

country. We have Navachaithanya programme for school children between the ages of 11 and 18 years. We have Navachaithanya one days' awareness generation preventive education programme for school children for classes between six and eight. The programme for the awareness for all the schools of children of...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Time is over. Question Hour is over.

[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 UNION BUDGET 2022-23**

श्री जयराम रमेश (कर्नाटक) : सर, 70 साल में पहली बार ऐसा हो रहा है कि किसी कैबिनेट मिनिस्टर ने रिप्लाय नहीं किया है।...(व्यवधान)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, we can continue with the discussion on the Union Budget for 2022-23. Mr. Mohamed Abdulla will continue his speech.

SHRI M. MOHAMED ABDULLA (Tamil Nadu): Thank you Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir.

Sir, fifteen minutes have been allotted to me. But, when I was speaking yesterday, I was interrupted in the tenth minute of my speech. So, today, I need 2-3 more minutes.

Sir, the Budget imposes 30 per cent tax on virtual digital transaction asset i.e., cryptocurrency. To note here, cryptocurrency has not yet been legalized in this country. But, taxation shows that it is legal only by paying tax! It is still illegal; but, it says that if you pay tax, it becomes legal! Though it has become legal, there is still no regulatory body for cryptocurrency! I had also asked about another thing yesterday.

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA: Sir, there is no order in the House.

श्री उपसभापति : प्लीज़, आपस में बात मत करिए।

SHRI M. MOHAMED ABDULLA: We can sell drugs which is illegal, but if you pay tax, it becomes legal! And, at the same time, there is no regulatory body! Do you find any difference between these two — selling drugs and tax on cryptocurrency?

* Further discussion continued from 8th February, 2022.

Is there any such system exists in the world like this? There is a practice of imposing tax through legal means across the world. If any tax is imposed, it is backed by an Act. Even there may be some legislations implemented without tax component! For instance, I would like to remind that there is the Salt Act which has tax component and Self-respect marriage in Tamil Nadu is an Act without tax component! But, for the first time ever in the history of the world, our Union Government is imposing tax without any legislation! There is no Act for cryptocurrency, but there is tax!

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. L. HANUMANTHAIAH) *in the Chair.*]

Another thing is, I am amazed to see that the Financial Advisors of the Union Government are the world's foremost sages. This is because they advised that sanitary napkins should be taxed at 12 per cent, but tax on diamond has been reduced to 5 per cent! My friend, Smt. Priyanka Chaturvedi is there; Madam Mausam Noor is here and Madam Rajani is here. You ask any of them which is more important for a girl. Is it a sanitary napkin or a diamond? What is important? Sir, lakhs and crores of sisters in this country badly need sanitary napkins, but are unable to buy a single pad. But, 12 per cent tax has been imposed on it!

Sir, step-motherly treatment of Tamil Nadu and Tamilians by the Union Government stands exposed again in this Budget. One of the long-standing demands from the delta districts of Pudukkottai is opening up of a new railway line from Thanjavur to Pudukkottai. Survey was completed and submitted by the British just before Independence. This Government has failed to take concrete steps, failed to take delta district of Tamil Nadu into confidence and it is evident not only in Railways but also with regard to ghost of the hydrocarbon project which is still haunting farmers.

Sir, hundreds and thousands of people from Tamil Nadu, cutting across caste and religion, have contributed not just to the nation but also to the entire world. The Union Government is acting with vendetta against us.

Sir, due to paucity of time, I am now coming to the last part of my speech. To sum up, presenting a Budget, especially in the midst of economic crisis, is an opportunity to communicate the vision of the Government to the country. This Budget failed to do and is completely disconnected itself from the ground realities. Instead of tackling the problems at the end, the Union Government is diverting the attention away by fanning to plan India @ 100. The Budget did not have any mention of increasing the problem of inequality that the country is facing now. Also, it is not focussing on two of the country's most pressing problems — unemployment and the

crisis affecting agriculture and the informal sector. It is also a fact that a few billionaires and a few large companies have benefitted greatly and have multiplied their profitability. The pandemic too has devastated the lives of hundreds of millions. A report reveals that eighty per cent of households in the country have suffered a decline in their income, in the year marked by the tremendous loss of life and livelihood; whereas, on the other side, the number of Indian billionaires has grown from 102 to 142. This remains a general observation about the Budget: I don't read the Budget, but anyway you can say that the poor have been let down, the salaried class has been hit hard, and the Budget is beneficial to the rich; the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer. Tax on diamonds has been reduced by five per cent; corporate surcharge has been reduced to 7 per cent. Whereas, tax on umbrellas has been increased by 20 per cent! In such bad times, the Government should levy more tax on corporate sector to generate more money for social security. It is the duty of the Government to take care of common people.

Our DMK Party leader, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Shri M.K. Stalin, after taking charge as the Chief Minister of the State, had said, "He has been elected as the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu not only for the people who had voted for the DMK". Likewise, I urge upon the Union Government to run the Government for each and every citizen of India, not only for its corporate pay masters. History will judge you only by your actions. I advise the Government and the hon. Prime Minister, while working for the people, should follow the very famous quote of Perarignar Anna: * "The country is not just a geographical map. It is the corpus of emotions of people living there."

The meaning of this quote is that the country is not just a geographical map, it is an emotional sum of the people who live in it. I request the Government to kindly ponder over it. The Union Government should keep in mind the emotions and aspirations of its citizens. It should take commensurate steps in the direction of developing both, the country as well as its citizens.

I once again thank the leader of my party and the hon. Chairman for allowing me to take part in this debate on the Union Budget 2022-23. Sir, with these words, I conclude.

DR. AMAR PATNAIK (Odisha): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like to begin by quoting Joseph Stiglitz, the Nobel Prize winning economist, who said that the world

* English translation of the original speech delivered in Tamil.

was facing three existential crisis: Inequality, climate change, and democracy. There is crisis of confidence in our political and economic institutions. He goes on to say that what we measure affects what we do; and, if we measure the wrong thing, we will do the wrong thing. If we focus only on material wellbeing on, say, the production of goods, rather than on health, education, and the environment, we become distorted. In the same way, these measures are distorted. We have become more materialistic. So, the GDP is not designed to measure the wellbeing of people, it is basically designed to find out the producing economic growth, the pattern of spending on goods and services. Therefore, if we want to put people as first, we have to move beyond GDP, what Stiglitz is saying, what Amartya Sen has said, and what many other economics are saying. I would like to use this framework in analyzing the Budget.

So, I will first start with climate change. On energy transition and climate action, this Budget devotes about eight paragraphs. I must compliment the hon. Finance Minister for bringing the focus on climate action and climate change, which was one of the existential crises, pointed out and flagged by Joseph Stiglitz. The Budget talks about co-firing five to seven per cent bio mass, swapping of batteries and issuing of green bonds to generate resources for funding this climate change; it talks about a low-carbon strategy in the longer run for the economy; it talks about green energy and clean mobility systems as sunrise opportunities; and it also talks about circular economy. There are three things important when we talk about climate change, climate action. One is the mitigation measures, the second is the adaptation measures and the third, which is very important, is measurement, performance accounting for it. In the Budget, while speaking about all these things, giving a clear direction for the country as far as climate change is concerned, which is really commendable, unfortunately, only Rs.3,030 crores have been earmarked for the Ministry of Environment, which is 20 per cent higher than the last year's allotment, but it is only 0.012 per cent of India's total GDP. The commitment also has to come by matching allotments in the relevant Heads of Account. The biodiversity has been flagged as an enabling asset, I do agree and all the House would agree. However, the amount is only Rs.8.5 crores, which is less by Rs.3.5 crores. As per the Economic Survey 2020-21, India's climate action funding has so far been met domestically. But for meeting the COP26 commitments, we need one trillion US dollars. Therefore, my suggestion to the hon. Finance Minister is that we need to incentivise private investment in the clean energy trajectory by having a national adaptation investment fund, which should be very transparently set up. Currently, it is there, but the private sector's investment is not there so far. We need to encourage

private sector to invest in adaptation finance, adaptation projects and, most importantly, India as a whole has to spend money on climate resilient development pathways. The hon. Chief Minister of Odisha has been saying that we need to have a long-term strategy for disaster management in the Eastern Coast of India, which is generally ravaged by cyclones at regular intervals and a huge amount of money goes. Sir, I would like to say why it is important. It is important because the FAO's report says that during the 2003-13 period, the climate related economic loss to humanity was of the order of US dollars 1.5 trillion. And, all of us know that it is the poor who are disproportionately affected by any kind of climate change, and, therefore, by giving emphasis on climate, the Budget has done the right thing. However, as I said, it is very important to bring it into our Budget, into our mainstreaming and into our figures. Odisha is the first State in the country which, under the able leadership of the hon. Chief Minister, prepared the first climate budget; and, it is, probably, the only State which has done so far last year, that is, in 2021. Similar things need to be done at the Government of India level. Sir, what is good for the goose is not good for the gander. The word 'capital' is not good for the Marxian political scientists, but 'capital' is good for public financial specialists and economists. Similarly, what is good for top one per cent of the population may not be good for the bottom 50 per cent of the population. What we see in 2022-23 Budget is an over-abundance of capital expenditure, technology-- I spoke about it -- climate action and the Ease of Doing Business, which will all have a positive impact on the economy. However, there is an under-nourishment of health, education, rural economy, farmers' welfare, woman and child and of the States themselves. The Budget has betted heavily on capital expenditure last year, last to last year and even the current year. It is a supply side solution. But I would like to state and make a case whether it has worked, whether it has worked so far. In India, the multiplier effect, by the Central Government, of capital expenditure is 2.45 per cent. For the States, it is 2.0. This is assessed by RBI as well as by the National Institute of Public Finance and Policy. They have mentioned it in 2014 Report; RBI Bulletin 2020 Report. So, a 'Rupees one-crore investment' is supposed to generate much more than one-crore increase in GDP. However, has this multiplier effect worked? Now, it should convert itself in terms of generating fixed capital investment. So, what we see, the gross fixed capital formation has decreased from 34.3 per cent in 2011-12 to 26.6 per cent in 2020-21. It has decreased from 34.3 per cent to 26.6 per cent as per the first Revised Estimates. So, the one-dimensional track of completely putting all the eggs in the basket of capital expenditure may not work. I will give you another figure. The private final consumption, which accounts for 55-56 per cent of the GDP, is growing only at 5 per cent. The manufacturing sector,

contributing 17 per cent to the GDP, the employment in that sector has reduced by half during 2016-17 to 2020-21. It is the CEDA-CMIE Bulletin. Sir, there are two concerns about capital expenditure, two primary concerns. One is what is called as the 'hurdle rate', the cost of finance. Unless the Internal Rate of Return is more than the cost of finance, nobody would come to invest, and that is what has happened. The IRR on a Global Range is between 8 to 12 per cent. In India, it is only 6 to 8 per cent. Therefore, the PPP mode projects will have problems unless the cost of borrowing goes down. Something has to be done about cost of capital in this country. Not now; it has not happened before. I think a signal has to come from Government at some time.

Sir, now, I want to talk about the time-lag, the time delays. According to the Ministry of Surface Transport -- it is in their data base -- as of December, 2021, out of 1,673 total projects, 25 per cent approximately, 445, have incurred a cost overrun; 557, that is, 30 per cent, are delayed with an average time-run of 45.69 months. So, where does the multiplier effect come in? The multiplier effect gets delayed. The trickle-down gets delayed. The wage creation at the bottom of the pyramid gets delayed, and that is what has happened so far for not being able to generate the gross fixed capital formation; and this has resulted in what we have discussed so far. Many Members have discussed it, and, therefore, I am not going to discuss about unemployment.

What about the social sector? I said, it is 'undernourished'. Out of 21 primary sectors -- I do not take the total allocation as a percentage of the total 'budgeted BE' this year, but I am taking it as a percentage of the GDP -- in 8 sectors, it has decreased as a percentage of GDP compared to last year. In eight sectors, there is no change; in five sectors, it is marginal increase to the extent of 0.1 per cent. Therefore, there is nothing which has happened in the social sector. Then, how do you create a level-playing field? In the entire Budget, one has talked about opportunities to be given, opportunities being created, and we know opportunities can be created only when we spend on things like health and education. I will talk about these two things, health and education now.

Now, as far as health is concerned, the Budget started with 'Health', and I thought that the allocations would have become astoundingly high. Currently, if we look at the allocations in 'Health', it is 0.33 per cent of the GDP, which is less than the last year and less than or even almost equal to the last-year-before-last. We currently have one bed for thousand people against global average of 2.9. We are lower than even the BRICS countries. We have one doctor for 1,500 people when the requirement is one doctor for 1,000 people. We have one nurse for 670 people when

the requirement is one nurse for 300 as per the 15th Finance Commission Report. So, the investment in health is definitely required. I look forward to it and I think there is still some way in which we have to get investment into the health sector in this country, particularly, the primary healthcare sector. The Standing Committee had also suggested investment in primary healthcare requiring a push, a definitive push.

Now, I talk about agriculture. Talking about agriculture, I would like to say that unless the Swaminathan Committee Report is implemented, as has been demanded by the hon. Chief Minister of Odisha several times, the farmers' income probably cannot get doubled. In fact, the Budget doesn't talk about doubling of farmers' income as of 2022 at all. The procurement has decreased from 126 to 120.8 metric tonnes. The number of farmers who have benefited has decreased from 19.7 million to 16.3 million. The reduction in the price support schemes, which do the procurement is to the extent of about 62 per cent. At a time when we are talking about empowering the farmers and increasing their income, the procurement allocation has come down and it is a matter of concern. What is also a matter of concern is the fact that out of the Agriculture Investment Fund, where one lakh crore rupees were supposed to be spent in six years, after two years, the spending is Rs. 6,627 crore only. That means the approved spending is a mere 2.6 per cent, Rs. 2,654 crore. So, in the rural economy, at the agriculture level, there is tremendous amount of distress.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. L. HANUMANTHAIAH): Please conclude. This would be your last minute now.

DR. AMAR PATNAIK: Finally, Sir, I would talk about federal equity and resource allocation to the States. As the hon. Prime Minister said yesterday, it is with the States' development that development of the country can take place, but what has happened is that the percentage of devolution to the States as a percentage of total gross tax revenue has declined from 30.02 per cent to 29.61 per cent. The quantum of cess, however, which is completely appropriated by the Centre, has increased from Rs. 3.7 lakh crore to Rs. 4.45 lakh crore. I do not have the time, but I can tell you that if you do a calculation of the cess and surcharge which was levied on education and health, one in 2004-05 and the other in 2018 and take that allocation out of the current allocation, then you get an abysmal figure as a percentage of investment on education and health, which is a matter of worry.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. L. HANUMANTHAIAH): Please conclude.

DR. AMAR PATNAIK: My point of saying all this, Madam Finance Minister, is that definitely there is growth in economy, definitely there is a direction on climate change, there is a definite direction in using technology for giving benefits, which is very positive, but the problem is, all is still not well. It is not business as usual. The rural economy may not be in distress, but it is under stress. Therefore, the emphasis on rural economy in terms of NREGS, in terms of investment in Agriculture Investment Fund, in terms of providing housing, has to continue. As far as housing is concerned, I must bring to the notice of this House that the hon. Prime Minister talked about housing for all by 2022. Then, why not to 8.5 lakh Odias? Let them be *lakhpatis*. The prayer of the Government of Odisha is pending for so long.

Sir, I would end by thanking the Finance Minister for the Budget proposals, for giving a direction and would request her to consider the suggestions given by me.

SHRI K.R. SURESH REDDY (Telangana): Sir, I rise to congratulate the Finance Minister for her fourth consecutive Budget Speech. A Budget Speech, four in a row, is a new mantra. As they say in cricket, four in a row is the new mantra; hat trick is over now. Anyone who bowls and takes four wickets in a row is a sure match-winner. I hope this would happen even here. But when I heard the hon. Finance Minister's Speech for 90 minutes, the only thing that I found confident about was her delivering the speech. Today with a heavy heart, I must tell the Finance Minister that a 90-minute speech has left 90 crore Indians out of budget. I say this for the following reasons. This proclaimed progressive Budget has alienated a majority of the core people. I say this because agriculture is the backbone of our country and *kisan*, the ever-burdened bearer, constitutes 60 per cent of the workforce in agriculture contributing 18 per cent to GDP. Out of which, in the entire agriculture, 82 per cent of them are small and marginal farmers having small holdings of one to five acres. This *Azadi ka Amrit Mahotsav* and entering into *Amritkaal*, without tangible progressive opportunities to farmers, is regressive and *Raahukaal* for them. Para 28 of the Budget Speech of the Finance Minister mentions about rice and wheat procurement. उसमें मैडम ने बहुत जोर से बताया कि हमने Rs.2.37 lakh crore की 163 lakh farmers को डायरेक्ट पेमेंट की। सर, जब यह बात आई तो मैंने हाउस में नोटिस किया कि उस पर तालियां कम बजीं। तालियां मैडम के लेफ्ट साइड से थोड़ी-बहुत बजीं, मगर overall House में वह मूड नहीं था और उसकी वजह मैं यह समझता हूं कि यह साल, year 2022 was a year of the promise. The promise was to double the farmers' income. इसका मतलब यह है कि तालियां ज्यादा बजतीं, अगर आप अपनी announcement में बताते कि instead of Rs. 2.37 lakh crore, हमने Rs. 4.74 lakh crore किसानों को ट्रांसफर किया, तब बात होती कि उनकी इन्कम डबल हुई, लेकिन आप इस बात को मानने को तैयार नहीं हैं। आपकी पॉलिसीज़ में डबल

करने की इच्छा नहीं दिख रही है और आप छोटी-मोटी कुछ चॉकलेट की तरह पॉलिसीज़ बताते रहते हैं। For example आपका 'PM-KISAN Programme' है, इसमें आपने बताया है कि हमने 70 हजार करोड़ रुपए फॉर्मर्स को बांटे हैं। यह doubling the income तो नहीं है, बल्कि assured income है। जैसा मैंने बताया कि आपने Rs. 4.74 lakh crore में से Rs. 2.37 lakh crore बचाए, क्योंकि आपने उनकी इन्कम डबल नहीं की और Rs. 2.37 lakh crore में से यदि आपके 70 हजार करोड़ भी हम निकालें, फिर भी आज इस सरकार ने 1.67 lakh crore एमएसपी में फार्मर्स की इन्कम डबल न करने के कारण बचा लिये हैं। सर, अगर आप कहते हैं कि हम तो एमएसपी बढ़ाते गये, तो आप देखिए कि एग्रीकल्चर में किसान का जो input है, वह भी उसी अंदाज से और उससे ज्यादा अंदाज से बढ़ गया है। इसके साथ ही साथ procurement में आप इस साल 10 हजार करोड़ रुपए कम कर चुके हैं। आपकी recent procurement policy, जिसका तेलंगाना एक उदाहरण है कि paddy procurement में किसानों को, तेलंगाना सरकार को आपने कितनी कठिनाई दी। We had to come with a begging bowl. The Chief Minister had to come requesting and pleading the Government. All the Cabinet was here; all the MPs were camping here; most of the MLAs were here requesting the Government कि भाई, आप हमारा produce लेंगे या नहीं लेंगे? रबी में आप लेंगे या नहीं लेंगे? तो आपकी policy इतनी vague है कि हमने पूछा कि रबी का procurement आप करेंगे, तो आपने बताया कि आज नहीं, हम मार्च में announcement करेंगे। जब किसान का काम दिसंबर में शुरू होता है, तो इसे मार्च में बताने की बात, यह किस तरीके की आपकी पॉलिसी है, आप किस तरीके से किसान की खेती को देखते हैं, इसकी एक छोटी सी मिसाल है। यह कोई Swiggy service नहीं है कि जब भूख लगे तो खाना मंगाया।

12.00 Noon

किसान को इसमें टाइम लगता है। दिसम्बर से लेकर मार्च-अप्रैल तक यह काम चलता रहता है, so, I feel very unfortunate कि इसमें किसान को इस तरह की तकलीफ उठानी पड़ी।

सर, एक Situation Assessment Survey of Farmers हुआ था, उसमें यह बताया गया कि आज के हालात में जो खेतीबाड़ी करता है, उसकी आमदनी 40 परसेंट तक और कम होती जा रही है। इस तरह से किसान पर लाठी पर लाठी पड़ रही है। इसके साथ-साथ आपने fertilizer subsidy कम कर दी है। आपने इस बजट में इसमें 35 से 40 हजार करोड़ रुपए कम कर दिए हैं। इससे किसान की तकलीफ और बढ़ेगी। आपने food subsidy में 80 हजार करोड़ रुपए कम कर दिए, Central Market Intervention Scheme, जो करीब 3,596 करोड़ रुपए की थी, उसको कम करके 1,500 करोड़ रुपए कर दिया है। आपने Crop Insurance को 16,000 करोड़ रुपए से घटा कर 15,000 करोड़ रुपए तक कर दिया है, Price Stabilization Fund को 2,700 करोड़ रुपए से कम करके 1,500 करोड़ रुपए तक ले आए और even agriculture research के लिए सिर्फ 500 करोड़ रुपए दिए गए हैं ताकि multi-national companies like Bayer tend to spend more.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. L. HANUMANTHAIAH): Reddyji, only one minute is left. Your Party has given you eight minutes. You have spoken for seven minutes.

SHRI K.R. SURESH REDDY: I was told that I have 12 minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. L. HANUMANTHAIAH): No, you have been allotted eight minutes and seven minutes are over.

DR. K. KESHA RAO: Sir, the second speaker is not speaking.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. L. HANUMANTHAIAH): Then, it is okay.

SHRI K.R. SURESH REDDY: So, what is total time left at my disposal now?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. L. HANUMANTHAIAH): You have eight minutes more now.

SHRI K.R. SURESH REDDY: Thank you, Sir.

