refund or reduce your tax. On the other hand, you have an updated assessment provision under which you can only offer more tax. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. Let us see how many people file an updated assessment and offer more tax. I think the simpler approach is to allow a revised assessment for a limited number of times for a limited period. I am done with the Finance Act. You can speak on as many sections; you can take as many hours to speak. But I don't intend to speak on that. We will see how it operates in Assessment Year 2022-23 and what kinds of amendments will be brought next year to correct, what you found, the anomalies in this year's amendment and next year's assessment.

Now, I want to go to the Appropriation Bill. The hon. Member, who spoke before me, said that our direct tax revenues have increased. These are the numbers I have. I have taken them from 'The Budget at a Glance'. In 2013-14, after about three-four years, I think it is about 2009-10, for the first time, direct taxes revenue, as a proportion of GDP, exceeded the indirect tax revenue. And, in 2013-14, when the previous Government demitted Office and the new Government took over, the numbers were: 5.6 per cent of GDP was direct tax and 4.4 per cent of GDP was indirect tax. This is progressive taxation - direct tax, as a proportion, increases and indirect tax, as a proportion of GDP, decreases. This is the right direction. Now, this direction continued till 2016-17. In 2016-17, sadly, indirect tax, as a proportion of GDP, crossed direct tax, as a proportion of GDP. And, I had cautioned even then that this is a bad trend; reverse this. Indirect taxes, as a proportion of GDP, should not cross direct taxes, as a proportion of GDP. Actually, direct taxes must increase.

Now, in this year, 2021-22, according to our 'Budget at a Glance', both have become equal - 5.4 per cent and 5.4 per cent. Next year, the Finance Minister expects that direct taxes will go up from 5.4 to 5.5 per cent and indirect taxes, as a proportion of GDP, will come down from 5.4 to 5.2 per cent, which means, we are reversing the bad trend that has been set in the last five or six years. It is good and I hope that Government achieves this. But, mark this, total of indirect taxes and direct taxes touched 11.2 per cent in 2017-18. This year, it is 10.8 per cent, and next year, it will come down to 10.7 per cent. If your total tax, as a proportion of GDP, falls by as much as 0.4 per cent or 0.5 per cent, there is something seriously wrong with your tax policies and tax administration. Taxes, as a proportion of GDP, are low in India when compared to other developed countries and other emerging economies. We should increase our taxes as a proportion of GDP. But, unfortunately, the trend is not very encouraging. I want to utter a word of caution again that if your taxes, as a proportion of GDP, does not grow, and if your direct tax, as a proportion of GDP, does not grow, it means that people are accumulating income and wealth and not paying enough taxes, whereas the large mass of people, who pay indirect taxes, are bearing the bulk of the burden. The burden must be shared equitably. People must pay taxes, but the rich must pay more; the people who accumulate wealth must pay more. Last time, when I spoke on the Budget, I did point out how the wealth of the top one per cent has increased astronomically by Rs. 30 lakh crore in one year. So, this is a bad trend. This is not a good trend and nothing to be proud about.

Now, I have another question. According to the 'Budget at a Glance', in the year 2021-22, at current prices, the GDP will be Rs.232 lakh crore. In 2022-23, it will be Rs.258 lakh crore, and the 'Budget at a Glance' correctly calculates 'nominal growth' (underline this) at 11.2 per cent. Now, I want to ask the hon. Finance Minister that after making this estimate of 11.2 per cent growth, which was made on the 1<sup>st</sup> of February, 2022, whether you had an opportunity to review it. There is now the Ukraine war. Supply chains have been choked. The shipping rates have gone up astronomically. There is a chip shortage. There is a shortage of containers. There is a shortage of credit. World trade will be affected. In fact, the IMF has estimated that the GDP of every country will be down by 0.5 per cent to 2 per cent. Now, given all these developments in the last eight weeks, are you still confident that 'nominal GDP' will indeed grow by 11.2 per cent? I don't wish ill. I wish it grows by 11.2 per cent, but I have serious reservations whether in the changed circumstances, in the year beginning on 1<sup>st</sup> of April, it will actually grow at 11.2 per cent. Now, assuming it grows at 11.2 per cent, is the Government still persisting with its projection that real GDP growth will be 9.5 per cent, as was said originally; or, 9 per cent, as was revised

subsequently; or, 8 per cent, as the Chief Economic Advisor has said? Take any of these numbers. Will the real GDP growth next year be 9.5 per cent or 9 per cent or 8 per cent? I think, any of these three numbers is no longer credible, and, I will tell you why it is no longer credible.

