

1.00 P.M.

***GENERAL DISCUSSION**

#The Union Budget, 2024-25

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#The Budget of Union Territory of Jammu & Kashmir, 2024-25

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, we will take up further General Discussion on the Union Budget 2024-25 and the Budget of Union Territory of Jammu and Kashmir 2024-25. कितनी विचित्र बात है! जब किसान की चर्चा हो रही थी, तब व्यवधान था, जब किसान की चर्चा खत्म हुई तो शांति हो गई।

On 25th July, 2024, Ms. Dola Sen had concluded her speech while participating in the Discussion. I now call upon the Members whose names have been received for participation in the Discussion. The next speaker is Shri S. Niranjan Reddy. Mr. Reddy, you have 20 minutes, good enough to make a real address on the Budget.

SHRI S NIRANJAN REDDY: Thank you so much, Chairman, Sir.

श्री सभापति: माननीय सदस्यगण, मेरा आपसे अनुरोध रहेगा कि चर्चा इतनी सार्थक तभी होगी जब आप नियम का पालन करेंगे। Am I right, Shri Manoj Jha? Individually, we all are right, with a few exceptions. I urge the hon. Members, if a proposal comes, I will consider important issues for Half-an-Hour Discussion, and I am sure our hearts would go for the farmers not by way of disturbance, not by way of disruption, but by way of constructive suggestions. Today, man of the day is Shri M. Shanmugam. In very brief time, he raised such an important issue. I salute you, Sir. If we get 20 such suggestions for farmers, the Government will act in togetherness with different Ministries and justice will be done. Now, Mr. S. Niranjan Reddy.

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

* Further discussion continued from 25.07.2024

Discussed together.

SHRI S NIRANJAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Thank you so much, Sir. With your permission, I commence my address on the Union Budget. I must say that as I rise to speak, I have a concern. ...(*Interruptions*)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI S NIRANJAN REDDY: Sir, I am privileged that while I have the concern...(*Interruptions*)...

श्री उपसभापति: माननीय मंत्री जी, कृपया आपस में बात न करें। ...(*व्यवधान*)... माननीय निरंजन रेड्डी जी, आप बोलें।

SHRI S NIRANJAN REDDY: As I rise to speak, I must say that I have a concern. While I have a concern, I must also admit that I am privileged that I have the opportunity to share the concern with this august House. The concern is that the Indian economy is in a quaint place. I am using my expressions carefully when I say 'quaint place' because I find that on the broad parameters, everything looks good. The macro economic factors are trending well. The fiscal glide path is back on track.

Regarding the Budget, I compliment and commend the Finance Ministry and the hon. Finance Minister that they have not taken a short term populist view. They have taken a medium term or a long term view. The growth rate looks well poised, making India one of the highest growing large economies in the world. These are all the broad parameters where India seems to be doing well. But, Sir, on a closer look, there are some concerns. Now, concern number one is that private investment has been flailing. Sir, we have been witnessing economic growth without a commensurate job growth. My third concern is about rising inequalities and a K-shaped economic recovery that India is seeing post-Covid. It is not entirely Government's fault. While I will speak about Government's measures later, we need to be mindful that when we are looking at these concerns, there are greater challenges that lie ahead. Amongst the biggest challenges that India faces is that India is blessed with a demographic dividend but it has a short window. By 2035, India will peak its demographic dividend, which means, the maximum number of young people would be available for useful deployment for the national resources by 2035. We are barely eleven years away when India will peak its demographic dividend. India needs to get its act in order before 2035.

There are going to be technological disruptions like Artificial Intelligence and other emerging technologies. There are going to be climatic disruptions which India needs to factor in. Other global risks have been portended and carefully warned by the Economic Survey, and, it includes supply chain, ongoing wars, reducing globalisation and increasing internalities. The issue is that in relation to the challenges, can the Government be blamed solely? Respectfully, I do not think so. There have been a few missteps like demonetization, haphazard GST roll out. Certain corrective steps were taken later. Well, the Government did not have the humility or grace to admit it, I would still commend the Government for, at least, taking the corrective steps on these issues later. Sir, on the question whether there is a governance failure, I would say, 'No'. The Government has done rather splendidly in the Covid crisis and during the immediate aftermath.

Now, I come back to my concern of job creation. It is now recognized that job creation is majorly linked to private investment that needs to happen. This brings us to the second concern, which is, private investment. Why are we not enough having private investments? Why is India still bankrolling on the Government capital expenditure that has been commendable? We also need to be mindful of anticipatory challenges and disruptions that are likely to take place.