सर, इसके साथ-साथ 'मनरेगा' की डिमांड बढ़ रही है, लेकिन इसमें Budget allocation कम हो रहा है। आप demand driven बोल रहे हैं, यह ठीक है, लेकिन जब demand driven है, तो जो ग्रामीण लेबर हैं, उनके अंदर confidence build क्यों नहीं करते हैं? जब दो साल पहले 1,11,000 करोड़ रुपए खर्च हुए थे, तो आप यह बताइए, इस साल भी इतना ही रहेगा, लेकिन आप इसको कम करते जा रहे हैं। आप यह कह रहे हैं कि उस पर ज्यादा भरोसा नहीं करना है। हो सकता है कि इसके पीछे आपके कुछ कारण हों, लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाह रहा हूँ कि the sheer unemployment pressure in the rural India will force and compel the Government to increase the allocation. इसको बढ़ाने के लिए आपका दिल नहीं मानता है, लेकिन वहाँ की जरूरत है, जो आपको बढ़ाने के लिए मजबूर करेगी और आपको इसको बढ़ाना पड़ेगा, क्योंकि इसके अलावा इस पर आपके पास और कुछ है ही नहीं।

Sir, there were some apprehensions in the Government about the misuse and it needs to be revamped या asset creation ठीक नहीं हो रहा है। पहले से, करीब पाँच-छः साल से हमारे मुख्य मंत्री केसीआर साहब लगातार कहते आ रहे हैं कि आप इसको एग्रीकल्चर से जोड़िए। Linking up with agriculture will create some relief for the farmer. It will also ensure कि आपका मिसयूज का जो आरोप है या asset creation का जो doubt है, अगर इन सबको किसान के साथ मिलाएँगे, तो यह सब ठीक होगा, क्योंकि किसान बहुत ईमानदार होता है। उसके प्राण जाएँगे, पर वचन नहीं जाएगा, वह ईमानदार रहेगा और आपके हर एक पैसे का हिसाब-किताब आपको बताएगा। So, it is our request to link it up with agriculture.

सर, अगर आप किसान की इन्कम को डबल करना चाहते हैं, तो इसका ग्रोथ रेट 3.5 परसेंट नहीं, बल्कि 14 परसेंट रहना चाहिए। अभी यह 14 परसेंट हो रहा है, Telangana is a live example. In Telangana, agriculture is growing at 14 per cent. Here, overall, it is growing at 3.5 per cent and unless you bring it to a reasonable high, the doubling of incomes will only be a mirage, will only be a dream. इसीलिए आज तेलंगाना में, तेलंगाना बनने से पहले जो आम लेबर, किसान नौकरी के लिए दुबई, मस्कट जाते थे, वे सब वापस आ रहे हैं। आज वहाँ पर आराम से, सुकून से उनकी खेतीबाड़ी का काम हो रहा है और गाँव में बिल्कुल nice livelihood is given to them and brotherhood is spreading.

In paras 32 to 35 of the Budget Speech, the hon. Finance Minister talks about a lot of private participation in agriculture, private agri-tech players, PPP mode, financial start-up, that is, creation of unicorns. Going by your past experience, इन बाधाओं के बारे में सुनें, तो हमें यह डर महसूस हो रहा है कि इन three agriculture laws की कहीं backdoor entry तो नहीं हो रही है। This is an apprehension that we need to clear because the slow recovery in consumption is the reduced profitability of agriculture which squeeze the reduced incomes and demand. The evidence is very clear. आज एग्रीकल्चर प्रोड्यूस का जो percentage rise है, वह सिर्फ 5.2 है और non-agriculture produce का 11.4 परसेंट है। मनरेगा की डिमांड बढ़ने की वजह यह है, क्योंकि एग्रीकल्चर में मुनाफा नहीं है, agriculture land owner भी land labourer बन रहा है। This is a small example.

मैं आपके माध्यम से फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर से रिक्वेस्ट करूँगा कि you have to assure the country, you have to assure the farmers that MSP will remain. आपने आज़ादी के इस 'अमृत महोत्सव' पर अपने कई प्लान्स बताए हैं, तो आप यह भी बताइए कि एमएसपी रहेगा, MSP will continue to stay.

After agriculture, the next biggest employment creator is the MSME sector. एमएसएमई के बारे में काफी बातचीत हो रही है। मैं यहाँ सिर्फ एक-दो बातें दोहराना चाहता हूँ। इस देश में करीबन 6.3 करोड़ एमएसएमईज हैं। महोदय, इसे दो धक्के पर धक्के लगे - एक man-made और एक natural calamity. इसमें आपका demonetization और GST man-made था। आप देखिए, demonetization और GST के बाद 2019 में एमएसएमई में करीबन दस हजार business owners ने सुइसाइड किया और 11,716 suicides were committed in 2020. The biggest impact of demonetization according to the RBI was on the MSME. आपने जो भी Remedial steps लिए, वे लेट और कम थे। आपने बताया कि pandemic के बाद आपने loan without collateral देने का वायदा किया। But my request is that you have to look at waiver of interest. जब फैक्ट्रीज बंद थीं, एक-एक साल बंद थीं, तब उनके ऊपर interest बढ़ता गया। उसे आप निकाल दीजिए। उनके ऊपर fixed power cost थी। कारखाना चला या नहीं चला, मगर उनका बिजली का बिल आता गया। आप उसे absorb करिए। This will give some relief to the MSME. इसके साथ ही, आपने hospitality sector के संबंध में भी यह बताया कि हम कुछ पैसे देंगे। Hospitality sector also contributes a lot to the GDP. Why don't you treat it

like the infrastructure sector? The facilities that you give to the infrastructure sector like long-term loaning, etc. should be given to hospitality sector.

Sir, the other key issue in the Budget Speech was the emphasis on the word 'digital', which is very good. 'Digital' is the word which has come up on almost in all the pages. We appreciate it. Definitely, we change with the times, and, we have to. But the irony is that if the same analogy, if the same principle, if the same policy was adopted way back in 2014 or 2015, things would have been much, much better for the country. A small example in this regard is the ITIR, the Information Technology Investment Region, which was sanctioned to Hyderabad. You kept it on hold. It was a major boost for the country. It was a very creative investment idea. It would have fit into what you call eco-system because Hyderabad is also a non-seismic region with less earthquakes. हिन्दुस्तान में हैदराबाद से अच्छी जगहें बहुत कम हैं, जहाँ ऐसी इंडस्ट्री सेट कर सकते हैं, मगर आप कुछ नहीं कर सके। आपने आईटीआईआर में काफी लापरवाही की, जिसकी वजह से करीबन 53 plus 15, almost 70 to 75 lakh jobs have been lost in the last five, seven years. It is apart from the revenue and other issues.

Yesterday, the hon. Prime Minister mentioned about the bifurcation of the State into Andhra Pradesh and Telangana, probably, this was something playing in his mind. This is what seems to be coming out. What was mentioned by the hon. Prime Minister is something very, very disturbing for the people because it could be possible through a lot of struggle. One of the biggest struggles ever witnessed in the history of India was the bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh. Under the leadership of our Chief Minister, Shri K.C.R. *Garu*, we went through 14 years of struggle to eventually get it. अगर हाउस में तेलंगाना का बिल पास हुआ तो पास हुआ, because the House is supreme. Nobody can question the authority of the House. Nobody can question the authority of the Chair. Not even the Prime Minister can question the authority of this House, Sir. But yesterday, he raised it. अगर आपको bifurcation से तकलीफ हुई, तो मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि वह Reorganisation Bill कितनी बार यहाँ पर amendment के लिए आया है? Did you make any amends in the last eight years? The demands from Telangana, the demands from Andhra are continuously coming up. But still, you refuse to refer it. You refuse to chair even a single meeting. सर, वहाँ पर क्या हो रहा है? ...**(व्यवधान)**...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. L. HANUMANTHAIAH): Please conclude. Your time is over.

SHRI K.R. SURESH REDDY: Just one minute, Sir. I am concluding with one last thing. मैंने इस बारे में काफी पूछा, तो मुझे व्हाट्सऐप का एक छोटा सा फॉरवर्ड याद आता है कि

एक नेता ने अपने 8-10 दोस्तों को अपने घर चाय पर बुलाया और उनसे कहा कि मेरे घर में सबसे अच्छी चाय बनती है। वे सब लोग उसके यहाँ इस उम्मीद से गए कि वहाँ अच्छी चाय पीने को मिलेगी। जब वे लोग उसके घर पहुँचे, तो उसने अपने बावर्ची से कहा कि चाय बनाओ, तो उसने कहा कि चीनी नहीं है। इस पर उसने कहा कि कोई बात नहीं, चाय लाओ। जब चाय आ गई, तब उस नेता ने अपने दोस्तों से कहा कि देखो भाई, यह स्पेशल चाय है मगर एक कप में चीनी नहीं है। वह कप जिसको भी मिलेगा, वह आज रात सबको भोजन पर ले जाएगा। वहाँ जो भी 8-10 लोग बैठे थे, उन लोगों ने चाय पीने के बाद कहा कि चाय बहुत अच्छी है, चाय बहुत अच्छी है। किसी ने भी ऐसा नहीं कहा कि उसकी चाय में चीनी नहीं है। मैं भी यही कहूँगा कि this is a very sweet Budget, but do justice to our region. Thank you so much, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. L. HANUMANTHAIAH): The next speaker is Shri V. Vijayasai Reddy.

SHRI V. VIJAYASAI REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Thank you, Vice-Chairman, Sir. We should appreciate the hon. Finance Minister for presenting this Budget in most difficult and trying times. Initially, we all thought that the hon. Finance Minister would submit the Budget for U.P. and Punjab. However, as the Budget speech of the hon. Finance Minister went on, it was no one's Budget. I can confidently say that it is a stylish Budget with no substance. I am sorry to say that. To put it in different words, it is a Budget like an operation successful but the patient is dead. It may be a good Budget for the country according to the hon. Finance Minister, but for A.P., it is bad and worst. Sir, my point is about *Aatmanirbharata* of the States. Hon. Finance Minister, on several occasions, talks about *Aatmanirbhar Bharat*. But I am asking Madam: What is *Aatmanirbharata* of the States, not of the Centre only? The Centre according to me, and I will give the statistics also, is using manipulative practices to reduce the States' share of taxes from the Central pool of taxes. Sir, the Centre is deliberately, I am using the word 'deliberately', increasing the cess and surcharges in its gross tax revenues which are not shared with the States. The States' share has been brought down in reality. Though, according to the hon. Finance Minister, the 15th Finance Commission has recommended 41 per cent, the real percentage works out to be 29 per cent. I can give the figures also. It is not 41 per cent. It is because of cess and surcharges. I will give petrol as an example. The Central Government has collected Rs. 3.35 lakh crores by way of cess on petrol and shared just 5.8 per cent of it, that is, Rs. 19,475 crores, with the States.

What is shared with the States? In the case of petrol, it is only 5.8 per cent. Out of hundred rupees, it is five rupees and 80 paise. Hon. Finance Minister has coined a special term which is apart from cess and surcharge. It is called 'special

additional excise duty'. This is nothing but cess and surcharge. By increasing the Special Additional Excise Duty, which is nothing but cess, the Centre has pooled Rs.2.87 lakh crore from which States are not getting a single rupee. This is the situation. The share of tax component in the excise duty, which is shared with the States, has decreased by 40 per cent in the case of petrol and 59 per cent in the case of diesel. I have a statistic. Since hon. Finance Minister is here, I would like to present it before her. For the sake of brevity, let us presume that the cost of petrol is hundred rupees. Basic price is 45 rupees. Basic excise duty is one rupee 40 paise. Special additional excise duty is 11 rupees. Out of these 11 rupees, nothing goes to the States, not a single rupee. Road and infrastructure cess is 18 rupees; nothing goes to the States. Agricultural infrastructure and development cess is two rupees and 50 paise, nothing goes to the States. Dealers' commission, of course, goes to the dealers. As far as taxes are concerned, the States are empowered to levy VAT in the case of petrol and liquor. What is the maximum percentage that any State can charge? It is only 10-15 per cent. It varies from 10 to 15 per cent. What is the Centre getting? The Central Government is getting 85 per cent and the States are getting 15 per cent. This is the justice that the Central Government is rendering in the case of share of taxes.

What is the share of Andhra Pradesh in the divisible pool? I would like to share it with the hon. Finance Minister. In the Thirteenth Finance Commission, between 2010 and 2015, the share of Andhra Pradesh was 6.9 per cent. In the Fourteenth Finance Commission, 2015-2020, from 6.9 per cent it has come down to 4.3 per cent. It has come down by 2.6 per cent. In the Fifteenth Finance Commission, it is 4.07 per cent whereas in the previous year, 2020-21, it was 4.11 per cent. Year after year the tax share of Andhra Pradesh is coming down and it is nothing but a stepmotherly treatment. Hon. Finance Minister is the daughter-in-law of our State. I want all the hon. Members to know about it.

For deciding share of taxes of States, certain points like population, forest cover, geographical area, etc., are considered. There are various parameters. Quite surprisingly, 15 per cent weightage is given for population. Andhra Pradesh is one State which is effectively controlling the population. And those States which are not controlling their population they are benefited. Those States which are controlling the population they are punished. This is the formula which the Central Government is following or the Finance Commission is following.

Let us compare this Budget with the Budget of Andhra Pradesh and see how the Centre is spending and how Andhra Pradesh is spending on various sectors. On Agriculture, Andhra Pradesh is spending 5.9 per cent of the total expenditure whereas

the Centre is spending only 3.8 per cent. Agriculture is considered to be a priority sector. On education, Andhra Pradesh is spending 11.8 per cent whereas the Centre is spending 2.6 per cent. On health sector, Andhra Pradesh is spending 6 per cent and the Centre is spending 2.2 per cent. For rural development, Andhra Pradesh is spending 7.1 per cent whereas the Centre is spending 5.2 per cent. My colleague from TDP, sitting in front of me, Mr. Kanakamedala Ravindra Kumar, criticizes that the Andhra Pradesh State Government is not spending enough. Day in and day out, their leader criticizes the YSRCP Government saying that the Government has failed in all respects and on all counts. This is how politics is being played. In respect of crucial sectors like agriculture, education, health, rural development, social welfare, etc., Andhra Pradesh State Government is spending more than the Central Government despite severe financial crisis on account of step-motherly treatment by the Central Government.

Sir, coming to income-tax, I would like to bring to the notice of the hon. Finance Minister that there is a ten per cent increase in the overall tax revenues. Madam, the tax exemption limit, when you came to power in 2014, was Rs.2,50,000. Now, from 2014 to 2022, what is the inflation rate? Cumulative inflation is 48 per cent whereas basic tax exemption limit remains the same. I request the hon. Finance Minister to link this minimum tax exemption limit to inflation rate. Inflation has reached all-time high but tax rates remain the same. This is a pathetic situation. I request the hon. Minister to rationalize it further and inflation be adjusted against income-tax deductions and exemptions.

Madam, I am also a taxpayer and a Chartered Accountant. There are certain difficulties which are being faced by the assesseees. There are five tedious documents which one has to collect in order to file tax returns. One is Form-16 from the employer; second is TDS certificate for interest income, that is, Form-16A; third is TDS certificate for other income; fourth is Form-26AS; and fifth is tax-saving investments and expenditure proofs. These are all the documents which one has to collect in order to file tax returns. My suggestion in this regard is, consolidate multiple compliances across various forms into a single ITR form. This suggestion would make income-tax filing very friendly. Many assesseees would have brought it to the notice of the hon. Finance Minister that there are certain glitches in the portal. Lakhs of taxpayers have been complaining of glitches and errors in the Income-Tax portal for months now. There are several occasions where the hon. Finance Minister has extended the time limit for filing ITRs. These glitches are to be addressed very promptly.

Sir, they have reduced subsidies which is very, very important. Food subsidy has been reduced. The Centre makes big claims. In fact, in yesterday's meeting also, they claimed. The Centre claims that nobody remained hungry during the pandemic. But the allocation for food subsidy is down by 28 per cent. There is reduction in fertilizer subsidy. It is definitely anti-farmer. Increase in fertilizer prices has severely affected the farmers. The allocation towards fertilizer subsidy has been reduced by 25 per cent. Then, I come to reduction in LPG subsidy. Lakhs of poor households rely on LPG subsidy and the Centre has slashed the allocation by 11 per cent. Sir, I am concluding.

Now, I come to certain important aspects particularly regarding Andhra Pradesh. There are major infrastructure projects. In fact, in 2014, the AP Reorganisation Act had been passed. The South Coastal Railway Zone, Vizag Chennai Corridor, Polavaram Irrigation Project -- in fact, I met hon. Madam and then made a submission also -- Kadapa Steel Plant, Dugarajapatnam Port and Kakinada Petrochemical Complex are all the pending issues which are yet to be addressed by the Central Government even after considerable lapse of time.

Sir, national educational institutions, which the Central Government has guaranteed by virtue of A.P. Reorganization Act, all are operating from the rental premises. Not a single national institute has got its own premises. Be it Indian Institute of Petroleum and Energy or Indian Institute of Management, Indian Institute of Technology, Central Tribal University, all are operating from temporary campuses. And I should thank Jairam Rameshji for drafting such a loose Act, a very loosely drafted Act, that is, A.P. Reorganization Act. Now and then, he repeatedly claims that he is the author of the A.P. Reorganization Act. ...*(Interruptions)*... I am sorry to say that he has drafted it most loosely and which BJP is taking advantage of.

In conclusion, the Andhra Pradesh BJP leadership everyday has now started criticizing our Party and Government for no reason. What is the Centre doing for Andhra Pradesh that Andhra Pradesh BJP would not raise that issue? The Centre is doing nothing and giving step motherly treatment to Andhra Pradesh whereas the Andhra Pradesh BJP, day in and day out, criticizes the YSRCP Government. In reality, the biggest critic of the Central leadership of BJP and the Union Budget is Andhra Pradesh State BJP leadership itself.

Sir, finally, in conclusion, I would like to submit to hon. Madam that the Government claims the mantra, the most chanted mantra of BJP Government, is "*Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas, Sabka Vishwas, Sabka Prayas*". Every year, one element is added to the slogan. Initially, it was "*Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas*". Then,

"*Sabka Vishwas*" and then "*Sabka Prayas*". Every year, one element is added. ...*(Interruptions)*... Sir, I am asking this.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. L. HANUMANTHAIAH): Please conclude.

SHRI V. VIJAYASAI REDDY: I am concluding. This Budget does not ensure "*saath*" to the States. There is no "*saath*". This Budget does not ensure "*vikas*" to the States. This Budget has not taken the States into "*vishwas*". There is no "*vishwas*" on the States. This Budget does not ensure supporting the "*prayas*" of the States. There is no "*saath*", no "*vikas*", no "*vishwas*" and no "*prayas*". ...*(Interruptions)*... Thank you very much, Sir. Thank you for giving me the opportunity.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. L. HANUMANTHAIAH): Thank you, Vijayasai Reddyji. Now, the next speaker is Shrimati Jharna Das Baidya. Madam, you have seven minutes.

SHRIMATI JHARNA DAS BAIDYA (Tripura): Sir, the Finance Minister presented the Budget in the backdrop of an economic scenario when a majority of the people are facing joblessness and huge cuts in real income. GDP in current financial year is estimated to marginally cross the pre-pandemic levels. The private consumption expenditure is still short of the pre-pandemic levels and industries are facing low capacity utilization and rising inventories, primarily, because of very low demand in the economy.

सर, मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि जब इलेक्शन्स आते हैं, तो मुझे आश्चर्य होता है। मैं त्रिपुरा से belong करती हूँ, उस समय jobless youth को एक मोबाइल नंबर दिया जाता है और उनसे यह कहा जाता है कि missed call करने से नौकरी मिल जाएगी, लेकिन इलेक्शन खत्म होने के बाद जब missed call की, तब उस नंबर पर कहा गया कि यह नंबर मौजूद नहीं है। यह भी कहा जाता है कि social pension को 2,000 रुपये करेंगे, लेकिन यह भी नहीं किया गया। 'मनरेगा' में राशि बढ़ाकर 340 रुपये करेंगे और 200 दिन के काम के बारे में भी कहा गया। अभी 15 या 16 दिनों का काम होता है, इससे ज्यादा नहीं होता है। Wages में एक पैसा भी नहीं बढ़ाया, तो यह सब बोलने से क्या होता है, यह बजट में आना चाहिए।

सर, इस बजट में 'मनरेगा' पर हम लोग देखते हैं, expenditure by Rs. 25,000 crores in MGNREGS and reduced food, fuel and fertilizer subsidies and also in allocations in health and rural development. सर, मैं एक और बात कहना चाहती हूँ, जो 'पीएम आवास योजना' है, उसमें क्या हो रहा है। सबको घर दे रहे हैं, यह अच्छी बात है कि सबका घर होना चाहिए, लेकिन इसमें allocation कितनी है - वह है, 1 लाख, 30 हजार रुपये। इससे क्या होता

है? क्या आप कभी brickfield में गए हैं? एक brick का दाम आज कितना है - 14 रुपये। वे इस 1 लाख, 30 हजार रुपये में घर कैसे बनाएंगे? बजट में हम लोग देख रहे हैं, this Budget has proposed a growth in total expenditure by Rs. 1,74,909 crores from the Revised Estimates of 2021-22 but as percentage of GDP, the total expenditure has come down from 17.8 per cent in 2020-21 to 15.3 per cent in 2022-23 Budget Estimates. इसमें हम लोग क्या समझते हैं? बजट में सब कुछ दे रहे हैं, सबकी ग्रोथ होगी, जीडीपी बढ़ेगा, ऐसा ही बोलते हैं। इस बजट में, the squeeze on expenditure is not merely in the Central Government expenditure. These transfers are to come down from 6.915 of GDP in RE 2021-22 to 6.5 per cent in 2022-23. Now, as regards the agriculture and farmers, the allocation of all major schemes for farmers have seen a Budget cut. The allocation for procurement to FCI and under decentralization procurement scheme has been reduced by about 28 per cent at a time when farmers are struggling for a legally guaranteed MSP. Allocation of funds for fertilizer subsidy has been reduced by 25 per cent. Under PM-KISAN Yojana, 12.5 crore farmer households are supposed to be provided Rs. 6,000 each which requires an allocation of Rs. 75,000 crore only. Now, about the Children Welfare. 'बेटी बचाओ, बेटी पढ़ाओ' का स्लोगन तो है ही और हम लोग भी चाहते हैं कि बेटियों को बचाना चाहिए, लेकिन आज इस देश में बेटियां मर रही हैं। Children Welfare के लिए it is Rs. 5,700 crore less than what was budgeted. Nothing has been done to help children to cope with the devastating impact of closure of schools and *anganwadis*. आंगनवाड़ी का कार्यक्रम 1975 में शुरू हुआ। मैं भी CDPO थी और इस डिपार्टमेंट में नौकरी करती थी। तब से लेकर आज तक आंगनवाड़ी वर्कर्स का क्या हुआ? 20 साल नौकरी करने के बाद, काम करने के बाद क्या कुछ हुआ? कुछ नहीं हुआ, केवल सौ-दो सौ रुपये बढ़ाते हैं। ...**(समय की घंटी)**... सर, एससी, एसटीज़ के वेलफेयर के संबंध में भी मैं कहना चाहती हूं कि इसमें भी खामियां हैं। आप मिड डे मील को देखिए, it could not raise the allocation from Rs. 10,234 crores despite 35 per cent of children not receiving Mid Day Meal during the last year. सर, मैं नारी शक्ति के बारे में कहना चाहती हूं। हमारी फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर भी woman हैं, हमें उनसे बहुत सारी आशाएं हैं कि वे बहुत कुछ करेंगी। नारी शक्ति के लिए...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. L. HANUMANTHAIAH): Madam, please conclude.