Let us first take the smallest of the three numbers, that is, 8 per cent. If real GDP is 8 per cent and nominal GDP is 11.2 per cent, implied deflator, which is equal to the inflation, will be 3.2 per cent. Does anyone believe in the changed circumstances that in 2022-23, inflation in India will be only 3.2 per cent? If it is 9 per cent, implied inflation is only 2.2 per cent. If it is 9.5 per cent, implied inflation is only 1.7 per cent. That will be heaven. We are not yet in that heaven. I seriously doubt the estimate that India's real GDP will grow at 9 per cent or 8 per cent, and, I will tell you why.

In February, the WPI was 13.1 per cent; the CPI was 6.1 per cent; food inflation was 5.9 per cent; manufacturing inflation was 9.8 per cent; and, fuel and light inflation -- before these five days of increase in petrol and diesel prices -- was already 8.7 per cent. If food inflation, manufacturing inflation, fuel and light inflation are all close to 6 per cent and above, if CPI is over 6 per cent and if WPI is over 13 per cent, how do you say with a straight face that next year, inflation will be about 2 to 3 per cent. These numbers are no longer credible and I would urge the hon. Finance Minister to look into this. It is not her fault that there is a war in Ukraine but the Finance Minister must reassess it. You must be resilient; you must be nimble and reassess these growth projection figures, and, please tell the Parliament, not today, maybe later, as to what are the more realistic numbers of nominal growth and real growth.

Let me come to the final point. I heard the hon. Finance Minister emphasizing once again in the Lok Sabha that this Government believes that Government's capital expenditure will be main driver of growth. I wish them well but let us look at the numbers. The numbers are not inspiring. The rhetoric is inspiring but the numbers are not inspiring. Let me tell you the numbers. In 2021-22, the Central Government's capital expenditure in the BE was Rs. 5,54,236 crore and in the Revised Estimates, it was shown as Rs. 6,02,711 crore but actually that is not correct number because there is a small foot note. The foot note says, "Rs. 51,971 crore was repayment of debt for Air India". That is not capital expenditure. By no method of accounting is the repayment of debt a capital expenditure. You deduct that amount of Rs. 51,971 crore. The Revised Estimate of capital expenditure is, therefore, Rs. 5,50,840 crore. The BE was Rs. 5,54,000; the RE was Rs. 5,50,000 crore. So, actually, in the year that is coming to an end on 31<sup>st</sup> of March, you spent Rs. 4,000 crore less than what you had estimated. This was a difficult year and there are many reasons why Government's

capital expenditure never achieves the target that the Finance Minister or the Prime Minister or the Cabinet decide. There are so many bottlenecks in Government expenditure, so many levels of decision making, so much paper work and so much hesitancy in clearing the projects. Be that as it may, for the next year the hon. Finance Minister projected a capital expenditure of Rs.7,50,246 crore. We were all very impressed when she read out that number. And she claimed that, point to point, it is an increase of 35 per cent. Of course, that proportion is wrong. Whether we apply it to the B.E. of this year or the R.E. of this year, that proportion is wrong. But I won't get into the arithmetic. This, Rs.7,50,246 crore, is not a correct number. I raised this question when I spoke last and I expect an answer. Let me re-phrase it. Have you included in Rs.7,50,246 crore the one lakh crore rupees that you will allow the States to borrow additionally for their capital expenditure? That is what the Budget Speech says. I think you have included. But to be fair and polite, I will not say you have included. I will turn it around and ask this. Have you included one lakh crore rupees in the Rs.7,50,246 crore? If you have included this one lakh crore rupees, then this will be counted as capital expenditure by the States if they borrow this one lakh crore rupees and show it in their Budgets. How can it be the capital expenditure of the States as well as the capital expenditure of the Centre? So, if you have included this one lakh crore rupees in Rs.7,50,246 crore, my respectful submission is that the real number is Rs.6,50,246 crore. Over the current year's revised true estimates of Rs.5,50,840 crore, it is an increase of exactly one lakh crore rupees. It will be an additional capital expenditure of one lakh crore rupees next year. What is it like? It will be a mosquito bite. Your GDP is Rs.258 lakh crore in which one lakh crore rupees additional capital expenditure, if it materializes, will make no difference. I am not saying you should not spend the one lakh crore rupees. Please spend this additional one lakh crore rupees. But this cannot be the driver of growth. The driver of growth can only be if private investment is the main driver. Household savings, people's savings channelized into private investment can only be the true driver of economic growth. Government capital expenditure can supplement private capital expenditure, but unless private capital expenditure is stimulated, triggered, boosted, this will not make a difference. In fact, in the GDP, your Government capital expenditure is barely 2.52 per cent and 2.52 per cent won't make a difference. We need a much larger investment that can only come from private investment. And private investment can only come if there are private savings, household savings channelized into investment.