Now, I would like to start with what seems to be a major problem area, private investment. I want to speak candidly. It may not be palatable to one or the other section. What is it that is not bringing private investment though the economy is doing well? Hon. Member, Shri P. Chidambaram said, when growth happens, it is not seen only in numbers. One has a sense of seeing it and feeling it on ground. If we have to be honest and candid, why is the private investment not coming at the speed which we want? It is because there is prevailing sense of fear amongst the business people. This sense of fear is on account of the GST enforcements. I am not talking about the political ED actions, I am talking about the economic ED actions. Sir, I am a practicing lawyer and I have seen cases where people who have paid close to 80 to 100 crores of GST returns were summoned and they were physically beaten on the allegation that they have not paid two or three crores of GST. I will be able to authenticate these facts because there is an order of the Andhra Pradesh High Court. There is also an order of Delhi High Court recognizing the fact that GST officials have manhandled the assessee.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Reddy ji, you will have to authenticate it.

SHRI S NIRANJAN REDDY: Sir, I would authenticate it. I have already volunteered myself because I am making an allegation. Sir, what I am saying is that the GST officials and ED officials need to be careful and mindful when they are dealing with the engine drivers of Indian growth. They are not here for the purpose of committing a crime. They want to do business. Yes, laws need to be enforced. I would be the first person to admit that the economy needed to be formalised. In the last ten years, the Government has done a fantastic job of formalizing the economy. There was a need to bring the economy under control because it was extremely unwieldy. They have done a very good job in bringing it under control. Sir, the point I am making is, bringing something under control is different from controlling it thereafter. If the economy is going to be controlled, and if the members of the economy feel that the entire economy is controlled in this way, it stops the unleashing of the animal spirit, as we call it in the entrepreneurship language. If India needs private investments to come, we need to let this animal spirit unleashed. India is one of the most entrepreneurial, ingenuous set of people. Hon. Member, Mr. Kapil Sibal, while speaking yesterday mentioned about granting freedom. I am seconding that opinion in a different aspect relating to private investments. We need to create an enabling atmosphere where people will be able to come and invest. I want to anecdotally refer to a particular instance which is something that I know personally. If some persons wants to invest ten crore rupees in a small town for setting up a particular business establishment, he has to go through several processes. He needs to be helped through those several processes. If he feels that investing ten crore rupees is going to buy him a lot of trouble at the hands of the enforcement agencies or tax authorities, then the next person who sees this person undergo this trouble would think he is better off investing the money in land or in buying something which is not productive, doesn't add to the GDP, or buying shares. So, we have this strange situation where the stock market is booming but investments are not being made by the private sector. I would, therefore, say that it is very important that we remove this sense of fear from the businessman's mind. I want to give the example of a policeman. We were told very early, when we were young, that when we see a policeman on the Indian road, we try to move away because we are a little worried. In England, when someone sees a policeman, he walks towards the policeman because he knows that he will get help from the policeman. Our GST agencies, our ED agencies, our tax and enforcement agencies, need to be helpful agencies in relation to business so that someone should feel comfortable approaching them for the purpose of seeking help. They should enforce law, but while they are enforcing law, they should be using some

kind gloves; they should not be using an iron fist. Sir, as I said, I think this Government has done a splendid job in formalising the economy. It has played the strict father for a sufficient length of time. Maybe, the time has come that this Government now needs to start playing a kind mother. Fortunately, we have the Finance Minister, whom the Leader of the Opposition called *mataji*. I would respectfully urge the hon. Finance Minister to ensure that this industry which needs to come and make private investment, may need to be persuaded, it may need a little bit of careful handholding by the Government.

Sir, the next issue is about job creation. I have seen the current scheme that is proposed. I have done a quick back-of-the-envelope calculation. What I find is, if you have to give apprenticeship to one crore people in 500 companies over a period of five years, it roughly works out to 4,000 people being granted this apprenticeship in each of the company every year. It may be your tall task. Five thousand rupees may be a little less. The suggestion that I have for the hon. Finance Minister is, could they scale back a little? Instead of one crore, can they consider having a reasonable number of twenty or thirty lakh to start with for the first four-five years? The apprenticeship amount needs to be something like Rs. 15,000 or Rs. 20,000. The pressure on the companies will be lesser. They may be able to take it. Sir, I must also compliment the Finance Secretary, who immediately clarified that this is not going to be an imposition on the industry. This has set certain concerns at rest. The Government is starting from a good position. We need imaginative and innovative solutions for the purpose of ensuring that we do this job creation. While the Government's intent is something that I salute, I have slight reservations with respect to the scheme that has been spelt out in the Budget. I am not in a position to advise or guide the Finance Ministry. We have a very capable Finance Minister who has been presenting Budget for seven years. I would think this is possibly one of her best Budgets. I would request the hon. Finance Minister to look into this aspect a little more closely. The next issue is a matter of concern for me. I am sharing it with this House. How do we tackle inequality? The Government here may have to tread a very careful path. I don't find myself completely agreeing with the Members on the right when they say that we need to have a more socialistic approach. I am trying to get a better expression. While we need to have welfare, we cannot do it at the cost of development. India is in a development phase. I think the Government is doing the job of trying to balance development while providing welfare. But one area where there is still some lacuna and the Government may need to look at it a little more seriously is this rising inequality. This needs to be addressed. I ask myself this question. Do I have a silver