SHRIMATI JHARNA DAS BAIDYA: It talked about Nari Shakti upgrading 2 lakh anganwadis but the allocation is frozen at the revised estimates at Rs 20,000 crores only.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. L. HANUMANTHAIAH): Jharnaji, please conclude.

SHRIMATI JHARNA DAS BAIDYA: Sir, one minute. Regarding LPG subsidy also, 60 परसेंट पहले से है और another 60 per cent cut has been inflicted in the Budget 2022-23. No new allocation has been budgeted for the unorganised workers who were registered through e-shram portals. Lastly, therefore, the Budget 2022-23 has completely failed in identifying the priorities to provide relief for the common people. It is a betrayal. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. L. HANUMANTHAIAH): The next speaker is Dr. M. Thambidurai.

DR. M. THAMBIDURAI (Tamil Nadu): Sir, I thank you for giving the opportunity to express my views on the Budget. At the outset, I want to say that our AIADMK Coordinator, Shri O. Panneerselvam and also the Joint Coordinator, Shri Edappadi Palaniswami, on Wednesday said that the Union Government would generate renewed hope among the people. That is our party's stand that we are supporting this Budget.

Sir, I rise to register the views of my party, All India Anna DMK Party on the present Budget presented by the hon. Finance Minister. First of all, I appreciate the enormous measures taken by the Government of our beloved Prime Minister, Narendra Modi ji to protect the economic interests of the country during the fearful pandemic which has devastated the dreams and aspirations of many all over the world. The impact of lockdown and subsequent negative growth in the economy is felt by the countries of the world without exception. Few individual and enterprises have gained, no doubt. But by and large, almost 90 per cent of all industries and manufacturing units including agriculture sector have been terribly affected and we still are not sure when it will get out of this darkness.

In spite of gloom and despair all around us, the Government of hon. Prime Minister, Shri Narendra Modi has reasonably done well in safeguarding our economy. My heartiest congratulations for what have been done and best wishes for more power to the Prime Minister.

Coming to the Budget 2022-23, I came across a survey conducted by independent sources involving more than 40,000 respondents residing in 342 districts of India. The survey has indicated that around 20 per cent of citizens are thrilled with the Budget and they see many benefits ranging from infrastructure growth to boosting spending and creating employment. Around 40 per cent believe that it will derive progress in at least our area. At the same time, the absence of any personal tax relief has been disappointing to a sizable percentage of the survey participants. I appeal

to the hon. Finance Minister to consider this as Mr. Reddy also said that inflation is more but income tax that they are charging, we are still continuing that. Madam, if you allow, give more concession. The consumers, tax-payers, will definitely spend money that will circulate in the growth. Therefore, you have the opportunity to give that exemption and the tax rate level has to be increased on personal tax. And, also, the Finance Minister has said in the Budget speech that the Productivity Linked Incentives in the sectors for achieving the mission of '*Atmanirbhar Bharat*' has received an excellent response. Madam Nirmala Sitharaman mentioned that there is a potential to create 60 lakh new jobs and additional production of Rs.30 lakhs crores during the next five years. I earnestly hope that ambitious plan comes true. India is now the factory of the world; India is now the laboratory of the world; India is now the hub of young in the world. More than 50 per cent of the population is young population. We have to make use of this wonderful resource, which most countries do not have, the resource of human power, is more important. Our young generation is getting good education, great mobility and above all our youth are full of aspirations and dream to have a better tomorrow for them and to their family. Hence, please make sure that you complete your target of 60 lakh new jobs, create new mechanisms to find job opportunities for our youth all over the world. It is not brain drain but conquering the world through our skilled labour.

Sir, I would like to specially mention about the Prime Minister Gati Shakti. The seven engines you have identified namely roads, railways, airports, ports, mass transport, waterways and logistic infrastructure are the need of not only today's but also tomorrow's India. When effectively and timely implemented these seven engines of Prime Minister Gati Shakti, it will transform our economy. They will provide seamless, multimodel connectivity and effective logistics which India is badly in need of. Our Finance Minister has given a deep thought to the Budget even though there are elections in the different States. It has not tempted her. Here, she has come forward to put a realistic Budget. As Reddyji has previously said, she is the daughter-in-law of Andhra Pradesh but she is daughter of Tamil Nadu. I think she will definitely help Tamil Nadu by giving more schemes which people there are expecting. I think there is still more to come.

Sir, Finance Minister has announced that Rs.7.5 lakh crore in capital expenditure and increase of 35 per cent to bring the flagship economy back to pre-pandemic levels. There has been some attempt to assuage farmers by committing Rs. 2.37 lakh crore to procure wheat and paddy from 16.3 million farmers. The perennial problem in India is implementation. Large sums are allocated and grand schemes announced but they don't get spent as budgeted. The Government has also

outlined a blueprint for the *Amrit Kaal*, the next 25 years until the centenary of Indian Independence in 2047. This is a laudable goal. I want to draw your attention to certain projects. For example, the Modi Government has been working with different models of public-private partnership and is constantly reviewing model concession agreements of various modes of road construction under PPP. I was also the Transport Minister in the Vajpayeeji's Government. But, I would request the hon. Finance Minister that Tiruchirappalli, Karur, Coimbatore may be linked through eight lanes. That project is already conceived. When you make the Tiruchirappalli-Coimbatore road an eight lane road, it would take just two hours to reach Coimbatore from Tiruchirappalli, connecting both the airports. Therefore, that is an important subject which we are requesting you. I have already made a request to the Transport Minister. He has accepted it. They have to allocate the money.

Sir, regarding Railways, the other big infrastructure push in fiscal 2022-23 will be for the Railways, which is gearing up to carry 8,595 million passengers, almost 2.5 times the number it carried in the previous year, apart from ferrying 1,475 million tonnes of cargo.

Here, I want to request about my area; Jolarpettai, Bargur, Krishnagiri, Hosur and Bengaluru have to be connected. The project has already been announced. I am very thankful to the Finance Minister; she announced that Hosur area as a defence industrial corridor, and for a defence corridor, we will require that kind of railway infrastructure. Therefore, the train which connects Bengaluru to Hosur that train will go up to Puducherry, and three States, i.e., Puducherry, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka will be connected by this train. This is the scheme, therefore, please consider it, and allocate the money. In the same way, airports are also one of the pillars. Sir, you know very well, you are in Karnataka, if we have to come to Hosur that means we have to spend three to four hours to reach the airport. Therefore, our demand is to have an airport in Hosur. A private airport, Taneja Airport is already there in Hosur, they are ready to give it for lease. If you run it, UDAN structure is already accepted. The State Government has already given the tender. I appreciate what they have done. Therefore, I request the Finance Minister to bring an airport for Hosur that will give faster boost to the development of that area. It will also decongest the Bengaluru Airport.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. L. HANUMANTHAIAH): You have another two minutes.

DR. M. THAMBIDURAI: Apart from that, generally, I have seen in the newspapers that we have more interest in internal security. As you are allocating money for

Defence, you should allocate money for the Ministry of Home Affairs also. The Home Ministry must see that the law and order, even though it is a State subject, improves in the country. They have to give more money to State Governments so that they can improve the law and order situation in their States. Sir, modernisation of police is more important. But, at the same time, the news has come, 'sharp fall in police revamp funds as many States failed to utilise that'. But, if at all the States are not utilising it, Centre should spend it. You IPS cadre is with you, you modernise them and depute them, we have no objection. Therefore, now, we are seeing that the law and order situation is deteriorating at many places in the country. The theft cases are increasing; child abuse cases and women's security cases are also increasing. As you are giving importance to the Defence Ministry, you have to give the same importance to the Ministry of Home Affairs also. You have to save the lives of the citizens of this country. For that, in the Budget, you should have given more allocation for modernisation of police force, and the Centre has to come forward, without Centre, the State Government cannot do that. Sir, you know after GST, most of the funds come to the Central Government. The Central Government is telling that they are getting lakhs and crores of rupees every month. It will go on increasing. Sir, what about the States? The States are not getting sufficient funds. Our party, AIADMK has opposed GST, we had not voted for that at that time. It is brought by the Congress, they have brought it and we are suffering. Sir, the resources of the State Governments are going down. Therefore, it is high time to see to it that the Centre comes forward to give more allocation to States. The State Governments are to get GST arrears also; Tamil Nadu is also facing this problem. ...(*Time Bell rings*)...

Therefore, I request the hon. Finance Minister to see to it. I am just concluding, Sir.

Sir, I welcome the Emergency Credit Linked Guarantee Scheme being extended up to March 2023. The two lakh crore rupees additional credit for MSME is very much needed during the pandemic situation. You have promised many more incentives and inputs to agriculture and other essential sectors. I wish you keep your target and time schedule to complete and fulfill your promises.

With these words, I wholeheartedly welcome the Budget presented by the hon. Finance Minister, daughter of Tamil Nadu and daughter of our nation, India, to see that justice is given to the people. I once again congratulate our Prime Minister, Modiji, for entrusting her with the responsibility of presenting this Budget. I thank him once again.

चौधरी सुखराम सिंह यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश) : महोदय, सबसे पहले मैं माननीय फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर जी को धन्यवाद दूंगा, जिन्होंने एक महिला के रूप में इस देश के बजट को पेश किया, इसके लिए वे बधाई की पात्र हैं। जहां तक मेरी जानकारी है, जब एक महिला बजट को पेश करती है, तो घर में भी उसकी तरक्की होती है और घर से बाहर भी होती है। मुझे यह भी मालूम है कि हमारे देश की महिला वित्त मंत्री आगे जा कर देश की प्रधान मंत्री बनेंगी, ऐसी जानकारी भी मेरे पास है, इसके लिए उनको मेरी बहुत शुभकामनाएं।

महोदय, जहां तक बजट का सवाल है, उसके बारे में मुझे कहना है कि इसमें हमारी फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर जी ने किसानों के बारे में दो प्रकार की चर्चाएं की हैं। यह सही है कि आप जैविक खेती को बढ़ावा देंगे, यह अच्छी बात है, लेकिन उसी के साथ-साथ आपने कहा कि ड्रोन से खेती होगी और उसका लाभ किसानों को मिलेगा। महोदय, हमारा देश कृषि प्रधान देश है और यहां शिक्षा का अभाव रहा है, इसलिए गांव के लोग ड्रोन से कैसे खेती करेंगे, कैसे उसको देखेंगे, कैसे उन्हें इसका लाभ मिलेगा और कैसे इसकी जानकारी उनको दी जाएगी, यह विषय मेरी सोच से परे है, चूंकि यहां शिक्षा का बहुत अभाव है।

माननीय मंत्री जी ने किसानों के लिए जो सुविधाएं बढ़ाई हैं, उसके लिए मैं उनको धन्यवाद दूंगा, लेकिन मुझे तकलीफ इस बात की भी है कि इस देश में एक बड़ा किसान आंदोलन चला, लेकिन उस किसान आंदोलन के बारे में कोई चर्चा नहीं की गई। इस आंदोलन में हमारे कितने ही किसान साथी इस दुनिया में नहीं रहे, उनका जीवन चला गया, उनकी भी कुछ चर्चा बजट में होनी चाहिए थी, उनके परिवार वालों को कुछ सहायता दी जानी चाहिए थी, जिसका मुझे अभाव दिखता है।

महोदय, मैं एक बात और कहना चाहूंगा, income tax के बारे में बड़ी चर्चा थी कि इस बार income tax की सीमा कुछ बढ़ाई जाएगी। लोगों के मन में इसको लेकर विश्वास था कि जैसे हर बार income tax की सीमा बढ़ती है, इस बार भी जरूर बढ़ेगी, लेकिन लोगों के हाथ निराशा लगी, income tax की सीमा नहीं बढ़ाई गई और लोग इंतज़ार करते रह गए।

महोदय, जहां तक महामारी का प्रश्न है, इस भीषण महामारी की चपेट में पूरा देश ही नहीं, पूरा विश्व आया। हर देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था इसके कारण चरमराई, हिन्दुस्तान की भी चरमराई, यह कहने में हमें कोई संकोच नहीं है। मेरा मानना है कि उसके आधार पर ऐसी योजनाएं बननी चाहिए थीं, ताकि इस अर्थव्यवस्था को हम ठीक कर पाते और भविष्य में इसका लाभ हमें मिल पाता। एक बात और कही गई कि एक नई करेंसी, क्रिप्टोकॉरेंसी या डिजिटल करेंसी चलाई जाएगी, लेकिन जैसा मैंने पहले कहा कि हमारे देश के लोगों में शिक्षा का अभाव है, इसलिए जब तक हम लोगों को शिक्षित नहीं करेंगे, तब तक इन दोनों करेंसियों का लाभ हमारे देशवासियों को नहीं मिल पाएगा।

महोदय, खेती के बारे में मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि सबसे ज्यादा घाटे का सौदा किसानों का है, खेती है। किसान जब खेत पर काम करता है, तो वह दिन-रात मेहनत करता है, भीषण ठंड में खेत में पानी लगाता है, भीषण गर्मी में फसल को काटता है, मारता है, तब जाकर उससे गल्ला निकलता है। उस गल्ले को बेचकर ही वह अपना काम चलाता है, लेकिन अभी तक देश में ऐसी व्यवस्था नहीं, जिससे किसान को उसके श्रम की कीमत मिल सके। उसके श्रम की कीमत कहीं भी नहीं लगाई गई है। यह दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि हमारे देश में किसान के श्रम को बेकार समझा जाता

है और उसकी कीमत नहीं लगाई जाती। जब तक किसान के श्रम की कीमत नहीं लगाई जाएगी, तब तक उसके साथ नाइंसाफी होती रहेगी।

महोदय, मैं यह भी कहना चाहूंगा कि छोटे किसानों को लाभ देने की कोई योजनाएं बजट में नहीं रखी गई हैं, वे आनी चाहिए थीं। बड़े किसानों को लाभ पहुंचाने के लिए तो बहुत सारी योजनाएं रख दी गईं। मैं समझता हूं कि इन बातों का ध्यान बजट में रखा जाना चाहिए था। अब प्रश्न यह है कि हमारे देश की अर्थव्यवस्था रास्ते पर कैसे आएगी। पहले भी बहुत से फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर्स आए और उन्होंने इसके बारे में अच्छे सुझाव दिये। मैं समझता हूं कि हमारी फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर इस बारे में सोचेंगी कि अर्थव्यवस्था को पटरी पर कैसे लाया जाए।

महोदय, अब मैं अपने क्षेत्र के बारे में कुछ बातें कहना चाहूंगा। मैं उत्तर प्रदेश के एक शहर कानपुर से आता हूं - कानपुर एक औद्योगिक क्षेत्र है, लेकिन मैं देख रहा हूं कि कोरोना और महंगाई के कारण वहां धीरे-धीरे उद्योग-धंधे बंद होते चले जा रहे हैं। हमारा कानपुर चमड़े और कपड़े के उद्योग के लिए मशहूर माना जाता था, आज वहां कपड़े का काम लगभग पूरी तरह से बंद हो चुका है। कानपुर में चमड़े का काम अभी बाकी है, लेकिन उसे भी जो बढ़ावा देना चाहिए था, वह नहीं दिया गया, जिसके कारण आज यह उद्योग भी पिछड़ रहा है।

कानपुर के बारे में मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि कानपुर में जहां तक चिकित्सा का मामला है, चिकित्सा के क्षेत्र में वहां कई अस्पताल हैं - टी.बी. का अस्पताल है, हृदय रोग का अस्पताल है, कैंसर का अस्पताल है, लेकिन ऐसा कोई अस्पताल नहीं है, जिसमें सारी तरह की सुविधाएं हों। पीजीआई जैसा अस्पताल कानपुर में नहीं है, जबकि आबादी के लिहाज से कानपुर उत्तर प्रदेश का एक बड़ा शहर है। कानपुर में बहुत से मजदूर रहते हैं। उन सबके हिसाब से कानपुर में PGIMER सुपर स्पेशियलिटी अस्पताल बनाया जाए, जिससे कानपुर के लोगों को उसका लाभ मिल सके, यह बात बजट भाषण के माध्यम से मैं आपसे कहना चाहूंगा।

इसी के साथ-साथ जो कानपुर देहात है, वह कानपुर नगर का ही अंग है, लेकिन अब वह कानपुर देहात हो गया है। मेरे सामने ही कानपुर देहात बनाया गया था। कानपुर देहात को बने हुए आज 32 साल हो गये, किन्तु आज तक उसका नाम तय नहीं हो पाया, उसके बाद एक कई नाम रखे गये, उसके बाद बदले गये, परन्तु आज सब उसे कानपुर देहात के नाम से जानते हैं। उसमें सबसे बड़ी दिक्कत इस बात की है कि कानपुर देहात का मुख्यालय नहीं था। जब माननीय मुलायम सिंह जी प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री थे, उन्होंने आज से 32 साल पहले माती में इसका मुख्यालय बनाया। मुख्यालय तो बन गया, लेकिन वहां एक जिले के लिए जो सुविधाएं होनी चाहिए, वे सुविधाएं आज भी नहीं हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि वहां सबसे बड़ी सुविधा रेलवे स्टेशन की नहीं है। रेलवे स्टेशन के नाम पर लालपुर, पुखरायां और रूरा रेलवे स्टेशन है, लेकिन आज भी इन तीनों स्टेशनों में से एक भी ऐसा स्टेशन नहीं है, जिसे कानपुर देहात के मुख्यालय का रेलवे स्टेशन माना जाए।

महोदय, मेरी आपके माध्यम से मांग है कि चाहे रूरा हो, लालपुर हो या पुखरायां हो, इन तीनों में से कोई एक ऐसा स्टेशन हो, जिसके बारे में घोषणा होनी चाहिए कि यह मुख्यालय का रेलवे स्टेशन है। यह मेरी पहली मांग है।

दूसरी बात मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारे कानपुर में बारा में एक टोल टैक्स पड़ता है और बारा, जहां टोल टैक्स लिया जाता है, वह बारा कानपुर नगर और देहात की सीमा में पड़ता है।

कानपुर नगर में ज्यादातर जो लोग रहते हैं, वे रोजगार और नौकरी के संबंध में कानपुर देहात में आते हैं। उन्हें आने-जाने में जो समय लगता है, उसके अलावा उन्हें टोल टैक्स देना पड़ता है। उसके लिए प्रतिदिन उन्हें डेढ़ सौ रुपये देने पड़ते हैं। जब कानपुर नगर और कानपुर देहात दोनों की सीमाएं जुड़ी हुई हैं और उसी जिले से जोड़-तोड़ करके कानपुर देहात बनाया गया है, इसके बावजूद भी लोगों को पैसा देना पड़ता है, जिसके कारण ग्रामीणों में बहुत रोष है।

मेरी आपके माध्यम से मांग है कि जहां पहले टोल टैक्स लगा हुआ था, जहां पैसे की वसूली होती थी, यदि उसका स्थान चेंज कर दिया जाएगा तो उसका लाभ कानपुर नगर और कानपुर देहात दोनों को मिलेगा और कानपुर नगर से लोग आएंगे तो उन्हें टोल टैक्स नहीं देना पड़ेगा। आप टोल टैक्स बूथ को कानपुर देहात सीमा के बाहर लगा दीजिए, इसमें कोई दिक्कत नहीं है। आपने टोल टैक्स वसूली का केन्द्र ऐसी जगह लगा रखा है, जिससे गांवों के लोगों को आने-जाने में असुविधा होती है। मैं बजट भाषण में आपसे मांग करता हूं कि यदि आप यह व्यवस्था कर देंगे तो वहां के लोगों को उसका लाभ मिलेगा।

इसी के साथ इस सरकार ने मेडिकल कॉलेज की स्थापना की, यह अच्छा काम किया। हम लोग पहले भी मांग करते थे कि वहां मेडिकल कॉलेज बनना चाहिए, लेकिन चिकित्सा का अभाव जिस प्रकार से कानपुर नगर में है, उसी प्रकार से कानपुर देहात में भी है। मैं बताना चाहता हूं कि कानपुर नगर और देहात दोनों की सीमाएं जुड़ी हुई हैं। आप कानपुर में ऐसा अस्पताल बनवा दीजिए, ताकि दोनों जिलों को उसका लाभ मिले। जनप्रतिनिधि होने के नाते हम सबकी जिम्मेदारी है कि यदि यह काम हो जाएगा तो सबका सम्मान बढ़ जाएगा और आपका सम्मान भी बढ़ेगा।

माननीय मंत्री जी, आपने सदन में जो बजट पेश किया है, उसके लिए मैं आपका आभार व्यक्त करता हूं, बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद, जय हिंद!