Finally, I want to ask the Government. Have you lost faith in private investors? Or have private investors lost faith in investment in India? They are investing abroad.

So, somehow there is a lack of faith. Either private investors have lost faith in investing in India or the Government has lost faith in private investors that they will invest in India. Please go into it. This will not give you the kind of growth we need. We need high growth. I am cautioning the Government once again respectfully. You will not get 8 per cent. You will not get 9 per cent. You will not get 9.5 per cent. The world is going through a churning. The IMF has lowered everybody's growth rate by 0.5 to 2.5. I think we must settle for a lower growth. But we must achieve that lower growth. That lower growth can only be achieved if you encourage private savings, household savings and find ways to channelize that into private investment. I am afraid the year ahead is a difficult year. I wish the Government well. I wish the hon. Finance Minister well. But it is a difficult year. And it is better be forewarned that it will be a difficult year. It requires sound tax policies, sound financial management and sound economic management. I wish the Government well. Thank you, Sir.

**प्रो. मनोज कुमार झा (बिहार) :** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह एक अद्भुत और खूबसूरत लम्हा होता है, जब आप भूतपूर्व वित्त मंत्री और वर्तमान वित्त मंत्री के बीच में, दो पाटन के बीच में आ जाएँ।...(व्यवधान)... बीच में भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री जी भी हैं, लेकिन ताल्लुक वित्तीय मामलों से है।

महोदय, macro economics पर पहले भी बहुत कुछ कहा जा चुका है, green shoots पर भी। इन दिनों जो अधिकांश रिपोर्ट्स आई हैं, मैं चाहता हूँ कि मैं एक अच्छी baseline के साथ उन रिपोर्ट्स की कुछ चीज़ों को आपके माध्यम से माननीया वित्त मंत्री जी के सामने इस आग्रह के साथ रखूँ कि अगले वर्ष इसी वक्त जब हम Finance और Appropriation Bills पर बात कर रहे हों, तो मैं उनसे पूछ सकूँ कि पिछली बार के सूचकांक और इस बार के सूचकांक में कितना फर्क आया, फर्क आया या नहीं आया?

Sir, I know that modern States are organized around three flags these days -- capitalism, globalization and neo-liberalism. Sir, they have a scant regard for issues like human rights, social sector spending and for all kinds of things which affect the lives and times of common people. I know this reality irrespective of which political party is in power in the last 30 years. But, what we have on the line? Sir, through you, could I request that the House be in order? Today is 28<sup>th</sup> March. I was not here in the morning. I was travelling from Bagdogra airport to Delhi. What I saw in and around my Kishanganj area, Araria and Purnia, I would come to that a little later. But any kind of policy intervention would be meaningless if it does not change the life of ordinary people. मैं खास तौर पर सीमांचल के पूर्णिया, अररिया जिले की बात कर रहा हूँ, कोसी के इलाके की बात कर रहा हूँ। मैं सिर्फ इतना कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार को फौरी तौर पर हस्तक्षेप करना होगा। आप सीमांचल कोसी विकास बोर्ड बनाइए।

सर, MSME की एक SFURTI scheme है, यह स्कीम बहुत अच्छी है, लेकिन अगर आप इसको जमीन पर उतरते देखें, तो जमीन की खरीद से लेकर बाकी चीज़ों की उपलब्धता में इतनी