bullet to suggest? Sir, I don't have that. There is no easy solution to this. I think, sadly, I have not heard anything from the Treasury Benches as to how they would want to address this inequality on an urgent basis. I must also say that I have not heard anything from the right side of the Benches. While there has been criticism about rising inequality, there needs to be definite, concrete suggestions which may appeal to the Government for implementation. I think while none of us have a silver bullet or an immediate solution, this is a matter of concern which we may need to discuss.

Sir, this is the last of my concerns. The previous point dovetails into this. The last of my concerns is this. When issues like this arise and when we are in this very strange place where all of us are concerned, including the Government and the Opposition, about certain aspects, I don't think there will be a debate on rising inequality. I don't think there will be a debate that this inequality needs to be addressed. When there is consensus all round on the necessity of reducing this inequality, I think we must not lose ourselves to politics. I see triumphalism on one side because उधर 300 पार नहीं हुआ, 400 पार नहीं हुआ। Triumphalism is evident on one side. Then I see denialism on the other side. They think about high growth rate that we are having six per cent or seven per cent and everything is hunky-dory with the economy. If we have this kind of an approach, it would be denialism. I castigate the triumphalism. I castigate the denialism. I would respectfully say that we need to be realistic in understanding these concerns. Maybe all of us need to come together to keep politics aside and identify the major core issues which are a problem not because of the Indian economy itself. These are all the things that we are having on account of the global order. We are part of the global order. We are part of globalization attempt that has been going on in the world. While I understand that it is not entirely to be laid at the doorstep of either this Government or the Government that preceded it, the crisis is there. We need to understand it. We need to accept it. And we need to move forward.

Sir, since I have a few more minutes, I just wanted to give two or three constructive suggestions from my side. First topic is very close to my heart. This is about court infrastructure. I am happy and I would commend the Finance Minister that the Budget for court infrastructure has been increased by Rs.900 crore from the previous year's Budget. This is almost a one-third increase. I am grateful to the Government for looking at this seriously. But I must also remind the Government that we are starting from a low base. When it comes to Indian court infrastructure, amongst the developed countries, we have the weakest infrastructure. A lot needs to

be done. If India has to be a *Viksit Bharat*, we will need a *Viksit* judiciary's infrastructure. I would implore the hon. Finance Minister, after commending her for giving a one-third raise in one year, that please keep this trend going because the judiciary needs the support of the Government in ensuring that we provide this first-class infrastructure. We have one of the best judicial software and judicial personalities. But we need the infrastructure that would go further.

Sir, I also wanted to commend the Government because, for the first time, I am seeing a Legal Aid Defence Counsel System which is being allotted Rs.200 crore. For those who may not be well initiated into this, this means that when there are poor people, who are not represented, the Government is now saying that it will provide them legal aid. Earlier, we always had this legal aid statute and authorities, but we did not have the money. This Government has set aside Rs.200 crore for the purpose of providing Legal Aid Defence Counsel System. It means a poor man can engage a good lawyer, who will be paid a reasonable fee, and he will come and defend the poor people. Again, while I commend the hon. Finance Minister, I would ask this effort to be an ongoing and continuous effort. One concern is that e-courts programme, which has had a decent allocation of Rs.1,500 crore this year, at this juncture, does not include tribunals. There is increasing tribunalisation that is happening. I would request the hon. Finance Minister to consider that a separate grant be made for e-tribunals like it is done for e-courts.