1.00 P.M.

श्री ए.डी. सिंह (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि आरएसएस- स्वदेशी जागरण मंच ने भी कहा है कि कितना ज्यादा unemployment बढ़ गया है। यह वर्ष 2019 की फिगर में 3 करोड़ था और हर साल उसमें करीब 15 मिलियन और जोड़ा जा रहा है। अभी तक तो हम लोग कांग्रेस के समय में पंचवर्षीय योजना की बात करते थे, किन्तु मुझे लगता है कि वित्त मंत्री जी और प्रधान मंत्री जी finally are happy with the Nehruvian model that we should go back to planning. So, instead of five years, they are saying 25 years. That is my first point. Secondly, they want huge amounts of tariffs, that used to be there in the 50s and 60s, this time also. My colleagues have already spoken about health, rural development and everything else; so, I don't think I will take time to speak on these except that the CapEx which has gone in the infrastructure, I don't think they will be able to spend it. Maybe they have allotted that much to clear backlogs, for example, for NHAI or something. I will now come straight to *Atmanirbhar Bharat*. Whether it is our hon. Prime Minister or the ruling party Members talking of *Atmanirbhar*, 'आत्मनिर्भर भारत' के लिए इन लोगों की केवल lip service है। अब आपको इस विषय में बताता

हूँ, doing business in India is governed, on the aggregate, by as many as 1,536 laws, which on the aggregate, require 69,233 compliances. The laws are both Central laws and State laws. These are 678 Central laws that require 25,537 compliances, 858 State laws that require 43,696 compliances. These are okay with the big corporate, but the medium and the small industries वह काम क्या करेंगे? Many of these laws and compliances carry prison sentences. In fact, imprisonment clauses run into hundreds, which are as follows: 244 Central laws and 25,537 compliances have imprisonment clauses and 599 State laws and 20,895 have imprisonment clauses. I will request the hon. Finance Minister and the Corporate Affairs Minister to set up an independent group to simply calculate the cost, both direct and indirect, say, in terms of time spent, of the required compliances in respect of various groups of industries. अगर इस तरह के compliance में हमारा समय बीतेगा, तो हम business क्या कर पायेंगे? जब-जब हमने टैरिफ कम किया है, हमारा एक्सपोर्ट बढ़ा है। This is also the time for economic diplomacy. बहुत से सदस्यों ने कहा कि 1 लाख करोड़ डॉलर का इम्पोर्ट चाइना से हो रहा है, जो कि बहुत चिंता का विषय है। यह बिल्कुल चिंता का विषय है, लेकिन आप फ़र्ज कीजिए कि आज हम 1 लाख करोड़ को 30 लाख करोड़ का bilateral trade कर दें कि 15 लाख करोड़ हमारे यहां से जा रहा है और 15 लाख करोड़ का उनके यहां से हो, तो एक मिनट में उनकी पॉलिसी पाकिस्तान के हित में चेंज हो जाएगी। आप फर्टिलाइजर को ही लीजिए। See the amount of mess they have created in the fertilizer sector! जब यूरिया का प्राइस 300 डॉलर के आस-पास था, ईरान से हमारे यहां 50 per cent यूरिया आता था। इन्होंने यूएस के डर से ईरान से लाना बंद कर दिया, तब यूरिया का प्राइस 1000 डॉलर हो गया, तो हम डरते क्यों हैं? We are very clear that we respect UN sanctions, not US sanctions. Today the same thing is happening in Potash. The Americans are saying that we will put sanctions on the Russians and Belarusians. We are quiet. Nobody is interested. We were making 30,000 cars. आप यह देखिए कि 30 साल तक तो हम एम्बेसेडर और फिएट कार बनाते रहे, जब वह सेक्टर खुला तो in fact उस समय पीलू मोदी जी ने बोला भी था कि हमारे पास दो कारें ऐसी हैं, जिनका हॉर्न छोड़कर हर चीज बजती है। जब वह सेक्टर खुला तो today we are exporting four lakh cars and if we add commercial vehicles like scooters and everything, it is almost 30 lakhs. तो हर भारतीय बिजनेसमैन बिल्कुल सक्षम है। जब तक इन compliances को आप नहीं हटायेंगे, we will be wasting our energy and time in resolving these issues with little time left to devote to our business.

दूसरे डिपार्टमेंट का ले लीजिए। Enforcement Directorate, अगर इन्कम टैक्स के तहत आप पर inquiry होती है, तो उसको as per law एक-दो साल में ठीक कर देना है, चाहे fine लेना है या जो भी करना है। अगर आपके यहाँ Enforcement Directorate आ गया, तो आप समझ लीजिए कि वह 20 से 25 साल तो inquiry में बिताएगा। उसके बाद 10-15 साल तक वह केस लड़ेगा। अगर आप 40 साल के हैं, तो यह 80 साल की उम्र तक चलता रहेगा और जब Enforcement Directorate आपके घर पर आएगा, तब पूरे समाज में आपकी बेइज्जती हो

जाएगी। In my personal case there is an inquiry going on since 2010. When friends ask, 'What is happening to that', I say, 'I will be under inquiry or in the court till I die.' आप तो सारे बिजनेसमेन को बंद कर रहे हैं। मैंने पिछले 5-6 साल में 6-7 सौ करोड़ रुपए टैक्स दिए होंगे, मगर मैं बहुत बड़ा चोर हूँ। अभी जो present ED chief हैं, उनके पहले जो चीफ थे, मैंने उनको हाथ जोड़ कर बोला था कि मुझे chargesheet कर दीजिए, मुझे भेज दीजिए, मैं कोर्ट में लड़ लूँगा। अगर हम चाहते हैं कि भारत आत्मनिर्भर बने, तो सबसे पहले compliances हटाइए। Compliances is okay for big corporate. They have too much of staff, लेकिन जो medium industry है, अगर वह कर रही है, तो उसके लिए आप यह कीजिए। अगर आप इतना कानून बनाएँगे, तो क्या इससे कुछ हो पाएगा? इससे कुछ नहीं हो पाएगा। आप लोग lip service करते रहिए। आज इतना unemployment क्यों हो गया है?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. L. HANUMANTHAIAH): Mr. Singh, please conclude.

SHRI A.D. SINGH: Sir, just give me one minute.

I wish to make a point that we are not going to become Atmanirbhar by erecting barriers around us, but by opening up. In the 1990s, it was famously said that each time we reduced import tariffs, our exports went up. We, as businessmen, are not scared of, or shy away from competing with China or any other country. We will take them on. Just liberate us from the excess and excesses of domestic laws that divert our time, attention and resources from the business for doing business. Thank you very much.

DR. NARENDRA JADHAV (Nominated): Sir, I rise strongly or I sit to strongly support the Budget 2022-23. I wholeheartedly commend the hon. Finance Minister for giving the nation a visionary Budget aimed at inclusive and sustainable economic growth and development of the Indian economy.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, a Budget is supposed to strike a balance between economic acumen and political sagacity. The hon. Finance Minister has struck a fine balance between the two. It is no-nonsense Budget reflecting the professional integrity of the highest order. Every Budget is always meant to be a contextual one. There are two overriding or dominant considerations that seem to have weighed on the hon. Finance Minister's mind. The first one is the Indian economy has staged an exceptionally smart recovery posting 9.2 per cent real GDP growth, rising from the depth of the unprecedented Corona pandemic. The second is that the financial year 2023 i.e., the next year marks the beginning of the Amrit Kaal when our nation will be transiting from India @ 75 to India @ 100. Both these considerations, Sir, call for

laying a solid foundation for India @ 100. In my view, this is precisely what the hon. Finance Minister has achieved in this Budget.

I call this Budget a visionary Budget, because it effectively translates into action. This great vision was given by hon. Prime Minister while addressing the nation on the 15th August, 2021.

Sir, before I go into the heart of the Budget, please allow me to point out some bloopers and blunders that were committed by some of our esteemed colleagues while speaking in this august House yesterday. First, I will take on Shri. Jawhar Sircar. Shri Sircar emphatically argued that the proposed expenditure on education is only 1 per cent of the GDP. This is completely wrong. Even in 1951, we had greater amount of public expenditure on education. Actually, the proposed expenditure on education is around 4 per cent of the GDP, not 1 per cent of the GDP. I would urge my learned friend to get his facts straight and not mislead this august House.

Then, I would like to take on Shri P. Chidambaram. According to Mr. Chidambaram, the Finance Minister says that the nominal GDP is expected to grow at the rate of 11.1 per cent in the next year and the Economic Survey, again Mr. Chidambaram quotes, says that the real GDP growth in the next year, that is, the financial year 2022-23 is expected to be 8 per cent. He, then, questioned the Finance Minister: Does it mean that the inflation in India in the financial year 2022-23 is going to be only 3.1 per cent? That 3.1 per cent comes from the difference between 11.1 per cent, the nominal GDP growth, and the real GDP growth of 8 per cent. According to Mr. Chidambaram, only one of the two numbers are right and one of the two numbers has to be wrong. Either the nominal GDP number is wrong or the real GDP growth number is wrong. Not really, Chidambaram Sir! The difference between nominal GDP growth rate and the real GDP growth rate is not the CPI inflation, nor is it the WPI inflation. The difference between the two is actually the widest measure of inflation, called, the GDP deflator. And, the inflation based on the GDP deflator, which is embedded in this Budget, of 3.1 per cent is perfectly feasible. Why? Because, I have worked out for the last five years, five years ending the pre-COVID year of 2019-20; and, it turns out that the average inflation rate based on GDP inflator in our country is 3.15 per cent, which is not very different from 3.1 per cent, incorporated in the present Budget. I am really surprised, in fact, appalled that a person, who has been a Finance Minister for a long time, can make such an elementary mistake.

Sir, to my mind, the most important thing about this Budget is that priority has been given to economic growth over fiscal consolidation. For the financial year 2021-22, that is, the current financial year, hon. Finance Minister has budgeted lowering

the fiscal deficit, as a ratio of GDP, from 9.2 per cent to 6.8 per cent. And, the hon. Finance Minister has nearly succeeded in achieving the target, posting a revised fiscal deficit of 6.9 per cent, instead of 6.8 per cent. This is excellent fiscal marksmanship. And, for the year 2022-23, the hon. Finance Minister has placed Budget Estimate at only moderately lower level of 6.4 per cent of the GDP. Some Members questioned this and said that this number is also very large and when, last time, we had fiscal deficit of such a large magnitude, we had an unprecedented crisis of 1991. It is true that during 1991 crisis the fiscal deficit was very large. But they forget that at that time our foreign exchange reserves were only one billion dollars. Today, our foreign exchange reserves are 630 billion US dollars. The situation is not comparable at all.

Sir, this avoidance of sharp reduction of fiscal deficit, as a percentage of GDP, especially against the backdrop of buoyant tax revenues, and that too in GST, mistakably implies great public expenditure. The best thing about this Budget is exceptionally large increase in capital expenditure to the tune of as much as Rs. 7.5 lakh crores. And, of this enhanced capital expenditure, again, it is noteworthy that as much as 43.3 per cent is being devoted to building world-class infrastructure of roads, railways and so on. The strategy underlying this Budget is very clear, which is, it would sharply increase public investment, would entice greater private investment, would create more jobs, more income, and, in turn, that would create larger consumption demand and, to meet that demand, there would be more production, and, therefore, there would be more jobs. This virtuous circle will lay down the foundation of a sustained economic growth as India at 75 makes a transition to India at 100. A question is being asked, Sir, in some responsible quarters, which is: Why has the Finance Minister refrained from giving a big push to consumption, say, through cut in direct taxes or through consumption vouchers? It is argued that increasing purchasing power in the hands of people would raise the consumption demand, it would mean greater production and it would promote economic growth.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. L. HANUMANTHAIAH): Please conclude.

DR. NARENDRA JADHAV: Yes, one minute more, Sir. The hon. Finance Minister does not seem to have accepted this logic. To my mind, there are at least two reasons at this point of time to prefer investment-led growth to consumption-led growth. The first reason is, the number of social safety measures which were taken during the second wave of Corona pandemic have been very large. Recall the five mini Budgets to mitigate the devastating impact of the pandemic, some of which, in fact, are continued in this Budget. More importantly, while both virtuous cycles..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. L. HANUMANTHAIAH): Your time is over.

DR. NARENDRA JADHAV: Only 30 seconds please, Sir. While both the cycles, one consumption-led and the other investment-led, are correct in principles, the virtuous cycle of investment-led growth is much stronger than the virtuous cycle of consumption-led growth. It is important to recall that the economic theory talks about investment multiplier; it does not talk about consumption multiplier. In other words, the durable impact of enhanced public investment is much stronger than equally large increase in consumption expenditure by the Government. I strongly endorse this Budget, 2022-23. Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. L. HANUMANTHAIAH): Thank you. The next speaker is Shri Birendra Prasad Baishya. You have five minutes.

SHRI BIRENDRA PRASAD BAISHYA (Assam): Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir.

On behalf of my Party, the Asom Gana Parishad, I rise here to support the Bill. My time is very short but I have to speak on a long Budget; so, it may be difficult for me to conclude within five minutes. I request you to kindly consider this, and, if possible, please extend some more time.

Madam Finance Minister, I compliment you. During this critical time, you have presented a good Budget because elections in Uttar Pradesh and some other States are knocking at the door. People, in general, thought that your Budget will be focussed on getting votes in elections, but you have not done that. This Budget is a growth-oriented Budget. Sir, in her speech, Madam Finance Minister has said, "We expect that in the coming year, our economic growth will go up to 9.2 per cent." During this critical time, it will be a very good growth. Definitely, with this good growth, we can now compare ourselves with other countries in the growth areas also.

Sir, the Prime Minister took lots of initiatives for the infrastructural development and socio-economical development of our country.

PM Gatishakti is a transformative approach for economic growth and sustainable development. The approach is driven by seven engines, namely, Roads, Railways, Airports, Ports, Mass Transportation, Waterways, etc. In infrastructure, this Budget has given lots of opportunities. Near about Rs. 25,000 crores is going to be spent in the coming year for the expansion of National Highways by about 25,000 kilometres. This is a welcome move. For Railways also, it is taking lots of initiatives.

Sir, from the Budget we have seen that the Government has decided to expand the capital expenditure by more than 30 per cent. When the capital

expenditure is going to increase, definitely, new railway projects, new ports, new infrastructure projects will be coming up. It will create job opportunities in our country.

Madam Finance Minister in her Budget said that the Government has estimated to appoint near about 60 lakh people in this financial year. This is a welcome move because unemployment is a big issue for all of us. Everybody is concerned about this issue. I am sure this approach will definitely be helpful to curb unemployment in our country.

We salute our farmers. During the Covid time, our agricultural production increased by 30 per cent and our horticultural production also increased by 33 per cent. The Government is taking a lot of initiatives to help the farmers also. The Government is going to spend 270 lakh crore of rupees for the direct payment for Minimum Support Price given to the famers. With this money, the estimated procurement for paddy and kharif in 2021-22 will cover 1,208 lakhs metric tonnes of wheat and paddy from 160 lakh farmers. So, it will be definitely helpful.

Sir, from our Budget, we have always allocated lion's share to the defence sector. ...(*Time-bell rings*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. L. HANUMANTHAIAH): Please conclude.

SHRI BIRENDRA PRASAD BAISHYA: We spend from our Budget's lion share in Defence sector. For the security of the country, it is important. Give me just two minutes. Sir, developed countries like the USA, France, etc., take away our money. We have always imported our equipments from the foreign countries. For the first time, in her Budget, Madam has said that 60 per cent of the defence equipment will be produced by the country itself. This is a very welcome move, and, in this area, Madam has given priority to the research and development in consultation with DRDO. This strategic approach will be helpful to produce our own products in the defence sector.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. L. HANUMANTHAIAH): Please conclude.

SHRI BIRENDRA PRASAD BAISHYA: Sir, just one more thing.

The tea industry of the country has a great role in our country. We earn huge foreign exchange from the tea industry and the tea industry of the country is today facing a lot of problems. In this year, the tea production in the country is declining.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. L. HANUMANTHAIAH): Birendraji, please conclude.

SHRI BIRENDRA PRASAD BAISHYA: Not only that, Sir, at international level, we are facing lots of problems from tea coming from Kenya, Sri Lanka and other countries. Madam, Finance Minister, I request you to look after this region. Could you help us, could you allot some money for development or survival of the tea industry of our country? In the interest of the tea industry, I hope Madam will consider this request. With this, I conclude. Thank you very much.

SHRI BINOY VISWAM (Kerala): Sir, it was in 1998 that a book by George Soros appeared before the world. He came from same creed of the ruling class. The book was titled 'The Crisis of Global Capitalism'. It was the beginning of writing by the intellectual, himself a big investor, and he thought about the crisis. That crisis is increasing today. This Budget of the Finance Minister was a very poor attempt to hide that crisis and claim that the Government has done something great. I feel very sorry for her. Sir, she may be the daughter of Tamil Nadu or the daughter-in-law of Karnataka...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. L. HANUMANTHAIAH): She is the daughter-in-law of Andhra.

SHRI BINOY VISWAM: I personally feel that she is a lady with integrity and I respect her, but her Budget, I must say, is a failed Budget.

Sir, every one of us knows that in the present Budget the poor have been forgotten. In the beginning of the neo-liberalization age, we heard of a great theory. That theory was the 'Trickle down theory'. Everybody knows the meaning. But this Budget is a 'trickle up theory'. It is not for the poor. This Budget is for the rich at the top. This was seen at every step. I do not wish to bring in data here anymore. It has been amply mentioned here.

Sir, what is there in the Budget for the poor, the workers, the women, the peasants, the MSP, or the health sector? Nothing is there for them. There, the allocation has been slashed, subsidies have been slashed. For the poor, this is the situation. For the rich, we can see the Budget is all in favour of them. Our Prime Minister spoke great things about the poor people, the migrant labourers. What have they got from this Budget? The Government was the reason behind the pitiable scenes that we witnessed in those days. They were in thousands, migrating from their workplace to their villages. He accused the Congress Party for that. But, Sir, was it the Congress Party that did the lockdown within a four hours' notice? Was it the Congress Party that talked about the *lakshman rekha*?

Sir, my Party has a lot of criticism to make against the Congress Party. There is no doubt about that. The Congress Party was the one that started this disastrous economic policy. We know it. But the Prime Minister and his Party, the BJP, are doing it in a much harsher and disastrous manner. That is what we have seen. This Government talks about Vivekananda from time to time. So, let me quote from Vivekananda. He said, "There can be no dogmas and preachings for a hungry man. No amount of preaching about God can satisfy his hunger. He needs to be fed with bread." That bread was denied to him by the BJP Government, with the lockdown. That was the reason for the whole tragic situation. How can this Government forget that scene on the rail tracks of Aurangabad where people were hit by a train and killed? We remember that. This Budget has completely forgotten them.

Sir, once I heard the Prime Minister talk loudly about the wealth creators. He said that the Government would support the wealth creators. It was mentioned here. Who are the wealth creators for this Government? For this Government, the wealth creators are Adani, Ambani and Tata-Birla type of people. He mentioned about Tata, Birla and the Left also, that once upon a time, we shouted, 'it was a Tata-Birla Government'. Yes, we shout today that this is a 'Adani-Ambani' Government, a 'Tata-Birla' Government; a Government which surrendered *Air India* to the Tatas for a paltry sum. This is a Government of the exploiters. There is no doubt about that. That Government should not forget certain facts. Who are the real wealth creators? They are peasants. They created the wealth; they are feeding us. The workers, the wage labourers, all those wealth creators are forgotten, and all the exploiters are taken care of. I don't want to go back again to the figures. Ample of them are with me. The ecosystem of the economy is shattered by the carbon emission from this Government. This ecosystem cannot be saved with this level of emission of carbon from the financial policy of this Government. It has to be protected. That is the need of the hour.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA) *in the Chair.*]

My Party believes that BJP cannot do it. It is a Party which preaches a lot for the poor, but that is a Party which is only for the rich, and that rich will not save this country. They are concerned about their profits alone. The words of Pope Francis are very important today for the whole world. I respect him; the whole world respects him. Our Prime Minister has invited him to India also. We are waiting for him to come to India. Pope Francis once told -- Madam Finance Minister, please remember it -- "The marketplace, by itself, cannot resolve every problem, however much we are

asked to believe this dogma of neoliberal faith. Whatever the challenge, this impoverished and repetitive school of thought always offers the same recipes of neoliberalism."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUNANESWAR KALITA): Viswam/ji, please conclude. Your time is up.

SHRI BINOY VISWAM: "Neoliberalism simply reproduces itself by resorting to the magic theories of 'spill over' or 'trickle' - without using the name - as the only solution to societal problems."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUNANESWAR KALITA): I am calling the next speaker.

SHRI BINOY VISWAM: Sir, finally, let me quote the Karl Marx also. It is very important. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUNANESWAR KALITA): No. The next speaker is Shri Kapil Sibal. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI BINOY VISWAM: Sir, Marx is the philosopher of tomorrow and today. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE; AND THE MINISTER OF CORPORATE AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI NIRMALA SITHARAMAN): Sir, I just want to make it sure that I heard it right. Did hon. Member Shri Binoy Viswam first quote Pope Francis and immediately after that he is quoting Marx? I just want to be sure.

SHRI BINOY VISWAM: If you give me two minutes, I can explain properly and she will be convinced. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUNANESWAR KALITA): You will have another opportunity. But, now, you conclude because I have called the next speaker. ...*(Interruptions)*... I have already called the next speaker. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI BINOY VISWAM: Sir, I have to respond to it. Please allow me. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUNANESWAR KALITA): It is on record now. I have already called the next speaker. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI BINOY VISWAM: Sir, please give me one minute. Madam, why I quoted Marx after Pope Francis? ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUNANESWAR KALITA): You needn't reply to her. Please conclude. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI BINOY VISWAM: Please give me half-a-minute. "The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honoured and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science into its paid wage labourers", and I would add, 'the Government also'.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUNANESWAR KALITA): Only Shri Kapil Sibal's speech will go on record now.