बड़ी दिक्कत है। सर, अद्भुत दौर है, अकल्पनीय दौर है, अविश्वसनीय दौर भी है। अभी भाजपा के हमारे एक मित्र कह रहे थे, मैंने पहले भी कहा कि प्रधान मंत्री जी दुनिया में सबसे लोकप्रिय हैं। चलिए, लेकिन यह अविश्वसनीय और अकल्पनीय इसलिए है क्योंकि हम hunger index पर भी दुनिया में नाम कमा रहे हैं। हम 116 मुल्कों में 101वें स्थान पर हैं कुपोषण के मामले में, खुशहाली के मामले में, तो क्या यह अद्भुत नहीं लगता है कि हम इन मानकों पर पिछड़ रहे हैं, लेकिन एक मानक पर, अगर प्रधान मंत्री जी की लोकप्रियता का इंसानी जिन्दगी के हालात से कोई ताल्लुक नहीं है, तो मैं आगे क्या कहूँ?

सर, Oxfam की inequality report कहती है कि हमारी दिक्कत यह है कि हमारे यहाँ के जो economic outcomes हैं, उनके पीछे तीन चीजें हैं, एक तो इंडिया की tax regime, दूसरा, declining emphasis on social sector and third is push towards increasing privatization. आज मेरे कई मित्रों ने Vizag Steel Plant की बात की। मैं खुद Vizag Steel Plant देख करके आया हूँ। जितने सारे PSUs हैं, इन्हें Public Sector Undertaking क्यों कहा गया? Public Sector Undertakings की कुछ अहमियत थी। उसके पीछे कुछ प्रतिबद्धताएँ थीं। हम इन दिनों क्या देख रहे हैं - Give a bad name to a dog and then kill him, ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिए। जैसा कि मेरे कई मित्रों ने कहा कि PSUs से देश को एक खास तरह की उम्मीदें थीं, जो शायद प्राइवेट सेक्टर fulfil न कर पाए। जिस प्रकार से हम प्राइवेटाइजेशन को बढ़ावा दे रहे हैं, मैं आपको दोष नहीं देता हूँ, आपने विरासत में वह राजनीति ले ली है, आपने भी neo-liberalism flag को उठा लिया है। लेकिन एक दिन इस सदन के सारे लोग, चाहे वे किसी भी दल के हों, बैठ कर मरसिया गाएँगे कि हमने यह क्या किया, हमने अपनी सारी public sector assets को, units को बेच कर रख दिया। इसका परिणाम क्या होगा?

महोदय, आज हम Article 15(4) की बात करते हैं, Article 16(4) की बात करते हैं, that is, reservation in public employment. आपने वह source ही खत्म कर देना है, फिर कहाँ चर्चा होगी? सर, पता चला कि 2020 से 2021 के बीच में -- Billionaire को हिन्दी में अरबपति बोलते हैं न?

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** जी, हाँ।

**प्रो. मनोज कुमार झा :** सर, अरबपतियों की संख्या में अद्भुत इजाफा हुआ है। मैं कभी बन नहीं पाऊँगा, यह मैं जानता हूँ। मुझे अरबपति होने से कोई दिक्कत नहीं है, लेकिन सर, जितनी तेजी से अरबपतियों की वृद्धि हो रही है, उतनी ही तेजी से खाकपतियों की वृद्धि भी हो रही है। सर, prosperity का trickle down नहीं हो रहा है, poverty का trickle down हो रहा है। Prosperity कुछ billionaires में concentrated रह रही है और यह मैं नहीं कह रहा हूँ, बल्कि यह रिपोर्ट कहती है। सर, कहा जाता है कि जो 98 हिन्दुस्तानी हैं, अगर उनकी संपत्ति को मिला दिया जाए, तो जो तकरीबन 40 से 45 प्रतिशत bottom के हिन्दुस्तानी हैं, वह उनके बराबर है। संपत्ति और संसाधन की इस असमानता के लिए बजट में कोई प्रोविज़न है! मुझे नहीं मिला! मैं मानता हूँ कि green shoots जरूरी है, growth जरूरी है, लेकिन क्या यह जरूरी नहीं है कि रोजगार पर भी चर्चा हो? यह बजट कितना रोजगार सृजन करेगा, यह बजट संपत्ति के बंटवारे में intervene

करेगा या नहीं करेगा? संसाधन का एक democratic distribution हो, उस पर बात करेगा या नहीं करेगा?