श्री कपिल सिब्बल (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपका और अपनी पार्टी का आभारी हूँ कि आज इस बजट पर हो रही चर्चा में आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया है।

When I was going through the Budget Speech, I was actually taken in by the key words that the Finance Minister has used throughout the Speech - digital, green, climate, *atmanirbhar*, Made in India, Capital Expenditure, Ease of Doing Business, tax revenues, GST collection, futuristic economy driven by technology, clean fuel, smart cities. But there were certain words which were missing. What were those? Those are - unemployment, poverty, food security, informal sector, migrants, daily wagers, health for all, welfare, social protection, women, youth. Now, I ask myself, who is this Budget for? Is it for that one or two per cent of the people at the top who buy all the airports and all the ports? And, what is the responsibility of any Government and a Finance Minister? The responsibility is to take care of the people at the bottom of the pyramid.

वित्त मंत्री जी, जब आप किसी परिंदे को उड़ता देखते हैं, तो यह देखते हैं कि वह आसमान को नहीं देखता है। क्या आपने कभी देखा है कि परिंदा आसमान की तरफ देख रहा है? जानवर या पशु जो नीचे जमीन पर हैं, क्या आपने कभी उनको देखा है कि वे आसमान की तरफ देख रहे हैं? कभी नहीं देखा न, क्योंकि असलियत जमीन पर होती है। आप लोग आसमान की तरफ देखते हो, सपने फेंकते हो, सपने दिखाते हो। आप जमीन को देखिए, हिंदुस्तान की जनता के हालात को देखिए। जो महिला यह सोचती होगी कि मेरा कल क्या होने वाला है, उसके बारे में तो आपने सोचा ही नहीं। मैं unemployment की बात करते हुए अपनी बात की शुरुआत करता हूँ।

मैं ज्यादा आंकड़ों में नहीं जाऊंगा because you can juggle data, but you cannot juggle the facts. मैं थोड़ा youth unemployment के बारे में आपको कुछ बताता हूँ। पहली बात तो यह है कि आप अगर youth unemployment की बात करें, the World Bank data 2019 says that India had a level of unemployment of 23 per cent amongst the youth. If we see the unemployment rate in neighbouring countries, the 2020 data by the Centre for Economic Data and Analysis, based on ILO database, states that China had an unemployment rate of 5 per cent, Bangladesh - 5.3 per cent, Pakistan - 4.65 per cent, Sri Lanka - 4.84 per cent, and India - 7.11 per cent. This is where we are. This is your 'Shining India' or whatever it is.

Now, you have said that you have increased the Capital Expenditure by Rs.2 lakh crores and brought it to Rs.7.5 lakh crores. So, that amount of Rs.2 lakh crores is for the purposes of building infrastructure, लेकिन क्या आपने कभी देखा है कि जो unemployment है, वह कहाँ है? आज के दिन unemployment कहाँ है? मैं आपको बताता हूँ, शायद आप भूल गए होंगे। मैं industry-wise job losses के बारे में आपको बताता हूँ। In manufacturing sector, the loss of jobs is 9.8 million. In hotel and tourism sector, it is 5 million. In education, it is 4 million. In overall services sector, it is 1.8 million. Fall in Central Government employment 3.31 million. There is a fall in employment in Railways from 1.31 million to 1.27 million.

ये तो आपके unemployment के सेक्टर्स हैं। अगर आप सड़कें बनायेंगे, तो इन सेक्टर्स का क्या होगा, hotel and tourism sector का क्या होगा, MSME sector का क्या होगा, education sector का क्या होगा, overall services sector का क्या होगा? When you have to deal with unemployment, you have to do it sector-wise; you have to give them relief sector-wise.

जो आपकी सड़कों पर काम करने के लिए लेबर आती है, वह mostly unskilled रहती है। यह अच्छी बात है कि आपने दो लाख करोड़ रुपया दिया है, उसमें से एक लाख करोड़ रुपया तो आपने States को लोन दिया है, वह भी 50 साल के लिए interest-free loan दिया है। इसका मतलब यह होगा कि पहले तो आप तय करेंगे कि वह किन States को जाएगा - वह भी हमें मालूम है कि किन-किन States को मिलेगा। फिर कई States चाहेंगी ही नहीं कि वे आपसे लोन लें, क्योंकि वह State tied-up रहेगा। अगर वे कोई भी प्रोजेक्ट डालेंगे, तो उसके लिए आपकी अनुमति चाहिए। इसलिए ऐसा बजट नहीं बनना चाहिए।

कल चिदम्बरम साहब ने तीन Ws की बात कही थी। अभी हम wealth की बात करते हैं, because I believe that this particular Budget has no vision, no real long-term plan, and, let me explain something to you, and, through you, to the people of India. Hopefully, they are listening. Anywhere in the world, wealth is created in universities. Wealth is never created by industry. Industry uses the ideas and the innovations that come through young people in the universities, and, then turns them into goods and services. So, if you give benefits to industry, it is not going to create wealth. It is

going to create wealth for those individuals but the real wealth of the nation will be created in the university system. Real wealth is created on the basis of R&D. What kind of investment you make in R&D? Let me tell you something and you will be really shocked. I will give you some interesting figures. That is why, countries like America are wealthy and countries like India are where we are. If we see the R&D expenditure as percentage to GDP, the United States spends 606 billion dollars every year on R&D. Mark that figure, and, this is in PPP terms. What is our expenditure? It is 47 billion dollars. How is this country going to progress? China spends 514 billion dollars on R&D. Japan spends 172 billion dollars and they have a much smaller population. Germany spends 131 billion dollars and France spends 63 billion dollars. Unless you put money in R&D, how will you create wealth? Unless you give your students the freedom, not the kind of freedom that we have seen in JNU but the freedom to think, to converse, to decide what to do to bring about new ideas, it won't help. If you go to any university in the United States, you will find that most of the universities are funded by the Government, and, in fact, there are businesses who have built campuses in the university system through their investment, aided by Government. If you do not give freedom in education, if you do not invest in research, you are not going to create wealth in the country. In the 2019 Budget, look at the kind of benefits that you gave to the industry. You reduced the tax to 25 per cent, then, to 15 per cent for new manufacturing firms and now extended it for one more year. They are not going to create wealth for the country. They may create some jobs. I think, this nation should realize that unless we invest in the university system for the ideas, for the IP to be created, it won't help. What happens in the university system is that IP is created, then business comes and does prototypes, and, after prototypes, they actually see whether it is a viable commercial proposition. उसके बाद फिर इंडस्ट्री में जाता है और वस्तुएं बनती हैं तथा सर्विसेज होती हैं। अगर उस पर आप ध्यान ही नहीं देंगे, तो आप कौन-सी wealth की बात कर रहे हैं? यह एक बहुत बड़ी और भारी समस्या है।

महोदय, एक दूसरी बात भी है। हिंदुस्तान के लिए मैं समझता हूं कि जैसे हमारे घरों में परिवार है, वैसे ही हिंदुस्तान भी एक परिवार है। जो माँ होती है, वह क्या सोचती है? परिवार में जो सबसे कमजोर बच्चा होता है, वह हमेशा उसके बारे में सोचती है। अगर कोई कमी रह गई हो, तो उसे पूरा करती है, क्योंकि जो बच्चा अपने आप में ठीक-ठाक है, आत्मनिर्भर है, आप उसको यह कह कर छोड़ देते हैं कि आप आत्मनिर्भर रहो, लेकिन हम उन लोगों की मदद करेंगे, जो आत्मनिर्भर नहीं हैं। क्या आपने इस बजट में इसको देखा, उन्हें कोई मदद दी? यह बड़े दुख की बात है और आप बात कर रहे हैं अमृत काल की! अमृत काल! मैं तो 2014 से अब तक राहु काल देख रहा हूं। आप कौन-से अमृत काल की बात कर रहे हैं? आप देखिए। आप यह कौन-से अमृत काल की बात कर रहे हैं? आप इसको देखिए।..(व्यवधान).. और फिर असलियत क्या है? मैं कल

प्रधान मंत्री जी पर बड़ा अचंभित रहा कि उन्होंने टुकड़े-टुकड़े गैंग के लोगों की बात की। टुकड़े-टुकड़े गैंग! आप मुझे यह बताइए कि जो सभ्यता के टुकड़े-टुकड़े करता है, जो इतिहास के टुकड़े-टुकड़े करता है, जो संविधान के टुकड़े-टुकड़े करता है, जो भाईचारे के टुकड़े-टुकड़े करता है, वह टुकड़े-टुकड़े गैंग का लीडर है।

महोदय, मेरी तीसरी बात भी है। आपने इतने सालों से पेट्रोल पर जो एक्साइज ज्यूटी लगा रखी है, उसमें कोई भारी कटौती नहीं है। इसलिए मैं इनके बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। मैं आपके माध्यम से जनता को यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि 2014 में जो पेट्रोल की प्रति लीटर कीमत थी, वह 71 रुपये प्रति लीटर थी। वह फरवरी, 2022 में 95 रुपये प्रति लीटर है। पेट्रोल पर सेंट्रल एक्साइज ज्यूटी 2014 में 9.20 प्रति लीटर थी, यानी 9 दशमलव 20 रुपये प्रति लीटर थी। आपने उसे बढ़ाकर 27 रुपये कर दिया, यानी 203 परसेंट की बढ़ोतरी हुई। डीजल का 55 रुपये प्रति लीटर दाम था, जिस पर 3.46 रुपये की एक्साइज ज्यूटी थी, लेकिन आज उसका दाम 86 रुपये प्रति लीटर है और एक्साइज ज्यूटी 21 रुपये है। इसकी जो बढ़ोतरी हुई है, वह 530 प्रतिशत है। 530 प्रतिशत!

महोदय, मैं सोच रहा था - क्योंकि आजकल यहाँ औरंगजेब की बहुत बात होती है, इसलिए मैं इतिहास को देख रहा था और मुझे इतिहास से यह पता चला कि एक शख्स,...(व्यवधान)।

एक माननीय सदस्य : जज़िया की बात है।

श्री कपिल सिब्बल : हाँ, जज़िया की बात हो रही है। जो अहमदशाह था, उसने 1414 ई. में सबसे पहले जज़िया लागू किया था। उसके बाद emperor अकबर आया, उसने इसे खत्म कर दिया। उसके बाद फिर औरंगजेब आ गया, उसने 1679 ई. में इसे दोबारा लागू कर दिया। उसने यह कहा कि जो वंचित लोग हैं, जो unemployed लोग हैं, यह उन पर लागू नहीं होगा, जो गरीब लोग हैं, यह उन पर लागू नहीं होगा, जो हमारी रक्षा करते हैं, आर्मी के लोग हैं, यह उन पर लागू नहीं होगा - ऐसा औरंगजेब ने कहा। आप औरंगजेब की बात करते हैं, लेकिन यह तो औरंगजेब से भी बदतर बात है कि आपने यह सब पर लागू कर दिया और वह भी 530 प्रतिशत और 203 प्रतिशत बढ़ोतरी के साथ। मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आप किस दिशा में जा रहे हैं? आपको इतना मालूम नहीं है कि जो हमारा गरीब आदमी है, जो मिडल क्लास आदमी है, जो स्कूटर पर जाता है, जब उसे 95 या 100 रुपये देने पड़ते हैं, तब उसे क्या तकलीफ़ होती होगी, लेकिन आप बात करते हैं डिजिटल इंडिया की, आप बात करते हैं कनेक्टिविटी की।

महोदय, जहाँ तक एजुकेशन का सवाल है, मैं उस पर भी कुछ और बातें आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। सर, इस देश में ऐसे कितने लोग हैं, जिनके पास ऐसी सुविधाएँ हैं कि वे कनेक्टिविटी के द्वारा शिक्षा प्राप्त कर सकें? कितने लोग ऐसे हैं! मैं आज के दिन वे आँकड़े नहीं देना चाहता, लेकिन by and large देहात में लगभग 6 या 8 प्रतिशत लोग होंगे, जो connectivity कर पाएँ। दो साल से बच्चे स्कूल नहीं जा रहे हैं और आप कह रहे हैं कि आप टेलीविजन चैनल्स खोल देंगे, प्रोग्राम बना देंगे! किस झोंपड़ी में टेलीविजन लगेगा और कहाँ ये सब lessons लगाएँगे, क्या आपको मालूम है? वित्त मंत्री जी, पहले तो मैं आपसे कहूँगा कि मेरी एक गुजारिश

है कि आपकी पार्टी आपको ज़रा एक इलेक्शन लड़वा दे, फिर आपको पता चलेगा कि हिन्दुस्तान के जमीनी हालात क्या हैं!

जहाँ तक मनरेगा का सवाल है, देखिए, आपने मनरेगा का allocation 73 हजार करोड़ कर दिया! पहले यह 98000 करोड़ था, उसको आपने 73 हजार करोड़ कर दिया! उसमें आपको लगभग 13 हजार करोड़ अभी प्रदेशों को देना है, इसलिए actual allocation केवल 60 हजार करोड़ है। आप किस दिशा में जा रही हैं!

फिर रही स्वास्थ्य की बात। जब तक बच्चे की education सही नहीं होगी, स्वास्थ्य सही नहीं होगा, तो हिन्दुस्तान की जो सम्पत्ति है, वह आप पैदा कर ही नहीं सकतीं। आप बच्चों पर ध्यान दीजिए। ये जो बड़े-बड़े लोग हैं, उनको छोड़ दीजिए, क्योंकि उनको मालूम है कि wealth कैसे बनानी है। वह आपको भी मालूम है, उनको भी मालूम है। वे सुविधाएँ उनके पास हैं। जिनके पास सुविधाएँ नहीं हैं, आप उनके बारे में सोचिए।

Today I was reading an article by Mr. Rangarajan, the ex-Governor of Reserve Bank of India. He said that what is lacking is gross demand shortage. Unless you put money in the hands of the people and they spend, the economy will not move forward. Their purchasing power has to be increased. How do you increase their purchasing power? By reducing the MGNREGA allocations? By not giving them any benefits? These sectors have been destroyed by the pandemic. You are not at fault for that.

इसीलिए आपके प्रधान मंत्री जी को यह जो 'अमृत काल' है, उसकी बात नहीं करनी चाहिए, क्योंकि न वे रहेंगे, न हम रहेंगे, न आपके रहनुमा रहेंगे और न नफरत के बयान रहेंगे। 2047 तक वे नफरत के बयान भी नहीं रहेंगे। आप ज़रा इस बात पर सोचिए।...(समय की घंटी)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA): Please wind up now.

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL: Sir, I will not take more than one minute. Don't worry.

The last thing I was talking about was health sector. I will just give a few figures and then I am done. In the Health sector, I just want to tell you one thing. What was the health expenditure in select countries in 2018? I don't have the figures after that. I am sure the Finance Minister will be able to give that. हमारा जो per capita expenditure in health है, वह 172 डॉलर है, जबकि यह जर्मनी का 771 डॉलर, फ्रांस का 485 डॉलर, इटली का 853 डॉलर, साउथ कोरिया का 1,044 डॉलर और चीन का 334 डॉलर है। अगर हमारा health का per capita expenditure इस हालात में है, ये जो हालात मुझे दिख रहे हैं, तो न तो बच्चे का स्वास्थ्य ठीक होगा, न उनकी शिक्षा ठीक होगी, तो wealth आप अडाणी-अंबानी से बनवाइएगा। बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

SHRI SUSHIL KUMAR MODI (Bihar): Sir, Shrimati Nirmala Sitharaman ji is an alumnus of the JNU. She does not have a degree from Harvard Business School, जो डिग्री चिदम्बरम साहब के पास थी, लेकिन मैं कह सकता हूँ कि in comparison to global financial crisis के समय कांग्रेस ने जो बजट पेश किया था और Taper Tantrum 2012-13, she has presented 100 times better Budget in such adverse conditions.

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, Spanish flu 1917-18 में आया था, तब भारत में 1.5 करोड़ लोगों की मृत्यु हुई थी। उस समय भारत की आबादी 30 करोड़ थी और 1.5 करोड़ लोग मरे थे। महोदय, इस कोविड काल में भारत में भी 5 लाख लोगों की मृत्यु हो गई, जो अत्यंत दुखद है, लेकिन महोदय, अमरीका की आबादी 33 करोड़ है, which is one-fourth of India, and 9,26,000 people died in America. Brazil has a population of only 21 crore, which is one-seventh of India, but 6,32,000 people died there; Russia's population is one-tenth of India, but 3,35,000 people died there; UK has twenty times less population than India, but two lakh people died there. अगर नरेन्द्र मोदी जी का नेतृत्व नहीं होता और फ्रंटलाइन वर्कर्स, डॉक्टर्स, नर्सेज का सहयोग नहीं होता, तो इस देश में 5 लाख नहीं, 50 लाख से ज्यादा लोग मर गए होते। हमारे पास अमरीका, यू.के., फ्रांस, ब्राज़ील जैसी हेल्थ की सुविधा नहीं है, फिर भी हमने इस देश के 40-45 लाख लोगों को मरने से बचा लिया, नहीं तो कितने लोग मरते कहना मुश्किल है। किसी ने ठीक ही कहा है:

*"वसुधा का नेता कौन हुआ?
भूखंड-विजेता कौन हुआ?
अतुलित यश क्रेता कौन हुआ?
नव-धर्म प्रणेता कौन हुआ?
जिसने न कभी आराम किया,
विघ्नों में रह कर काम किया।।"*

ये थे माननीय नरेन्द्र मोदी, जिन्होंने विकट परिस्थितियों में देश को नेतृत्व प्रदान किया। आप मज़ाक उड़ाते हैं कि ये लोग फेल हो गए। महोदय, भारत में अब तक 170 करोड़ वैक्सींस लगाई जा चुकी हैं, वहीं अमरीका में 53 करोड़, ब्राज़ील में 36 करोड़, जर्मनी में 16 करोड़, रशिया में 15 करोड़ और यू.के. में 13 करोड़ वैक्सींस लगाई गई हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह जो वैक्सीन है, यह Made in India, Made by India है। आप कल्पना कीजिए कि अगर भारत में वैक्सीन नहीं बनी होती, तो 140 करोड़ लोगों को वैक्सीन लगाने के लिए हमें दुनिया के सामने जा कर भीख मांगनी पड़ती कि हमें वैक्सीन दे दीजिए। वर्षों लग जाते, तो भी हम देश के 140 करोड़ लोगों तक वैक्सीन नहीं पहुंचा पाते।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमने CoWIN का tech platform develop किया, हमने लोगों को QR-coded certificates प्रदान किए, एक लाख cold-chains स्थापित किए और last mile delivery तक वैक्सीन को पहुंचाने का काम किया। महोदय, मैं सदन में बताना चाहूंगा कि दुनिया में केवल सात देश ऐसे हैं, जो वैक्सीन बनाते हैं - USA, China, France, U.K., Russia,

Canada और 7वां देश भारत है। आज African continent का क्या हाल है? वहां केवल 16 प्रतिशत लोगों को first dose लगी है और और केवल 11 प्रतिशत लोगों को second dose लगी है। इतना ही नहीं, भारत ने 150 से ज्यादा देशों को Covid-19 related medical and other assistance देने का काम भी किया है। 28 जनवरी, 2022 तक हमने दुनिया के 100 से ज्यादा देशों को 14 करोड़, 63 लाख doses vaccine मुफ्त देने या commercial export करने का काम किया है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, ये नरेन्द्र मोदी जी ही हैं, जो विपरीत परिस्थितियों में भी कभी विचलित नहीं होते। दिनकर ने ठीक ही कहा:

*"सच है, विपत्ति जब आती है,
कायर को ही दहलाती है,
सूरमा नहीं विचलित होते,
क्षण एक नहीं धीरज खोते,
विघ्नों को गले लगाते हैं,
कांटों में राह बनाते हैं।"*

यह नरेन्द्र मोदी जी की ताकत है कि कोरोना काल का भारत ने मजबूती से मुकाबला किया है। महोदय, मैं कल से कांग्रेस के नेताओं का भाषण सुन रहा हूं, पता नहीं उन्होंने अपने शासन के 50 सालों में कितना रोजगार पैदा किया, लेकिन इस बजट का अगर कोई एक फोकस है, that is, 'job, job and job', 'रोजगार, रोजगार, रोजगार।' इसके हरेक पन्ने पर रोजगार लिखा है, इसके हरेक पन्ने से रोजगार पैदा होता है। महोदय, हम देश को ऐसा विकास दे रहे हैं, जो रोजगार पैदा करने वाला विकास है, job-oriented growth है, growth with job creation है। महोदय, रोजगार लोगों को dole देने से पैदा नहीं होता है।

2.00 P.M.

कैश ट्रांसफर देने से income support से रोजगार पैदा नहीं होता है। हमने भी income support दिया है, हमने भी Corona काल में लोगों की मदद की है, लेकिन अगर रोजगार पैदा होता है तो Capital Expenditure से पैदा होता है, अगर रोजगार पैदा होता है तो manufacturing से पैदा होता है। किसी ने ठीक ही कहा -

*"न पूछो कि मेरी मंजिल कहां है, अभी तो सफर शुरू किया है,
न हारुंगा हौसला उम्र भर, मैंने किसी से नहीं खुद से वादा किया है।"*

श्री नरेन्द्र मोदी ने केवल जनता से नहीं, खुद से वादा किया है।

महोदय, Capital Expenditure का जिक्र हो रहा है। पिछले चार सालों में India would be spending, if you include 2023, Rs.20 lakh crore. इस साल को मिलाकर पिछले चार सालों में हम बीस लाख करोड़ रुपये Capital Expenditure पर खर्च करने जा रहे हैं या खर्च कर चुके हैं। आज तक आज़ाद भारत का इतना बड़ा कैपिटल एक्सपेंडिचर कभी नहीं हुआ था। इसलिए इस साल के बजट में Capital Expenditure Rs.7,50,000 crore का प्रावधान किया गया है। The outlays have been increased by 35 per cent. Capital assets through grant-in-aid to States, अगर उसे जोड़ लें तो effective Capital Expenditure is Rs.10,68,000 crore which is 4.1 per cent of the GDP. Capital Expenditure का multiplier effect होता है। If Revenue Expenditure increases by Rs.100, then, only Rs.98 is added to economy but if you spend Rs.100 as Capital Expenditure, Rs. 245 is added to the economy in the same year और बाद के वर्षों में 480 रुपये इकोनॉमी के अंदर ऐड होते हैं। Capital Expenditure demand भी create करेगा, supply side को भी देखेगा। It would crowd in private investment. There would be huge job creation. Contractors, suppliers, skilled technicians, cement, steel, sand आदि हर चीज की डिमांड बढ़ेगी।

महोदय, सिब्बल साहब का कभी राज्यों से संबंध नहीं रहा है। एक लाख करोड़ रुपये सरकार ने राज्यों को Capital Expenditure करने के लिए दिये और वह भी 50 years' interest-free loan. कांग्रेस ने कभी राज्यों को 50 साल के लिए interest-free लोन Capital Expenditure के लिए दिया था? In road sector, we would be spending Rs. 2,42,000 crore. That is the highest ever expenditure in the road sector and we would be building 25,000 National Highways in the year 2023.

महोदय, मैं एक बात और बताना चाहूंगा कि इस बार के road के Budget में हमने कोई borrowing नहीं की है। इसके पहले 65 हजार करोड़ हमने नेशनल हाइवे के लिए Borrowing की थी and this year we have supported the National Highways with the Budgetary support. They would not be taking a single penny as a borrowing. इसलिए केवल road sector ही नहीं, हम जो Capital Expenditure कर रहे हैं, Defence पर Rs.1,52,000 crore, Railway पर Rs.1,37,000 crore, Telecom पर Rs. 54,150 crore, Metro पर Rs.19,130 crore, Atomic energy पर 1.9 per cent of Capital Expenditure. अगर इससे रोजगार पैदा नहीं होंगे, तो किससे रोजगार पैदा होंगे, आप ही बता दीजिए कि कैसे रोजगार पैदा होते हैं?

महोदय, 'प्रधान मंत्री ग्राम सड़क योजना' के लिए 2021-22 का Rs.14,000 crore का Budget था, there has been a 27 per cent increase in the P.M. Gram Sadak Yojana to Rs.19,000 crore. क्या 'प्रधान मंत्री ग्राम सड़क योजना' से रोजगार पैदा नहीं होंगे? 'नल जल योजना' से हम 3.8 crore घरों में Rs.60,000 crore रुपये खर्च करके अगर tap water supply पहुंचाएंगे तो क्या jobs create नहीं होंगे? अगर 80 लाख घरों को पूरा करने के लिए Rs.48,000 crore खर्च कर रहे हैं, तो क्या इससे रोजगार पैदा नहीं होंगे?

महोदय, मुझे बहुत हंसी आती है और दुख भी होता है कि चिदम्बरम साहब और कपिल सिब्बल जी जैसे लोग R.E. की B.E. से तुलना कर रहे हैं। They are comparing Revised Estimates with the Budget Estimates. चिदम्बरम साहब, आप तो इतनी बार वित्त मंत्री रहे,

इतना तो आपको मालूम है कि हमेशा Budget Estimates को Budget Estimates से compare करते हैं। अगर 'मनरेगा' में पिछली बार 72,000 करोड़ रुपये थे और बाद में हमने इन्क्रीज किया, इस बार भी बजट में उतना ही रखा, जितना पिछली बार था। Now, we are comparing the Budget Estimate of 2022-23 with the Revised Estimate of 2021-22. उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, नेशनल इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर पाइपलाइन में 111 लाख करोड़ रुपए! उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, 2020 से 2025 तक 111 लाख करोड़ रुपए we will be spending on the National Infrastructure Pipeline. It will be a world-class infrastructure.

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इतना ही नहीं 'प्रधान मंत्री गति शक्ति', जो कि रोड, रेलवे, एयरपोर्ट, पोर्ट, mass transport, waterways और logistics, the projects pertaining to seven engines of growth in the NIP will be aligned with the PM Gati Shakti Programme. पीएम गति शक्ति और एनआइपी, इन दोनों को align किया गया, multi-model connectivity, world-class modern infrastructure and logistic synergy among different modes of movement. आप मेन्युफैक्चरिंग की बात करते हैं। Productivity-Linked Incentive Scheme, 14 सेक्टर्स में 30 लाख करोड़ से ज्यादा का एडिशनल प्रोडक्शन अगले 5 साल में करेंगे and Rs. 3, 46,000 crore will be spent as an incentive to the industries in 14 sectors. हम 76 हजार करोड़ सेमीकंडक्टर के क्षेत्र में, as an incentive, खर्च करने वाले हैं। हमारे देश के अंदर सोलर पीवीज़ नहीं हैं, जो सोलर प्लेट्स होती हैं, उन्हें चाइना से इम्पोर्ट करना पड़ता है। हम निर्मला जी और प्रधान मंत्री जी को धन्यवाद देंगे कि this year she has increased from Rs. 4,500 crore to additional Rs. 19,500 crore for manufacturing of solar panels. Sir, there will be 280 GW of installed solar capacity by the year 2030. हम वर्ष 2030 तक 280 गीगावॉट सोलर कैपेसिटी इस देश के अंदर और पैदा करेंगे। इसलिए उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, चाहे सेमीकंडक्टर्स हों, ऑटो कंपनीज़ हों, automobiles हों, इलेक्ट्रॉनिक्स हों, कैमिकल्स हों, फॉर्मा हों, medical devices हों, फूड प्रोसेसिंग हो, टेलीकॉम हो, textile हो, white goods हों, drones हों, इन पर हम इतनी बड़ी राशि खर्च करने जा रहे हैं और आप कहते हैं कि रोजगार कहां से पैदा होगा? माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, नरेन्द्र मोदी जी लम्बे समय तक गुजरात के मुख्य मंत्री थे। उनको मालूम है। जैसा किसी ने कहा -

'हम तो दरिया हैं, हमें अपना हुनर मालूम है,
हम जहां से जायेंगे, वह रास्ता बन जाएगा।
अगर देखना चाहते तुम मेरी उड़ान को,
(अगर नरेन्द्र मोदी की उड़ान को देखना चाहते हो)
तो जाओ ऊंचा करो आसमान को।'

आप आसमान को जितना ऊंचा कर सकते हो, करो, हम अपना हुनर दिखायेंगे। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, ये ज़माना metaverse का है, web-3 का ज़माना, artificial intelligence का ज़माना है और आप कहते हैं कि डिजिटल से क्या होगा? कपिल सिब्बल जी, आप तो कम से कम इस तरह की बात मत कीजिए। दुनिया में अभी तक 9 देश हैं, जिन्होंने डिजिटल करेंसी लॉन्च की

है, and all these countries are nation islands, Bahamas जैसे छोटे-छोटे देश हैं, जिनकी आबादी 4 लाख या 5 लाख होगी, उन्होंने डिजिटल करेंसी लॉन्च की है। India will be the tenth country in this world which will be launching digital currency. इससे transparency in transaction, reducing use of black money, cheaper currency management, more secure and risk-free online payment, inter-bank settlement not required and handling, printing, logistics management of cash आसान होगा और आप इसका मज़ाक उड़ा रहे हैं? माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, क्या बिना digitization के आप दुनिया की प्रगति की दौड़ में survive कर सकते हैं? बजट में घोषणा की गई है कि 75 जिलों के अंदर डिजिटल बैंकिंग यूनिट्स स्थापित किए जायेंगे। 'आयुष्मान भारत डिजिटल मिशन' और डिजिटल यूनिवर्सिटी की स्थापना की जाएगी। High Speed Optic Fibre वर्ष 2025 तक देश के सभी गांवों तक पहुंचा दिये जायेंगे। Sir, E-Passports, National Tele Mental Health Programme, Animation, Visual Effects, Gaming and Comics, इसके task force का गठन किया जाएगा, जिसमें 20 लाख जॉब्स का पोर्टेशियल है।

सर, अभी यादव जी कह रहे थे कि किसान ड्रोन का इस्तेमाल कैसे करेंगे? मैं उन्हें बताना चाहता हूँ कि for spraying of insecticides for crops assessment; the Government will use these things और जो प्रगतिशील किसान हैं, वे भी ड्रोन का इस्तेमाल करेंगे।

सर, चिदम्बरम जी और कपिल सिब्बल जी कह रहे थे कि चैनल्स से क्या होगा, लेकिन आपको पता ही नहीं है, क्योंकि आप कभी गाँव में गए ही नहीं। बिहार के हर घर तक बिजली पहुँच चुकी है। देश का एक भी गरीब नहीं होगा, जिसके घर में बिजली नहीं पहुँची होगी और आप कहते हैं कि टीवी नहीं है! महोदय, केवल बिहार में दो करोड़ बच्चे स्कूल से बाहर हो गए। हमारी सरकार ने तय किया है और कहा है कि हम पहली क्लास से बारहवीं क्लास तक के लिए 12 की बजाए 200 चैनल्स launch करने जा रहे हैं।

महोदय, post office कल तक केवल letter और money order पहुँचाने का काम करते थे, अभी तक 20,000 post offices have been converted into core banking and Government has decided that in the coming years, more than 1,50,000 post offices will be converted into core banking.

सरकार digital payment को प्रमोट करेगी and there will be world class foreign university. जब इतना डेटा पैदा होगा, data explosion होगा, तो हमें data centre की आवश्यकता पड़ेगी। इतना ही नहीं, सरकार ने यह भी तय किया है कि जो contractors, suppliers सप्लाय करते हैं, उनके procurement के लिए उनका जो बिल होगा, उसका 75 per cent bill will be paid within ten days और यह e-bill system में होगा। Everything will be submitted online. There will be digitally signed bills.

महोदय, यह नरेन्द्र मोदी जी ही हैं, जो मुश्किलों से भागते नहीं हैं। किसी ने कहा है :

*"मुश्किलों से भाग जाना आसान होता है,
हर पहलू जिन्दगी का इस्तिहान होता है।"*

*डरने वालों को मिलता नहीं कुछ जिन्दगी में,
लड़ने वाले के कदमों में जहान होता है।"*

ऐसे लोगों के कदमों में जहान होता है, पूरी दुनिया उनके कदमों में होती है।

महोदय, अब मैं टेलीकॉम के संबंध में कहना चाहता हूँ। सिब्बल साहब तो शायद टेलीकॉम मिनिस्टर भी थे। हम 5G launch करने जा रहे हैं। इस साल उसका auction हो जाएगा और साल का अंत होते-होते हम 5G launch कर देंगे। Do you know the speed of 5G? It will be having 10,000 to 30,000 megabytes per second. 4G की स्पीड कितनी है? 4G की स्पीड 100 से 300 मेगाबाइट्स प्रति सेकंड है। इतना ही नहीं, 5G के auction से एक लाख करोड़ रुपये मिलेंगे। हम लोगों ने सितम्बर, 2021 में Telecom Reforms Package की घोषणा की थी, जिससे वित्तीय वर्ष 2022-23 में इस इंडस्ट्री के रेवेन्यू में 30,000 करोड़ रुपये की वृद्धि होगी।

महोदय, हमने बीएसएनएल को 2019 में पैकेज दिया था। हम लोगों ने बीएसएनएल को 45,000 करोड़ रुपये का capital outlay provide किया है। हम लोग बीएसएनएल को भी इस साल 4जी में convert करेंगे। हम केवल 5जी ही नहीं ला रहे हैं, बल्कि आज जो मीटिंग है, वह 6जी को लेकर है, यानी भारत अभी से 6जी की तैयारी कर रहा है कि 6जी का standard क्या होगा।

महोदय, जब से Direct Benefit Transfer Scheme launch हुई है, तब से अभी तक हम इसके माध्यम से 21 लाख करोड़ रुपये beneficiaries के खाते में पहुँचा चुके हैं। आपको यह मालूम है कि इससे कितनी saving हुई है? इससे 2,22,000 करोड़ रुपये की सेविंग हुई है। भारत सरकार को केवल Direct Benefit Transfer Scheme के द्वारा 2,22,000 करोड़ रुपये की बचत हुई है। इसके लागू होने से चार करोड़ डुप्लिकेट राशन कार्ड्स रद्द कर दिए गए और चार करोड़ से ज्यादा एलपीजी के fake connections खत्म कर दिए गए और reduction of 120 lakh metric tonnes of fertilizer sale to retailers में मदद मिली है।

महोदय, 2014 में जब नरेन्द्र मोदी जी प्रधान मंत्री बने, तब मोबाइल फोन की केवल दो यूनिट्स थीं और आज मुझे बताते हुए खुशी हो रही है कि 2020-21 में, 200 manufacturing units of mobile phones are in India. 2014-15 में जहाँ हम 6 करोड़ मोबाइल्स तैयार कर रहे थे, 2020-21 में, we have manufactured more than 30 crore of mobile phones in this country itself. And, in Unified Payment Interface, हमने यूपीआई के द्वारा एक साल में Rs.3,874 crores ट्रांजेक्शंस किए हैं, जिनकी value 72 लाख करोड़ है।

महोदय, कल प्रधान मंत्री महोदय स्टार्टअप्स का जिक्र कर रहे थे। Unicorn उसे कहते हैं, जिसकी value सात हजार करोड़ से ज्यादा होती है। मैं सदन को बताना चाहूँगा कि in the year 2021 during pandemic, 44 Startups have reached the status of unicorn in a single year. इतना ही नहीं, 14 जनवरी, 2021 तक 83 unicorns with a total value of 277 billion dollars, यानी 83 unicorns की value सात हजार करोड़ से ज्यादा हो चुकी है। आज इंडिया यूएसए और चाइना के बाद Unicorns और Startups के मामलों में पूरी दुनिया में तीसरे नंबर पर है। मैं सदन को यह भी बताना चाहूँगा कि venture capital of private equity, Rupees five lakh

fifty thousand crores were invested by venture capital and private equity in the startup ecosystem which is one of the largest in this world. उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह सरकार इतना काम कर रही है। किसी ने कहा है:-

*"मंजिल उन्हीं को मिलती है, जिनके सपनों में जान होती है,
पंख से कुछ नहीं होता है, हौसलों से उड़ान होती है।"*

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, चाइना, जापान और स्विट्जरलैंड के बाद आज इंडिया के पास world में highest Foreign Exchange Reserve है। FDI, we have the highest FDI inflow. यह Covid disruption के बाद highest FDI inflow in this country है। In exports, हम 3,00 billion export merchandise का आंकड़ा cross कर चुके हैं and, for the first time, हम 4,00 billion export merchandise का आंकड़ा पार करेंगे। इतना ही नहीं, जीएसटी के अंदर record revenue collection Rupees one lakh forty thousand crores और हमने यह GST revenue collection pandemic के बावजूद किया है। इस पूरे financial year में हमने record revenue collection किया है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, 'उड़े देश का आम नागरिक' (उड़ान), मैं सदन को बताना चाहूँगा कि अभी तक 86 लाख लोगों ने 'उड़ान' का इस्तेमाल किया है। अगर 'उड़ान' योजना नहीं होती, तो गरीब, चप्पल वाले लोग 'उड़ान' का इस्तेमाल नहीं कर पाते।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री भुबनेश्वर कालिता) : सुशील कुमारी मोदी जी, आप wind up कीजिए। ...(समय की घंटी)...

श्री सुशील कुमार मोदी : सर, मैं दो मिनट और लूँगा।

In IPOs, in the year 2021-22, so far Rs.89,066 crore has been raised by 75 IPOs. 75 आईपीओज़ ने एक साल के अंदर कोविड के बावजूद यह किया है और यह Rs.89,066 crore पिछले दस साल का highest है। अंत में, मैं बताना चाहूँगा कि 25th January को International Monetary Fund की World Economic Outlook Report आई और growth projection was released on 25th January by IMF 's World Economic Outlook. वह कहता है - India's real GDP is projected to grow at 9 per cent in both 2021-22 and 2022-23 and at 7.1 per cent in 2023-24. This projects India as the fastest-growing major economy in the world in all these three years. इन तीन सालों के अंदर भारत दुनिया के सबसे ज्यादा तेज गति से विकास करने वाले देशों में होगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, India Today का Mood of the Nation Survey आया है। यह हमारा survey नहीं है, India Today Magazine का survey है और वे कहते हैं कि 68 per cent people are satisfied with the performance of the Narendra Modi Government. यह pandemic के बावजूद है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक मिनट और लूँगा। इतना ही नहीं, एक international global consulting firm है, उसने सर्वे किया। चार दिन पहले Mint में आया है कि

'नमो' की popularity 72 per cent है, Mexico के President की popularity 64 per cent है, Italian PM की popularity 57 per cent है, जापान 47 per cent और Joe Biden केवल 41 परसेंट पर हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अंत में यही कहना चाहता हूँ:

*"लहरों को साहिल की दरकार नहीं होती,
हौसले बुलंद हों तो दीवार नहीं होती,
जलते हुए चिराग ने आँधियों से यह कहा,
उजाला देने वालों की कभी हार नहीं होती।"*

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं निर्मला जी को इस बजट के लिए धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA): The next Speaker is Ms. Dola Sen; you have five minutes.

SHRI SUKHENDU SEKHAR RAY (West Bengal): Sir, the party time is ten minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA): Another speaker from your party has already spoken. Now, you start your speech.

MS. DOLA SEN (West Bengal): Sir, how much time do I have?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA): You just start your speech.

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA: Sir, the board is showing ten minutes.

MS. DOLA SEN: Thank you, Sir, for giving me a chance to speak on the Budget 2022-23. हम तहे-दिल से शुक्रिया अदा करना चाहते हैं कि बहुत दिन बाद, at least तीन-चार सेशन के बाद हम सबने राज्य सभा में प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब को आते हुए, बैठते हुए, बोलते हुए, भाषण देते हुए देखा और सुना। अगर यूपी इलेक्शंस न होते, अगर पंजाब इलेक्शंस न होते, अगर गोवा इलेक्शंस न होते, तो यह संभव नहीं होता। So, again, I am thanking the Central Government and the Treasury Benches from the core of my heart. Sir, now, coming to the first point on Budget; unemployment. In 2014, this Modi ji led BJP Government claimed that it would create two crore jobs per year for 'we the people of India' and the hon. Finance Minister in her Budget Speech, this year, said that the Government would create 60 lakh jobs over the next five years for 'we the people of India'. I want

to ask, Sir, who is telling the truth, by the way. Instead, in reality, what have we seen? Pandemic से पहले हम लोगों ने इंडिपेंडेंस के बाद 45 साल में पहली बार अपनी कंट्री में सबसे ज्यादा unemployment rate देखा। In just four years' time, 2016-2017 to 2020-21, and in spite of Modi's 'Make in India Policy' call and push, the number of people employed in the manufacturing sector reduced by almost half. In India, five million youngsters join the work force, on an average, per year. Very unfortunate, but, it is a fact that this Budget gave no assurance to those youngsters, to the women, to the migrant workers, to the jobless employees even to the MGNREGA workers of our country. Incidentally, the allocation of MGNREGA fund for this year saw a decrease of 25 per cent from the Revised Estimates of 2021-22, and a decrease of 34 per cent from the actual expenditure of 2020-2021. In this regard, an answer by the Minister, in Rajya Sabha, last week, also admitted that even the MGNREGA workers have not been paid Rs. 3,358 crores in wages. सर, इसको क्या बोला जाए? जिनको पूरे वर्ष में केवल 100 दिनों का काम मिलता है, उनके भी इतने wages बाकी रह गये। What a shame, Sir, what a shame! Sir, coming to the second point, which is privatisation of profitable Government concerns. Hon. Prime Minister is celebrating 'Amrit Mahotsav' for the 75 years of our Independence, and what an irony, Sir? Modi's 'Make in India' has become * virtually; rail to BEL, SAIL to BSNL * स्वाधीनता के 'अमृत महोत्सव' के शुभ अवसर पर सरकार सब बेच रही है। Actually the ruling party and their predecessors were not at all involved in the Independence movement. स्वाधीनता संग्राम में कितने लोग शहीद हुए, कितने सारे लोगों की जिन्दगियाँ चली गईं, इससे इन लोगों को कुछ फर्क नहीं पड़ता, क्योंकि only one or two reference we can get from the history of their predecessors' role in pre-Independences era. कोई सेलुलर जेल गया और ब्रिटिश से चार-चार बार माफी माँगकर बाहर आया। किसी और ने यूथ को inspire करने के लिए कहा कि ब्रिटिश आर्मी ज्वाइन की जाए। So, it is obvious that they don't have respect for our Independence, for our independent country, for our nationalism, for our Constitution, for our rights and for our democracy. * Another reason is there too. In fact, very unfortunately this Ruling Party had won 303 seats in the last Lok Sabha election and now in Rajya Sabha too, they are in majority. So, they think and they claim to be the owner of the whole territory, of all the public assets and all the national assets too. So, they started selling these national treasures and assets considering and assuming that all these are their own private property and they can do anything. Sorry, Sir, it is not democracy, by the way. यह लोकतंत्र नहीं है, इसे majority का घमंड कहते हैं। This policy includes privatization or disinvestment in all the profitable Central Government

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

organisations such as our National Carrier, Air India, National Insurer, Life Insurance and General Insurance Corporation, State-owned oil refiners, BPCL, IOCL, traditional Bengal Chemicals, country's lifeline, the Indian Railways, Port Trust, Hindustan Papers Corporation, FCI, CLW, SAIL, BSNL, CPAC, RINL, Pawan Hans, etc., etc., and there is 100 per cent FDI, Foreign Direct Investment for the foreigners in the coal sector and even 74 per cent corporatization in defence sector too. इन लोगों ने nationalized banks को भी बेचने का इरादा कर लिया है। They are selling public assets like roads too on long leases to private companies. महोदय, सबसे दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण बात यह है कि there is no clarity on the actual benefit of these proposals. सर, हमारी एक query है कि जब सब कुछ प्राइवेट हो रहा है, तब सरकार की क्या ज़रूरत है, सरकार को भी प्राइवेट कर दीजिए, यह अच्छा रहेगा। Now, the four-year National Assets Monetization Plan proposes to generate and make Rs.6 lakh crore by selling all the assets and properties of 'we, the people of India'. And what a democratic approach, Sir! The BJP never mentioned anything about this massive economic overhaul in their election manifesto of 2014 and 2019. If they would have done so, and, then, won the election afterwards, we must think that it is people's mandate. तब इन लोगों ने इस NAMP के लिए people's mandate नहीं लिया, उन लोगों से हमें लोकतंत्र की भाषा सुननी पड़ती है। After Independence in Congress regime, we have seen the nationalization of banks, coal, insurance, etc., and, in the BJP regime, specifically, Modi's regime, de-nationalizing them all. हमें यह भी मानना पड़ेगा कि Treasury Benches स्वदेशी भावना से जागरूक हैं। महोदय, हम economically बहुत आगे बढ़ रहे हैं, in all respects, as announced by our hon. Prime Minister. कैसे आगे बढ़ रहे हैं, there are some examples. The Global Hunger Index put India at a dismal 101 out of 116 countries. भूटान भी हमसे आगे है। Sir, 84 households in the country saw a fall in income, 4.6 crore Indians fell into extreme poverty. Inequality and poverty lead to the death of 21,000 people in a day, irrespective of COVID-19. The food subsidy bill has fallen, a 28 per cent drop, which also includes the Public Distribution System. The fertilizer subsidy has been cut. A nearly 25 per cent drop in the Revised Estimates for the Financial Year. Is this how, Sir, the Government aims to achieve its goal of doubling farmers Income? With the sell India policy and amended labour laws, four Labour Codes, workers and employees are also going to the street to become beggars. हमें इन सब चीजों को 'सबका साथ, सबका विकास' मानना पड़ेगा। Lastly, Sir, I will refer to some traditional industry of my State, West Bengal, jute industry. Raw jute is a natural fiber. It is biodegradable; it is eco-friendly and environment friendly. It has enough scope of diversification from carpet to geo-textile, to strengthen the roads and the riverbanks. Obviously, it has enormous scope of export, that is, foreign currency earning. India is an agrarian country. Jute is an agro based industry too. Our country is self-sufficient

in jute in respect to both, agriculture and industry. In our country of 135 crore population, jute industry is labour-intensive too. Out of our West Bengal population of 10.5 crores, jute industry contains 2.5 crore population as a whole, including agriculture and industry.