सर, 2021 में F.A.O. की एक रिपोर्ट आई, जो कहती है कि हमारे यहाँ 200 मिलियन लोग कुपोषित हैं। हम लोग कुपोषण के आंकड़ों पर Zero Hour में बात करते हैं, कभी-कभी Friday को भी बात करते हैं। सर, यह ज़िंदा इंसान के ज़िंदा मुद्दे हैं। कुपोषण, भुखमरी, हम इन सबके सूचकांक में पीछे हैं, फिर भी वाहवाही हो रही है, तालियाँ बज रही हैं! सर, मुझे याद आया कि पंकज मिश्रा जी ने एक Age of Anger नामक पुस्तक लिखी है, जिसमें वे Bakunin के एक मित्र Herzen को क्वोट करते हुए कहते हैं - 'An era of mass illusion.', यह mass illusion का पूरा era है, जो यूरोप में बहुत पहले था। अगर आपकी नीति और नीयत illusion create करने में है, तो optical illusion create करना आपका गोल हो जाता है। आपकी प्रतिबद्धता इस बात में नहीं है कि आपकी नीतियों और नीयत से आम इंसान की ज़िंदगी पर क्या असर पड़ता।

सर, मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ। अब तो मीडिया वाले जब बाइक सामने लगाते हैं -- आज फिर डीज़ल 80 पैसे बढ़ गया, लेकिन मैं इस पर क्या बोलूँ? मैं लगातार बोलता हूँ, लेकिन असर नहीं है, तो थक सा गया हूँ, लेकिन हम ही नहीं थक गए हैं, जिन पर मार पड़ रही है, वे भी थक गए हैं, numb हो गए हैं और अगर आपके नागरिक में numbness आ जाए, तो यह अच्छा संकेत नहीं है, क्योंकि numbness किस दिन ज्वालामुखी बनकर फूटेगी, इसका prediction किसी ज्योतिषी के हाथ में नहीं है। ...**(व्यवधान)**... सर, मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ, क्योंकि एक खास गंभीर टिप्पणी की गई है। सर, हमें पाँच किलो राशन से एतराज़ नहीं है, लेकिन उस राशन को पकाने के लिए गैस सिलेंडर चाहिए। उसमें सरसों का तेल डालना होता है या कोई और तेल डालना होता है। हम और आप सरसों के तेल की कीमत से परेशान हैं। ...**(व्यवधान)**... सर, मैं एक आम शहरी की बात कर रहा हूँ। मैं आपके माध्यम से एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ कि आय और शक्ति की असमानता, जिसके लिए हमारे बजट में कोई प्रोविज़न नहीं है, इससे बहुत सारी चीज़ें आहत होती हैं, प्रभावित होती हैं। शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य - रोजगार की बात तो मैं करता ही नहीं, क्योंकि रोजगार माँगने पर लाठियाँ बरसती हैं।

सर, कुछ राज्यों ने old pension scheme की बात की है। मैं आग्रह करूँगा, आप सबको भी अपनी constituency से दबाव आता होगा कि हमारी old pension scheme के बारे में बात की जाए। सर, यह वक्त है, जब सदन साझा रूप से old pension scheme की बहाली के बारे में सोचे, अन्यथा मैं समझता हूँ कि बहुत दिक्कत होगी।

सर, मैं बिहार राज्य से आता हूँ। हमारे उस तरफ भी बिहार के कई लोग हैं। मैं बिहार के बारे में पहले भी कह चुका हूँ। सर, special status को लेकर जो आपके मौजूदा मानक हैं, उन मानकों को बदलिए। बिहार की स्थिति बहुत खराब है। सरकार किसी की भी हो, बिहार की जो बीमारी है, जब तक उसमें infuse नहीं करेंगे, एक massive package, एक special status नहीं देंगे, तब तक बिहार को recover करने में बहुत दिक्कत होगी और बीमार बिहार देश को भी पाँच ट्रिलियन पर कभी नहीं जाने नहीं देगा, आप पहुंच ही नहीं पाएंगे। मैंने वित्त मंत्री साहिबा से पहले भी कहा था कि अगर आप गलती से पहुंच भी गई, तो बड़े अकेलेपन का एहसास होगा, क्योंकि बिहार बहुत पीछे छूट जाएगा। हमें बिहार में एरियावाइज़ यह तय करना होगा कि हम कहाँ पर किस तरह की इंडस्ट्री का निवेश करवाएँ। जैसा कि मैंने 'सीमांचल विकास बोर्ड' की बात की।