But, Sir, jute industry is in dire crisis now. In 1987, the Congress regime had announced the Mandatory Packaging Act for the jute industry, so that 100 per cent food grains and sugar will be packed in jute bags for the sake of health of us--we, the people of India--and for the sake of survival of the industry. The industry now wants the Central Government to reduce the raw jute price from Rs.7,000 per quintal to Rs.6,500 per quintal, at least, so that they can buy the raw jute to run the industry. The Government must help the jute growers.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री भुबनेश्वर कालिता) : अब आप वाइंड अप कीजिए।

MS. DOLA SEN: But, in this ongoing season, the jute industry has already suffered a loss of Rs.1,500 crore due to the dilution of 4.81 lakh bales of bag orders from the Food Corporation of India to the Jute Corporation of India in favour of the plastic materials, unfortunately, for the food packaging. Sugar packaging has already been reduced to 20 per cent only from 100 per cent. Only the Central Government can save this industry. But, this Budget is silent regarding the traditional industries' revival.

Let me finish my speech with our hon. Prime Minister's reference. उन्होंने कहा, वे इसी सदन में बोले थे कि देश की जनता कुछ नेताओं से आगे चली गई। हां, यह सच है, यह हम भी मानते हैं...(व्यवधान)...सर, एक सेकेंड। If we consider the world history, we will see that हिटलरी, तुगलकी, तानाशाही, anti-campaign, झूठ, साजिश, defamation, कभी लास्ट वर्ड्स नहीं होते। हर समय लास्ट वर्ड्स जस्टिस, सच, न्याय और लोग होते हैं। We, the people of India will tell the last word, Sir, जैसे बंगाल में लोगों ने इन लोगों को 2021 में सबक सिखाया, वे ममता जी को victory दिलाकर लाये थे, वैसे ही 2024 में देश की जनता इनको भी सबक सिखाएगी।...(व्यवधान)...

DR. KANIMOZHI NVN SOMU (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, thank you for the opportunity given to me. I rise to address this august House for the first time with utmost humility. I would like to express my sincere gratitude and thanks to our beloved DMK President and the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Thiru M.K. Stalin, for giving me an opportunity to become a Member in this august House. With a pride, I wish to say that I belong to the Dravidian stock. I revere the legendary leaders, Thanthai Periyar, Perarignar Anna, Kalaignar M. Karunanidhi, with whom my grandfather, N.V. Natarajan, worked with.

My father, the late NVN Somu, was a Minister of State for Defence in the Union Government, who died in harness on his way to address forward troops of the Indian Army in 1997, near Tawang in Arunachal Pradesh in a helicopter crash. I am indebted to all of them.

Sir, as we enter into the third year of Covid pandemic, we expected the Budget 2022-23 would seek to balance short-term fiscal needs with structural reforms to support medium-term growth. However, nothing has been done in this regard and the road to recovery is very fragile. Every household in the country fails to meet both the ends of their monthly balance sheet. The only sure thing in the last three years is the economic uncertainty. Now, the Omicron variant has also renewed the economic uncertainty. Even without another full-scale lockdown, substantial fiscal support will be required to keep the recovery track month by month. But, our hon. Finance Minister is happy to announce schemes and road map for the next five-six years. There is a saying in Tamil, *"Is it proper to catch the flying one by giving up what is available?"* The Finance Minister's action is akin to this. The Covid pandemic has added 20 crore new poor people into the system and robbed more than 20 crore people their jobs. Tourism and hospitality sector was hard hit and the road to recovery is still very bleak. But, the Finance Minister is happy to announce schemes for the next decades. *"a person who cannot reach the roof to catch a chicken, can climb the sky to reach Vaikundam (Lord Vishnu's abode)!"*

I think, the hon. Finance Minister knows the meaning of this proverb.

Sir, as a medical professional, I would like to emphasise that the Covid-related medical interventions will still remain a top priority for the foreseeable future. The development in medical infrastructure and public awareness by the State Governments has reduced death toll due to Covid-19 pandemic. Unfortunately, the patients with other ailments had to bear the heavy burden in the coming years than the estimated amount from the last year. This year, Rs. 500 crore of funds have been cut off in the pandemic year as Budget for the health.

Unless the Budget allocation for medical care and infrastructure increases to six per cent of country's GDP, the country may not be in a position to serve its 140 crore population. Though we are optimistic that Covid pandemic would end soon, the Government has no clue how to tackle if there is any other virus outbreak in the future. Unless the Government gets the right advice of the medical expertise, whatever planned by the Government is like putting the cart before the horse. Last time there were many deaths due to unavailability of oxygen. The PM CARES Fund

* English translation of the original speech delivered in Tamil.

can set up oxygen plants across the country in all the Government hospitals. It is very important to protect the health of all citizens from the risks associated with any future pandemic. To mitigate these risks, the role of the health insurance sector becomes even more vital, necessitating a collaborative effort to improve health insurance penetration and the development of healthcare facilities across the country. One of the largest contributing factors to these high prices is the current 18 per cent GST rate imposed on health insurance premium. The sector has called for a GST rate cut on health insurance premium and granting infrastructure status to healthcare facilities to boost access to quality healthcare, but the Government is turning a blind eye in this regard. In fact, there is a need for GST exemption for several life saving medicines, equipments and services. As per the industry reports, an estimated 56 crore individuals from lower middle class to upper middle class do not have any health insurance cover and this represents about 40 per cent of India's population. Apart from the lack of awareness about the importance of health insurance, the costs associated with even standard insurance products like *Arogya Sanjeevani* is a deterrent with prices ranging between Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 18,000 per year for a family of two adults and two children with senior-most member's age being 45 years.

Sir, generally speaking, health is a State subject. But we are at present sitting on health time bomb that health care should be accorded top most priority. The budgetary allocation from the Union Government is absolutely inadequate to achieve quality health care for all. Take for example, the success story of Tamil Nadu. The pioneering champion of health care in Tamil Nadu is our mercurial leader, Dr. Kalaingar. Our beloved leader and Chief Minister, M. K. Stalin is following the footsteps of Dr. Kalaingar in providing free and good health care for poor in Tamil Nadu. Tamil Nadu is the first State in the country to provide free health care for all needy patients. In Tamil Nadu, any patient can enter any Government hospital without even a rupee in pocket and still get a good treatment and health care with required medicine, and walk out of the hospital cured, absolutely free. Dr. Kalaingar is a pioneering champion of free health care and health insurance scheme. He had introduced Kalaingar Health Insurance Scheme for all, way ahead before the Union Government could even conceive the thought of it. He was the pioneering champion to introduce free eye care to remove the backlog of cataract patients in the State. It is only after Dr. Kalaingar's Free Eye Camp Scheme in 1972 that the Union Government has able to conceive the idea of National Blindness Control Programme and implemented throughout India.

Sir, today, Tamil Nadu tops in the country in all the medical and health care indices. Be it the doctor-patient ratio, hospital beds-patient ratio or hospital/PHCs

per population, Tamil Nadu has developed way ahead of other States in the country. This is a remarkable achievement of a Dravidian party rule in Tamil Nadu. While there is an urgency to focus on all the three levels of primary, secondary and tertiary health care, it is imperative that the Union Government looks towards improving primary health care. The Budget 2022-23 is as usual, a bundle of blatant lies and imaginary empty promises, but do not reflect the actual accounts of the Government's budgeted expenses and receipts. Instead of setting a stage for the country's actual growth and reform trajectory, the Budget plummets the hopes of the people into deep stinky gorges. Failed promises and false promises are the regular feature of the Budget documents since 2015. There are promises repeated in the Union Budget speeches from 2015-16 onwards. The classic examples are 'Housing for all' by 2022 and 'Double the Farmers income' by 2022. There are many such, like the linking of Peninsular rivers, one crore loan in just 59 minutes for eligible SME start-ups, generation of 175 gigawatt Renewable Energy or Green Energy by 2022. In 2022, all the promises remain a distant dream. The Housing for All by 2022 was announced in 2015 with the aim to construct over two crore houses for Indians belonging to particular economic sections. The Finance Minister has announced Rs. 48,000 crores, being sanctioned for the completion of 80 lakh houses for the eligible beneficiaries under Prime Minister Awas Yojana in rural and urban areas for the year 2022-23. At this rate, it may take another five years to achieve the desired results. And, by that time, the backlog of houses required for urban poor and rural households may go up by another two crore houses. This is only a conservative figure. The real numbers may bring more dark spots in this Housing for All Programme.

Sir, I am immensely proud to also say that Dr. Kalaignar introduced the pioneering scheme of providing pucca houses to slum dwellers way back in 1970s and later distribution of pre-concrete houses to poor people of all sections of the society, namely the Samathuvapuram Village Housing Scheme with 100 houses in each Samathuvapuram.

There are so far 145 Periyar Ninaivu Samathuvapurams in Tamil Nadu. No other leader has even dared enough to think constructing houses for Dalits along with other communities to promote social equality and uphold social justice in the country. Houses have also been allotted to poor transgender and to physically disabled. Had this Samathuvapuram Scheme been replicated throughout India, we could have established a social equality among the people. At least, from now on, I would like to urge the Union Government to take a leaf out of Dr. Kalaignar and his far-sighted social upliftment programmes.

Sir, ever since the Government merged the Railway Budget with the General Budget, its importance has been reduced and the stage is set for privatization of Railways. It took 67 years for rulers, from Jawharlal Nehru to Dr. Manmohan Singh, to develop Railways into one of the world's largest networks and employers. But, hon. Prime Minister will take less time to derail the great Indian Railways.

The commercial sale of Railway routes to private players means dividing the Indian Railways into two — one for rich, elite and affordable and another for the poor, downtrodden, unaffordable people. It will divide all stations into two — one for rich class and another for poor. This will lead to discrimination like in the colonial times. Are we heading towards such discrimination and division? Indian Railways, so far, has been a symbol of Indian unity and social integration. It is the prime duty of the Union Government to maintain the same levels of unity, integration, communal and social harmony in Railways.

Sir, step-motherly treatment to Tamil Nadu by the Union Government Budget stands exposed again. Under fund allocation for new railway lines, it has been granted Rs. 59 crores for 11 projects, out of which 10 projects have been allotted only a token amount of Rs. 1,000 each! Whereas, the Northern Railway gets the highest share among all Zones with Rs. 18,926 crores for 14 projects, along with a token amount of Rs. 15,000 each for 15 other projects.

I now come to Make in India. Sir, “Make in India — Make for World” is the mantra hon. Prime Minister, Shri Narendra Modi, gave in his 2020 Independence Speech. For this vision to be successful, over 6.3 crore MSMEs must be taken on board. I would like to know whether the hon. Finance Minister has taken any serious note of it needs an answer.

Sir, to ease credit and liquidity concerns, the Emergency Credit Line Guarantee Scheme should be expanded further to ensure outreach among smaller enterprises within MSMEs.

Sir, MSMEs need support to improve production and exports to attain Atmanirbhar Bharat or self-reliance in line with Prime Minister's vision.

Sir, Tamil Nadu is India and India is Tamil Nadu. When Tamil Nadu progresses, India too shall progress. Tamil Nadu is a champion State as far as socio-economic development indices is concerned. Sir, whether it is education, employment, income generation, infrastructure development, wealth creation, enterprises, health infrastructure, social justice or communal harmony, Tamil Nadu stand second to none in the country.

Unfortunately, the Centre, sometime, deny and jeopardize the rightful share to Tamil Nadu. Even in 1960s, our great predecessors had said **"North is developing and South is eroding"*. I strongly believe that the same situation is still continuing.

Sir, in spite of facing denials of various kinds, Tamil Nadu remained a pioneering champion State in the country. Thanks to the political renaissance created by our party, DMK, spearheaded by our genius leader, Perarignar Anna, sustained by one and the only Dr. Kalaignar. Now, the baton has been handed over to our beloved Chief Minister, M.K. Stalin. The people of Tamil Nadu, especially poor, downtrodden and oppressed, the religious and linguistic minorities feel that they are very much safe in the hands of Muthuvel Karunanidhi Stalin, a statesman par excellence. Thanks.

SHRI ELAMARAM KAREEM (Kerala): Sir, I would like to say here that this is an anti-people Budget, aiming for all-out privatization. I call this Government a '3A Government'-- the Government of...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA): Mr. Kareem, you have eight minutes because rest of your party time has been exhausted by your other party colleague. So, you have eight minutes. ...*(Interruptions)*... Your other speaker has taken rest of the time. So, you have eight to nine minutes. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI ELAMARAM KAREEM: We can adjust, Sir.

We all know that the Budget has been presented in the backdrop of an economic scenario when majority of the people are facing unimaginable miseries in the form of huge loss of livelihood, loss of earnings, deepening poverty, and intensified hunger in the midst of unprecedented price rise of fuels and essential commodities. Sir, unemployment is so bad that there are job riots in Bihar and UP. Wealth and income inequalities are among the worst in the world. Millions have been pushed into poverty because of the pandemic and the lockdown. The inflation is accelerating even in the midst of massive unemployment. No Budget, in the recent times, has been presented at a time when the economy is going through such a challenging situation. In this scenario, what was needed in the Budget was: A big push towards job creation and an increase in domestic demands. But, this Budget miserably fails in addressing these issues. The Union Budget 2022-23 has been presented in the overall background of desperate and destructive privatization drive.

* English translation of the original speech delivered in Tamil.

Forgetting the need of the common man, the so-called inclusive growth, financial inclusion, mentioned by the hon. Finance Minister in her Speech, displays shameless hypocrisy of the Union Government. The total budgeted Government expenditure for 2022-23 is Rs. 39.45 lakh crores, which is just 4.6 per cent higher than the Revised Estimate for 2021-22. That means, the increase is below the rate of inflation, and, hence, below the growth rate of real GDP of 8 - 8.5 per cent, projected by the Economic Survey. The Budget has proposed a growth in total expenditure by around Rs. 1.75 lakh crores from the revised estimates of 2021-22. But, as percentage of GDP, the total expenditure has come down from 17.8 per cent in 2020-21 to 15.3 per cent in 2022-23 Budget Estimates. This squeeze on expenditure is visible not merely in the Central Government expenditure, but by squeezing the transfer of resources to States, the State Governments are also being forced to do the same. These transfers are to come down from 6.91 per cent of the GDP in the Revised Estimate 2021-22 to 6.25 in 2022-23. The growth of revenue receipts has primarily grown as corporates were able to accumulate profits during the pandemic, reflected through increased corporation tax realization and also garnered through GST and hike in petroleum prices from indirect taxes levied on common people. The revenue expenditure budgeted in 2022-23 of Rs. 3.19 lakh crores, supposed to include the welfare schemes, named after Prime Minister, marks increase by less than 1 per cent, despite a huge increase in GST collection, as claimed by the Finance Minister in her Budget Speech. The allocation on MNREGA is reduced to Rs. 73,000 crores from Rs. 98,000 crores in the previous year; in the face of increased intensity of widespread hunger; food subsidy, under the National Food Security Act, has been slashed down by 30 per cent; fertilizer subsidy has also been drastically cut by 25 per cent; and petroleum subsidy by 11 per cent, in the face of skyrocketing fuel prices. Even allocation for the Mid-Day Meal Scheme, which is for the poor children, now renamed as PM-POSHAN, faced a drastic cut by Rs.1,267 crores.

The Budget did not bother about the miseries being faced by the working people during the pandemic in the form of loss of livelihood and earnings and also widespread informalisation of employment. Despite demands for relief and expansion of social security for all, the Budget remained absolutely in a denial mode for the working people, who actually create wealth for the nation. The Budget does nothing to stimulate the demand for effecting an economic revival and also for providing relief to the working people. The outlays for a whole range of programmes that provide relief to the poor have actually been slashed as compared to the last year. What was required was introducing an urban employment guarantee scheme. On the contrary, it has cut down expenditure on MGNREGA. The MGNREGA is a demand-driven

programme. Funds will be made available if the demand arises for such funds. That is the claim of the Government. But if wages are delayed, enrolment in the employment may get reduced. It is a lifeline project introduced by the UPA Government. Now, you are killing that project through this Budget.

Coming to privatisation, the Budget is presented in the overall background of desperate and destructive privatisation drive embracing the infrastructure, manufacturing and mineral sectors in entirety and facilitating transfer of resources from National Exchequer to private hands. So, the corporates doubled their wealth during the Covid pandemic. The Finance Minister, in the very beginning of her Budget speech, was praising the Government for its successful sale of the national carrier Air India and Neelachal Ispat to the Tatas. The Budget has reiterated the Government's commitment of further transferring of State-owned capital assets to private sectors, both domestic and foreign. In fact, under this regime, the economic policy making is gradually moving towards purely anti-people destructive trend, much to the detriment of the national interests.

Coming to farmers, what was the promise in the Budget of 2020-21? The point 22 of the Budget, 2020-21 said, "Our Government is committed to the goal of doubling the farmers' income by 2022." A commission was appointed by the then Government, namely, the Ashok Dhawale Commission. That Commission gave a 14-Volume Report. It is still sleeping in the shelf of the Government. Now, in this Budget, there is not a single word mentioning about doubling the farmers' income. On the contrary, to take revenge on the farmers, what have you done? Farmers' reliefs have been cut down drastically.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA): Mr. Kareem, please wind up. You have two more speakers.

SHRI ELAMARAM KAREEM: I am concluding, Sir. Farmers' demands for assured procurement at remunerative prices and loan waiver were not even addressed to. Total allocation was Rs. 4,74,750.47 crores in 2021-22, which has now fallen to Rs.3,70,303 crores, which is over a lakh crore reduction. That is a revenge on the farmers who were protesting against the controversial farm laws. The share of rural development in the Budget has also fallen from 5.59 per cent to 5.23 per cent. Allocations for all major schemes for farmers have also seen a Budget cut. The allocation for procurement to the FCI under decentralisation procurement scheme has been reduced by about 28 per cent. The allocation of funds for fertilizer subsidy has been reduced by 25 per cent. Under PM-KISAN, 12.5 crore farmer households are

supposed to be provided Rs.6,000 each, which requires an allocation of Rs.75,000 crores, but only Rs.68,000 crores have been allocated.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA): Thank you. Please conclude now. I am calling the next speaker.

SHRI ELAMARAM KAREEM: Give me one more minute, Sir. Finally, in the post-Covid period, there is a need to provide more assistance to States including Kerala, but the Budget has been inconsiderate and silent on this.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA): We would like to hear you more but there is no time. ...*(Interruptions)*..

SHRI ELAMARAM KAREEM: The Union Budget will not aid in taking forward the development of Kerala. Kerala has raised so many demands.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA): There is paucity of time.

SHRI ELAMARAM KAREEM: Kerala has raised many demands in respect of some important projects, which were not considered, I am sorry to say. So, I cannot support this Budget. Thank you.

श्री संजय सिंह (राष्ट्रीय राजधानी क्षेत्र, दिल्ली) : मान्यवर, आपका धन्यवाद कि आपने मुझे इस बजट पर अपनी बात कहने का मौका दिया। मैं इस बजट पर और इनके डिजिटल इंडिया पर राजीव जी की एक कविता है, वे एक बड़े अच्छे कवि हैं, उन्होंने लिखा है, वह सदन के सामने सुनाना चाहूँगा:-

"खाओ डिजिटल, गाओ डिजिटल,
देश का बैंड बजाओ डिजिटल।
रुपया डिजिटल, बैंक भी डिजिटल
और सेना का टैंक भी डिजिटल,
बच्चे पाएँ डिजिटल शिक्षा
और फिर माँगें डिजिटल भिक्षा।
डिजिटल डॉक्टर, डिजिटल गोली,
डिजिटल ईद और डिजिटल होली।
डिजिटल सड़क पर डिजिटल कार,
डिजिटल संसद और सरकार।

डिजिटल खेत में करो किसानी,
डिजिटल खाद और डिजिटल पानी।
डिजिटल दूध और डिजिटल गाय,
डिजिटल चीनी, डिजिटल चाय।
भर के खाओ डिजिटल रोटी
और फिर कर दो*"

यह इस बजट के बारे में एक कवि की प्रतिक्रिया है।

मान्यवर, जो इस सरकार के दावे हैं, उन पर थोड़ी बात कर लेते हैं। इन्होंने कहा है कि 60 लाख नौकरियाँ देंगे। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ, आपने तो स्वयं स्वीकार कर लिया, पहले तो आप दो-दो करोड़ कह कर लोगों को मूर्ख बनाते रहे और अब आप खुद स्वीकार कर रहे हैं कि दो करोड़ आपके वश की नहीं है, अब आप 60 लाख नौकरियाँ देने की बात कह रहे हैं। आप नौजवानों को नौकरियाँ कैसे दे रहे हैं! 35 हजार रेलवे की भर्ती के लिए एक करोड़ नौजवानों ने फॉर्म भरा और उसके बाद जब उसका परिणाम आता है, तो उसमें घोटाला और गड़बड़ी की जाती है। जब वे नौजवान सड़क पर नौकरी माँगने के लिए निकलते हैं, तो प्रयागराज में उनको लाठियों से पिटवाया जाता है, पटना में उनको लाठियों से पिटवाया जाता है। घर में घुस कर लाठियों से पीट-पीट कर आप नौकरी दे रहे हैं, आँसू गैस के गोले छोड़-छोड़ कर आप नौकरी दे रहे हैं!