सर, ये छोटी-छोटी चीज़ें हैं। किशनगंज में एएमयू कैम्पस है, उसके लिए कोई चिन्ता नहीं है। वे लोग धरना-प्रदर्शन करते हैं और बात वहीं खत्म हो जाती है। सर, मैं Thomas Piketty को क्वोट करना चाहता हूँ। Thomas Piketty 'Capital in the Twenty-First Century' में कहते हैं, and I quote him, "When the return on investments--I wish to re-emphasize-- is higher than the rate of economic growth of the country, more wealth gets accumulated in the hands of a few who owns the means of production." सर, हम देख रहे हैं कि इस देश में सत्ता और धन का कहाँ संकेन्द्रण हो रहा है। यह हो सकता है कि मेरे कई दोस्तों को यह संकेन्द्रण आज अच्छा लग रहा हो, लेकिन अगर हम ultimately देखेंगे, तो पाएँगे कि यह संकेन्द्रण हम सबको एक बहुत मुश्किल हालात में ले जाएगा। मैंने पिछली दफा भी यह कहा था।

माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं conclusion में यही कहना चाहूँगा कि वित्त मंत्री जी अभी नहीं हैं। मेरा सिर्फ इतना आग्रह होगा कि चाहे कोई भी बजट हो, उसका सीधा ताल्लुक दिखना चाहिए। जो बेरोज़गारी का आलम है, यह हमें डराता नहीं है। मान लीजिए, प्रधान मंत्री जी बहुत लोकप्रिय हैं, लेकिन क्या बेरोज़गारी हर व्यक्ति को परेशान नहीं कर रही है? क्या हंगर इंडेक्स परेशान नहीं कर रहा है? क्या प्रेस फ्रीडम इंडेक्स परेशान नहीं कर रही है? अगर इतनी सारी चीज़ें परेशानी में हैं, तो हम भी साथ में खड़े होकर मान लेंगे, लेकिन इन चीज़ों के लिए एक प्रतिबद्ध तरीका अपनाइए, ताकि जब हम अगले बरस बात करें, जब हम अगले बरस बैठें, तो हम गर्व से कम से कम यह कह सकें कि भुखमरी में हिन्दुस्तान कितने पायदान छलांग लगाकर ऊपर चला गया या खुशहाली इंडेक्स में हम ऊपर आ गए!

सर, असल में यह होता है कि जब बड़ी सत्ता आती है, बड़ी ताकत आती है, तो बड़े मुग़ालते भी आते हैं। आखिर में, बस मैं इतना कहना चाहूँगा:

*"तुमसे पहले वो जो इक शख्स यहाँ तख्त-नशीं था,  
उसको भी अपने खुदा होने पे इतना ही यकीं था।"*

जय हिन्द, सर।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA): Now, the next speaker is Shri Birendra Prasad Baishya.

SHRI BIRENDRA PRASAD BAISHYA (ASSAM): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise here to support the Appropriation Bill and the Finance Bill. I must compliment the hon. Prime Minister and the hon. Finance Minister that, in this critical time, they presented a growth-oriented Budget which has given to forecast the economic growth of the country, the infrastructure development of the country and procurement in different sectors through the domestic production. It is an agriculture-friendly Budget. The Budget is also friendly for the farmers. Everything, she tried to focus in her Budget in

this critical time. Due to the continuous effort of the Government, under the leadership of the Prime Minister, the economic condition of our country, today, is sound. Our economic growth has increased. Right now, I heard the explanation given by the former hon. Finance Minister, Chidambaramji. He has some doubt about the poor growth of the Government projections. Sir, another three months left, and I believe and assert that the target given by the Government for the economic growth of the country will be covered in these three months. For the next financial year, Government has given an ambitious plan, an ambitious move for the economic growth of the country. And I am quite sure, under the leadership of the hon. Prime Minister, under the guidance of the hon. Prime Minister, the hon. Finance Minister is doing a good job and we have achieved the target provided in the Budget. Hon. former Finance Minister Chidambaramji, while making his speech, spoke about oil inflation. Sir, it is known to everyone. Yes, oil prices have increased. Yes, in the last five days, the oil prices have increased. This is not in our hands. This is not in the hands of the Government of India. Due to the Ukraine crisis, due to the international market, due to the increase in crude oil prices day by day, we are suffering. So we cannot blame this Government. But I am thankful to this Government, this Government has decided wonderful steps to import crude oil and gas in subsidized rates from Russia. I am sure, if this crude oil and gas are imported, then definitely, inflation will come down. So with due respect to the former Finance Minister, Chidambaramji, I would like to say that we cannot blame this Government for crude inflation. This crude inflation is only due to the war in Ukraine. There is no doubt about it that our foreign exchange deposit in the country has increased today.

Sir, in her Budget, the hon. Finance Minister has given importance to the capital expenditure. There is 30 per cent hike in the capital expenditure. If this target is fulfilled, definitely, it will be wonderful for the economic growth of the country. When capital expenditure is increased, new ports will come, new airports will come, new roads will come. So lot of infrastructure and more and more employment generation will come up which will be helpful to resolve to some extent the unemployment issue of the country. Sir, unemployment, no doubt, is a big problem of the country. It is not today's problem. For the last several years, we have been facing this problem. The Government has decided to create 60 lakh new jobs within a year. If this is coming about, no doubt, it will be helpful for the unemployed youth of the country. '*Atmanirbhar Bharat*', today, is not a slogan. This is not only a slogan. Actually, it is implemented in our country, today.

I am coming to the defence sector. Every year, we are importing arms and ammunition from the international market, from the foreign countries and a huge

amount from our Budget is going towards that. But, there is no issue, because for the sovereignty of the country, it is the utmost that we have to do. To protect our country from our enemy countries like Pakistan and China and others, definitely, we have to strengthen our defence. So we have to procure our arms and ammunitions from the foreign countries. But now, this Government has decided procurement of defence equipment from the domestic production. The 68 per cent of the defence capital procurement Budget has been allotted towards the local procurement. It is in the line with the 'vocal for local' push and it will certainly boost the domestic defence industry. So, I have very rightly said, '*Atmanirbharsheel Bharat*'. This is not only a slogan, but it has been properly implemented in our country today. In the defence sector, to encourage our domestic production, the Government has decided that more than 60 per cent procurement will be through the local production. Already, two Defence Industrial Corridors are working in our country. One is in Uttar Pradesh and another is in Tamil Nadu. Hon. Finance Minister, you took a very ambitious move, ambitious plan to encourage domestic industry in the Defence. I request you, if necessary, try to have more local Defence Industrial Corridors in other parts of the country to meet the requirements. This Budget has given importance to the farmers. In this Budget, we have decided to procure more rice from the farmers. I wish to say one more thing here, Sir, India is a welfare country. It is the duty of our Government to provide all help to the people of the country. Health is the priority sector in our country. As a Welfare State, we have to give proper healthcare to our people. I must compliment, I must salute this Government, India is the one country of the world which has vaccinated highest number of people of our country. On many occasions, we always compared India with the other developed countries. But, in the vaccine, India achieved a new record and we crossed all the developed countries of the world. India is the only country which has vaccinated maximum number of people. Due to this reason, in the last wave of Omicron, India suffered less. This credit goes to hon. Prime Minister; under his leadership, this Government is doing wonderful work. If you don't like, don't compliment. But you don't criticize. At least, you should recognize what this Government has done to tackle the Covid situation in the country.

Sir, every people speaks about North-Eastern Region. Every people says that our heart is the North-Eastern Region. But...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA): Mr. Baishya, we are going to adjourn at six o' clock. So, will you continue your speech tomorrow or are you going to conclude now?

SHRI BIRENDRA PRASAD BAISHYA: I will conclude in two, three minutes, if you allow me.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA): You can continue tomorrow also?