मान्यवर, इस बजट में कर्मचारियों की बात कर लीजिए। जब कर्मचारियों की चर्चा होती है, तो पूरे देश के कर्मचारियों की एक ही माँग है - पुरानी पेंशन की बहाली की जाए। 40 दिन कोई सांसद और विधायक रह लेता है, तो जीवन भर उसको पेंशन मिलती है, लेकिन 40 साल कोई कर्मचारी नौकरी करता है और आपने उसकी पेंशन खत्म कर दी! पेंशन तो छोड़िए, कर्मचारियों को टैक्स में राहत की उम्मीद थी, आपने इस बजट में वह भी नहीं दिया।

मान्यवर, इसके साथ-साथ आपने इस बजट में क्या किया है, 2022 तक सबको घर देने की आपकी योजना थी। वह 2022 तक घर देने की योजना भी पूरे तरीके से जमीन पर उतर कर नहीं आई। वह भी फेल साबित हुई। जब आपसे पूछा जाता है कि सरकार की उपलब्धि क्या है, सरकार की आमदनी क्या है, तो आप सीना ठोक कर कहते हैं कि हमने तो आमदनी बढ़ा दी, हमने देश का एयरपोर्ट बेच दिया। फिर आपसे पूछा जाता है कि क्या सरकार की कुछ आमदनी बढ़ी, तो कहते हैं कि हाँ, हाँ, बिल्कुल बढ़ा दी, स्टील अथॉरिटी ऑफ इंडिया लिमिटेड बेच दिया, कोल इंडिया बेच दिया, बीपीसीएल बेच दिया, एलआईसी बेच दिया, बैंक बेच दिया, पोर्ट बेच दिया, सब कुछ बेचने का काम किया। यह आपका Make in India है, यह आपका Digital India है।...(समय की घंटी)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री भुबनेश्वर कालिता) : संजय जी, आप wind up कीजिए।

श्री संजय सिंह : मान्यवर, मैं खत्म कर रहा हूँ।

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

मान्यवर, 'मनरेगा' को लेकर आप अपनी पीठ थपथपाते हैं। 'मनरेगा' की चर्चा बहुत होती है। आपने 'मनरेगा' का बजट खत्म कर दिया, आपने खाद की subsidy कम कर दी। इसका मतलब जो गरीबों को अन्न देने की योजना है, वह योजना भी एकमात्र आपका दिखावा है और मार्च के बाद गरीबों को हिन्दुस्तान में अनाज मिलना बंद हो जाएगा।

अंत में, मैं आपके माध्यम से इस सरकार से एक ही अनुरोध करना चाहूँगा कि आप अपना ध्यान देश की तरक्की पर लगाइए, देश को आगे बढ़ाने पर लगाइए। बेटी बेटी होती है, चाहे वह हिन्दू की हो, मुसलमान की हो, सिख की हो या ईसाई की हो, * आप तय करने वाले कोई नहीं होते कि कौन क्या पहनेगा, कौन क्या खाएगा, कौन कैसे रहेगा, कौन कैसे जिएगा और कौन कैसे मरेगा। यह आप तय नहीं करेंगे। बहुत-बहुत शुक्रिया।

3.00 P.M.

SHRI SYED ZAFAR ISLAM (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, first of all, I would like to thank my Party and my leaders for giving me this opportunity. I would also like to thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak.

Sir, I want to really congratulate the hon. Finance Minister. Under the leadership of the hon. Prime Minister, she has presented a very important Budget. It is an all-encompassing Budget which has taken care of everyone. So, there is something for everyone in this Budget.

सर, इस बजट के बारे में मैं बहुत सारे लोगों को सुन रहा था। यहां opposition bench में जो बहुत पुराने-पुराने मंत्री रह चुके हैं, साथ ही बहुत सारे ऐसे लीडर्स को भी मैंने सुना, जिन्होंने बजट के बारे में काफी टिप्पणियां कीं। मैं आपसे यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि बजट को किसी backdrop पर देखना चाहिए, किसी context में देखना चाहिए, बजट को कभी भी in isolation नहीं देखना चाहिए। जब सरकार बजट प्रेजेंट करती है, तो उसका कोई मकसद होता है और उस मकसद को देश के मकसद से अलग करके नहीं देखना चाहिए। सरकार ने जो बजट पेश किया, इसको isolation में या silo में नहीं देखना चाहिए, बल्कि इस बजट को एक continuity में देखना चाहिए। जो अभी तक पिछले सभी बजट पेश किए गए, उनमें बहुत सारे आत्मनिर्भर पैकेज रहे हैं और 2014 से सरकार एक चरमराती इकोनॉमी को सुधारने की कोशिश कर रही है, उसी नज़रिए से इस बजट को देखना चाहिए। इन पूरे सात सालों में हमने जो बहुत सारे reform measures किए हैं, जो structural reforms किए हैं, policy reform measures किए हैं, साथ ही बहुत सारे decisions लिए हैं, उनके कारण ही आज हमारी एक बहुत strong economy उभर कर आई है, यह हम सबको मालूम है और मेरे ख्याल से opposition bench को भी यह मालूम है कि पिछले दो सालों से और अब यह तीसरा साल चल रहा है, जब हम कोविड से जूझ रहे हैं। मैं आदरणीय प्रधान मंत्री जी को बधाई देता हूँ और देश के जो frontline workers हैं, जो scientists हैं, उन सबको भी मैं बधाई देता हूँ, जिनके कारण आज हम अपने आप को बड़ी अच्छी और सुरक्षित

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

स्थिति में महसूस कर रहे हैं, लेकिन इसके पीछे एक लीडरशिप थी, इसके पीछे एक सोच थी और उसके लिए प्रधान मंत्री जी बधाई के पात्र हैं। इससे हट कर मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब कोविड आया, तो कोविड के परिप्रेक्ष्य में आप देखिए।...**(व्यवधान)**...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA): Shri Zafar Islam, it is beyond 3.00 p.m. now. The House was supposed to adjourn at 3.00 p.m. But we have some pending Business like Special Mentions, etc. It is a very short Business and we would like to finish it. So, if the House agrees, we may extend the House by 15 minutes.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yes, Sir.

SHRI JAIRAM RAMESH: Sir, we may have the Special Mentions. The Member may continue with his speech tomorrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA): He has just started. Let him finish. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please carry on, Mr. Zafar Islam.

SHRI SYED ZAFAR ISLAM: Thank you, Sir. I would finish in time.

So, I was talking about the Covid period. वह दो साल का वक्त था और अब यह तीसरा साल है, हमने जो तकलीफों का दौर देखा है, जिस तरह से पूरी दुनिया की इकोनॉमी चरमराई, जिस तरह से पूरी दुनिया की इकोनॉमी लड़खड़ाई, भारत भी उनमें कोई exception नहीं था। कोविड का भारत की अर्थव्यवस्था पर भी असर पड़ा था, लेकिन हमने reform measures लिए थे। आज जो लोग क्रिटिसाइज़ करते हैं कि हमारी इकोनॉमी अच्छी हालत में नहीं है, उनको मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आज के हालात में हम अपने देश की इकोनॉमी को देखें, तो हमारी इकोनॉमी सबसे ज्यादा तेज़ी से आगे चल रही है। इस बार हमारा GDP growth 9.2 रहा है, जो इस बात को दर्शाता है कि हम एक बुरे दौर से वापस आ गए हैं, अब हम recovery mode में हैं और recover करके हमारी इकोनॉमी तेज़ी से आगे बढ़ रही है। आप देश की इकोनॉमी को, देश की अर्थव्यवस्था को चाहे जिस parameter से भी देखिए, आपको स्वयं लगेगा कि हमारी इकोनॉमी तेज़ी से आगे बढ़ रही है। आप चाहे export ratio देखिए, चाहे tax to GDP ratio देखिए, इस बार का tax to GDP ratio record high level पर रहा है। सर, 2022 Financial year का जो Budget Estimate (BE) था, वह 9.9 per cent था, but eventually Revised Estimate (RE) 10.8 per cent था। That only suggests that economic recovery है, economic activities हैं, और यह 10.8 per cent पिछले दो decades में सबसे ज्यादा है। इस बार tax to GDP ratio सबसे बेस्ट रहा है। अगर इस बार का export ratio देखिए, तो वह भी all time high चल रहा है, per month 32-33 billion dollars चल रहा है। आप देखिए, credit off-take नहीं हो रहा था, क्योंकि पिछली सरकार ने इतने लोन बांट दिए थे, लेकिन उसके बारे में आप कभी

बात नहीं करते हैं कि हमने इतने लोन बांटे थे, आप बात करते हैं, जो लोन कभी वापस नहीं आए। कंपनी जो इतना leverage कर चुकी थी, उसको इन्होंने deleverage किया और अब economic recovery के साथ-साथ यह भी दिख रहा है कि credit off-take भी है। आज हमारा credit off-take 9.9 per cent plus है, जो पिछले महीने 7 percent था। अगर आप ग्लोबल पर्सपेक्टिव से देखें तो आज हमारी सबसे फास्टेस्ट ग्रोइंग इकोनॉमी है और दुनिया के जो निवेशक हैं, वे आज हिन्दुस्तान में इनवेस्ट कर रहे हैं। आज हमारा एफडीआई 62 बिलियन डॉलर एक रिकॉर्ड है, अगर इसे pro-rata बेसिस पर देखें तो यह 64 बिलियन डॉलर आएगा, जो अपने आपमें एक बहुत बड़ा नम्बर है। इसलिए आप इंडिया को एक bright spot देखते हैं। आज ग्लोबल इन्वेस्टर्स क्या सोचते हैं? ग्लोबल इन्वेस्टर्स देखते हैं कि देश की अर्थव्यवस्था एक ऐसी लीडरशिप के हाथ में है, हालांकि कोविड-19 के कारण सबकी अर्थव्यवस्था खराब हुई थी, परन्तु क्या ऐसी लीडरशिप देश में है, जो इस पर अच्छे डिजिजन ले सकती है और देश को वापस पटरी पर खड़ी कर सकती है? आज हमने यह देखा कि उस इकोनॉमी को, जो वापस ऑर्डर पर आई, उसके बाद इसे और तेजी से आगे कैसे ले जाना है, इसकी भी इस बजट में पेशकश की गई है।

महोदय, अभी हमारे अपोजिशन के कुछ सीनियर लीडर्स हेल्थ इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर के बारे में कह रहे थे। हेल्थ इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर में आप देखिये कि आपने 70 सालों में ऐसा कौन सा हेल्थ इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर खड़ा करके रखा था, जिसे हमने खराब कर दिया हो! हेल्थ इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर में Compounded Annual Growth Rate (CAGR) के हिसाब से अगर देखें तो हमने जो एक्सपेंडिचर किया, उस पर 23 परसेन्ट के रेश्यो से हमने खर्च किया है। हम इसलिए कम्पेयर कर रहे हैं कि दुनिया की 20 परसेन्ट आबादी हिन्दुस्तान में रहती है और पर कैपिटा हेल्थ एक्सपेंडिचर 175 डॉलर है। आपको कम्पेयर करना है तो इस बात को भी देखिये कि जिस समय हमने हेल्थ इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर डेवलप किया तब आपने क्या किया? हेल्थ इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर के मामले में आप दुनिया की 200 कंट्रीज़ के बाद आते हैं, जबकि आप जो रेफरेन्स दे रहे हैं, रेफरेन्स प्वाइंट आप अमेरिका और इटली का दे रहे हैं, जो कि नम्बर वन और नम्बर टू हैं। आप फ्रांस और जर्मनी की बात करते हैं, आप उन सब कंट्रीज़ की बात करते हैं, जिन्होंने हेल्थ इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर में लीड ली है। जब आप सो रहे थे तो उन्होंने लीड ली थी। अब यह सरकार लीड ले रही है, इसीलिए खर्चा भी कर रही है। पिछले साल बजट में सबसे लार्ज एलोकेशन हेल्थ सेक्टर में हुआ और उसके बाद हमने देखा कि गांव-गांव तक आज जो राहत पहुंचाने का काम हम कर पा रहे हैं, गांव-गांव में हम जो हेल्थकेयर सेन्टर खोल रहे हैं, उससे किसको फायदा होगा - इससे आम जनता को फायदा होगा। हम जैसे लोग, जो छोटे शहरों से आते हैं, हमने अपना बचपन छोटे शहर में बिताया है, हम वहां देखते थे कि यदि कोई बीमार पड़ता था तो उसे किसी बड़े शहर में ले जाना पड़ता था। आज इस सरकार की कोशिश है कि हर छोटे शहर में एक अस्पताल हो, मेडिकल सेन्टर हो, ऐसे सेन्टर्स हों, जिनमें इलाज हो सके। यह इस सरकार की सोच है, आपकी सोच ऐसी नहीं है, आप क्रिटिसाइज़ कर रहे हैं, लेकिन आप introspect नहीं कर रहे हैं कि आपने क्या किया था।

इसी तरह से मैं बहुत सारी चीजों के बारे में बात करना चाहता हूं। मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूं कि इस बार हमने एजुकेशन सेक्टर में एक लाख करोड़ रुपये का बजटरी एलोकेशन किया है। आप 2014 में देख लीजिए, आपका बजटरी एलोकेशन क्या था? आपका बजटरी एलोकेशन was not even Rs.50,000 crore. हमने अपने सात सालों में इस बजटरी एलोकेशन को डबल कर

दिया, क्योंकि हम चाहते हैं कि गांव-गांव तक एजुकेशन के मामले में आने वाली पीढ़ी को हर तरह का सपोर्ट मिले, ताकि वह पढ़-लिख कर आगे बढ़ पाये।

सर, सबसे महत्वपूर्ण चीज यह है कि इस बजट में क्या है, इस बजट में लोग unemployment की बात कर रहे हैं, unemployment कैसे ठीक होगा? आप हर जगह सीएमआई के डेटा की बात करते हैं। आप सीएमआई का डेटा ले लीजिए - प्री कोविड लेवल और अभी का ले लीजिए, तो आपको समझ में आएगा कि प्री-कोविड लेवल में जो सिचुएशन थी, हम उस पर वापस आ गये और कोविड लेवल में जितना 24 परसेन्ट unemployment रेट था, हम उससे वापस ठीक लेवल पर आ गये हैं। जब तेजी से इकोनॉमी बढ़ रही है और जब इस तरह का CAPEX, केपिटल एक्सपेंडिचर हमने कमिट किया है कि हमारा फोकस क्या है, हम केपिटल एक्सपेंडिचर करेंगे, तो आप कह रहे हैं कि डिमांड कंजम्प्शन बढ़ाइये। डिमांड कंजम्प्शन कैसे बढ़ेगी? सिर्फ पैसा बांट देने से होगा या कि इसका कोई परमानेन्ट सॉल्यूशन निकालना है? परमानेन्ट सॉल्यूशन कैसे निकलता है? जब आप इनवेस्ट करेंगे, जब इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर पर फोकस करेंगे, क्योंकि जीडीपी पर इसका मल्टीप्लायर इफेक्ट है। आप अगर एक रुपया इन्वेस्ट करते हैं, आप अगर इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर पर करते हैं, रेल में करते हैं तो पांच या साढ़े पांच रुपये उसका नेशनल जीडीपी में कंट्रीब्यूशन होता है, चूंकि बैकवर्ड इंटीग्रेशन और फॉरवर्ड इंटीग्रेशन दोनों को लेते हैं। यदि आप रोड पर इन्वेस्ट करते हैं, तो तीन-साढ़े तीन रुपये का होता है।

उसी तरह से हमारी सरकार का फोकस job employment creation होता है। जब एग्ग्रेगेट डिमांड बढ़ेगी, जैसे ही CAPEX पर शुरू होगा, तो ज़ाहिर है कि डिमांड बढ़ेगी, अगर डिमांड बढ़ेगी तो कंजम्प्शन बढ़ेगा, कंजम्प्शन बढ़ेगा, तो प्राइवेट CAPEX शुरू होगा, प्राइवेट CAPEX शुरू होगा तो नौकरियां और बढ़ेंगी, तो यह एक virtuous cycle है। हमारी सरकार ने इसको ध्यान में रखते हुए कहा है कि हम इस तरह की पॉलिसी लेकर आयेंगे, ताकि परमानेन्ट सॉल्यूशन हो सके। हमारी जो पुरानी सरकारें थीं, उनकी सोच होती थी कि थोड़ा सा बांट दो और उन्हें उनकी स्थिति पर छोड़ दो, लेकिन हमारी सरकार और हमारे आदरणीय प्रधान मंत्री जी की सोच है कि हम लोगों को मजबूत बनायेंगे, empower करेंगे, उनका हाथ थामेंगे और ऐसी situation बनायेंगे कि हम criticism से कतरायेंगे नहीं, बल्कि हम उनको मजबूत करेंगे। Opposition criticize कर सकता है, लेकिन उसे मालूम है कि economy पटरी पर चल रही है और तेजी से चल रही है। वे job and employment creation की बात कर रहे हैं, तो job and employment इसलिए create होगा, क्योंकि infrastructure development में सबसे ज्यादा job creation होता है। सबसे ज्यादा aggregate demand की जो बात करते हैं, इससे इन्वेस्टमेंट बढ़ेगा। सर, हमने 7.5 लाख करोड़ रुपए किया है। 7.5 लाख करोड़ रुपए कोई छोटा अमाउंट नहीं है। आप ज़रा 2014 का आंकड़ा देख लीजिए। आपको अपना बजट भी देखना चाहिए, आप introspect कीजिए कि वर्ष 2014 में आपके बजट में 2 लाख करोड़ रुपए Capital Expenditure के लिए दिये गये थे, जबकि अभी 7.5 लाख करोड़ रुपए है। सर, उस वक्त के जीडीपी का साइज़ देखिए - आपने वर्ष 2014 को जीडीपी का जो साइज़ छोड़ा था, वह 112 लाख करोड़ का था और आज हमारे जीडीपी का साइज़ 258 लाख करोड़ है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री भुबनेश्वर कालिता) : समय समाप्त हो रहा है, कृपया wind up कीजिए।

श्री सैयद जफर इस्लाम : सर, 3.15 बजे तक समय है। सर, आपने जो 15 मिनट दिये हैं, मैं उसी समय तक बोलूंगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री भुबनेश्वर कालिता) : इसके बाद और एजेंडा है।

श्री सैयद जफर इस्लाम : सर, मैं केवल 5 मिनट और बोलूंगा। मैं अपनी बात संक्षेप में खत्म कर रहा हूँ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA): Either you have to wind up now, or, you will have to continue your speech tomorrow.

श्री सैयद जफर इस्लाम : सर, मैं दो मिनट में wind up कर रहा हूँ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA): Please wind up within one minute. ...*(Interruptions)*... You address the Chair and listen to the Chair. You have one minute to finish. After one minute, I will go to the next item.

SHRI SYED ZAFAR ISLAM: Sir, I will conclude within two minutes. The focus of this Budget is growth oriented. The Government has very clearly committed large Budgetary allocation for CAPEX. That will ensure that there is enough job creation; there is enough demand; there is enough consumption; and, obviously, there will be a virtuous cycle for private investment. सर, दूसरी बहुत important बात इसमें focus की गई है कि चाहे हमारा rural sector हो, अगर rural development में देखें तो इस बार हमने...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA): Now, I am going to the next item because the House has other Business also. If you have not finished yet, you can continue tomorrow.

SHRI SYED ZAFAR ISLAM: I have not finished yet. I have just started.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA): You can continue tomorrow. Will you? There is the time constraint. Either you finish it now or...

SHRI SYED ZAFAR ISLAM: Sir, just give me two-three minutes, I will finish it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA): There is no time. I cannot make another extension of the House. I will have to take sense of the House. So, please, you speak tomorrow.

SHRI SYED ZAFAR ISLAM: Sir, I am just concluding.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA): You speak tomorrow. Now, we will take up the Special Mentions.

SPECIAL MENTIONS

Need to ensure speedy delivery of purified water under the *Jal Jeevan Mission* and rehabilitation of the people affected by arsenic contamination

PROF. MANOJ KUMAR JHA (Bihar): Sir, arsenic contamination has reached exceedingly dangerous levels in the groundwater of Gangetic plains and studies indicate the occurrence of arsenic in groundwater beyond permissible limits for human consumption. As a matter of concern, some areas of Bihar have reported the highest level in the country. The consumption of arsenic infected water has a long-lasting adverse impact on health of individuals and long exposure can also lead to life-threatening diseases such as cancer. It also causes skin diseases like eczema, fungal infection, anemia and bronchitis among other serious conditions. These health problems also add a financial burden on the people and often their livelihood is disturbed. Additionally, poverty-stricken people are forced to spend their fortune on packaged drinking water in the absence of Government support. Traces of arsenic have also started seeping into foodgrains and food products which causes arsenic to be deposited in the human body causing heavy damage. It has also been found that tube wells have not been marked in red indicating the presence of arsenic in water. It is a matter of life and death for people who live in these areas and depend on this groundwater. As a priority, the Government must take action on it, ensure speedy delivery of purified water under Jal Jeevan Mission and rehabilitate people affected by poisonous contamination. Thank you.

SHRI ABIR RANJAN BISWAS (West Bengal): Sir, I associate myself with the Special Mention made by Prof. Manoj Kumar Jha.