SHRI BIRENDRA PRASAD BAISHYA: Tomorrow, I will not be here. So,...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA): Please conclude then.

SHRI BIRENDRA PRASAD BAISHYA: I will take just two more minutes. Sir, when the time comes for allocating the money for North-Eastern Region, we forget North-Eastern Region. But, when you are speaking, you always speak about it. But, this Government, under the leadership of hon. Prime Minister, Narendra Modi ji, has given a new direction, a new importance to the North-Eastern Region. Rs.1,500 crore is the initial Budget allocation made for the development of North-Eastern Region. This is the initial. Through this, hon. Prime Minister has tried to develop some North-Eastern States. I think, we must compliment this Government.

#### **6.00 PM**

Hon. Madam, already our Railway Budget is tied up with your Budget, although there are several discussions on the Railways Budget, but I must compliment this Government again that all the States of the North Eastern Region today have railway connectivity.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA): Thank you.

SHRI BIRENDRA PRASAD BAISHYA: Now I request about one thing, Sir, in the interest of the economic development of the country. I would like to request, through you, Sir, try to put up one railway coach factory in Assam because all the North Eastern Region States have now railway connectivity. There is a lot of demand for coaches in all the North Eastern States. So, through you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like to request the Government to establish one railways coach factory in the North Eastern Region, which will be helpful for the economic development of the country. With this, again, I compliment this Government in this critical time for giving

us a strong Budget, a good Budget, growth-oriented Budget, farmers-helpful Budget, economic growth Budget, infrastructural development Budget and capital expenditure Budget. I hope, if this speed is continued, definitely, we will achieve our target of 11 per cent next time. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA): Discussion remains inconclusive and we will continue it tomorrow again. Now I will take up Special Mentions.

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### SPECIAL MENTIONS

#### Need to open Central Tribal University in Bastar division of Chhattisgarh

**श्रीमती फूलो देवी नेतम (छत्तीसगढ़) :** महोदय, मैं आपको धन्यवाद देना चाहती हूँ कि आपने मुझे छत्तीसगढ़ के बस्तर संभाग की वर्षों पुरानी मांग पर बोलने का अवसर दिया। बस्तर संभाग आदिवासी बहुल क्षेत्र है, जहाँ पर आदिवासी समुदायों की विभिन्न सभ्यता, संस्कृति, भाषा, रहन-सहन, खान-पान के साथ-साथ चिकित्सा हेतु विभिन्न जड़ी-बूटियों से बनी दवाओं आदि का समावेश देखने को मिलता है। आदिवासी छात्रों को इन सभी का ज्ञान भी आवश्यक होता है और अन्य छात्रों को भी इनकी जानकारी होनी चाहिए। इस हेतु आवश्यकता है कि बस्तर संभाग में केन्द्रीय आदिवासी विश्वविद्यालय की स्थापना हो। वर्तमान में जगदलपुर में शहीद महेन्द्र कर्मा विश्वविद्यालय संचालित है, जिसे भी केन्द्रीय आदिवासी विश्वविद्यालय में प्रोन्नत किया जा सकता है।

अतः आपके माध्यम से मेरा अनुरोध है कि छत्तीसगढ़ के बस्तर संभाग में केन्द्रीय आदिवासी विश्वविद्यालय खोला जाए अथवा जगदलपुर स्थित शहीद महेन्द्र कर्मा विश्वविद्यालय को केन्द्रीय आदिवासी विश्वविद्यालय का दर्जा दिया जाए, जिससे हमारे आदिवासी बच्चों को आदिवासी सभ्यता, संस्कृति, भाषा, रहन-सहन, खान-पान तथा चिकित्सा ज्ञान का अध्ययन कराया जा सके, धन्यवाद।

**श्री अबीर रंजन बिस्वास (पश्चिमी बंगाल) :** महोदय, मैं स्वयं को इस विषय के साथ संबद्ध करता हूँ।

#### Need for uniform Renewable Energy purchase obligation throughout the country

DR. PRASHANTA NANDA (Odisha): Sir, the MNRE has prescribed percentage shares for different types of renewal energies, that is, solar, hydro, and non-solar in the Power Purchase Portfolio of the States/ Discoms.