The next topic again of importance to me is the large-scale importance placed by the Budget on urban development. This is something that is very important. The Budget Speech made by the hon. Finance Minister had some very pleasing words. They are music to my ears to hear that the hon. Finance Minister recognize that cities are growth hubs, that there should be an economic and transit planning, that peri-urban areas need to be developed through planning schemes, that brownfield development of existing cities need to happen, and that transit-oriented development for 14 large cities is planned. While this is done, I find one major problem when I see urban development. It is that urban planning is extremely weak. I have raised a few questions in this House with regard to urban planning and I was rightfully reminded that it is a State subject. The Centre has a slightly limited role when it comes to urban planning. But, the Centre has come up with some schemes where they are giving loans to State Governments today on a 50-year basis without interest and they are linking it to certain reforms. One of the suggestions that I have for the hon. Finance Minister is this. Since nearly 40-50 per cent of Indian population will be living in cities, please link some of these loans to urban planning modules or certain programmes

that the Central Government may indicate because then it would mean that the States would be forced to do this under urban development plans which will mean that Indian cities will become better.

The third area that I wanted to give a suggestion on is emerging tech and skilling. At present, there is a dire shortage of adequate skilled personalities in AI and emerging technology. AICTE, as an educational institution, is looking at this but India needs to plan. As of last year, NASSCOM report says that there is shortage of two lakh personnel who are required in this high skilled machine learning and artificial intelligence. AI is going to be disruptive. We are going to lose jobs. But we have a brilliant opportunity. In the Stanford University's AI Index Report, India ranked number one having this skill penetration of artificial intelligence. We were higher than the USA or any other country. This is because of the software skills that Indians have been trained over a period of time. There needs to be a renewed focus on skilling in respect of these new emerging areas. These new emerging areas will displace some old jobs but if we are able to skill our young people on the new areas, they will compensate for the lost jobs and the skilling needs to be done alternatively for people who are coming out of these lost jobs.

Sir, the last point I want to make is about land record digitization, the Income Tax Act revamp, which is proposed in six months, the taxonomy for climate change and the Bharat nuclear reactors. Madam, each of these is salutary. I would fully commend the hon. Finance Minister to please keep her continuous focus on each of these. Each of these is going to help the Indian economy.

Lastly, Sir, when I have only 30 seconds left, I would talk about AP Reorganisation Act. Any assurance made on the floor of the Parliament comes under the Committee on Assurance. You are fully aware of this. This assurance was made for providing certain benefits to the State of Andhra Pradesh by the then Prime Minister in the Council of States. I will request 15 seconds more because I have heard a lot of my friends complain about Andhra Pradesh being singled out for certain special benefits. My colleague and my Party leader, Mr. V. Vijayasai Reddy, made a different point. I am only saying one thing. The point I am making is that these assurances need to be complied with. If the first step has been taken, though it is a half measure or a no measure, I want the Government to do more for ensuring that they keep up with their promise of AP Reorganisation Act assurances given. None of the other States can have a grouse and none of them actually did, Sir. I am grateful to all of them. (*Time-bell rings.*) Because the Assurance was given in the Council of States by the hon. Prime Minister in the presence of representatives of every State, all

the States were witness to an assurance made. If something made to the State of Andhra Pradesh is not complied with today, it can happen to the others tomorrow. I am grateful to everybody because everybody said: "We have no grouse." Thank you so much for the opportunity, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Thank you, Niranjan Reddyji. Shri Sandosh Kumar P, you have ten minutes.

SHRI SANDOSH KUMAR P (Kerala): Thank you, Mr. Deputy Chairman. This Union Budget, presented by the hon. Finance Minister, seventh in a row, is the worst of its kind during these two-three decades. A Union Budget must be something which strengthens and which cements the relationship between the Union and the States. Unfortunately, so to say, this Budget is a burden for millions of Indians living in different parts of our country. For some of us, who live in the South, especially, Kerala and Tamil Nadu, it is something humiliating. I am constrained to say that it is a kind of surgical attack on the aspirations and dreams of the people. ...(*Interruptions*)... Sir, I have a good number of reasons to oppose this anti-people, anti-federal Union Budget. Being a Member of a political party, Communist Party of India, which had immensely contributed to the freedom movement and which had significantly contributed to strengthen our parliamentary democracy system through parliamentarians like Indrajit Gupta who was fondly called the father of Parliament, I take this opportunity to warn the Government that there is a sense of isolation. It is being created among the people of South India. Political parties cannot control everyone. There are many other factors also. It does not mean that we political people are controlling everybody. So, the Government has to take into account this fact and this should not be continued. I demand that the style, the preparation of the Union Budget must be revamped, reshaped and restructured. Things cannot move in this way. The States should get their due share. The aspirations and dreams of our people should not be left to the mercy of leaders who are insular and myopic. So, the entire process must be restructured. The functioning of the Finance Commission, to that extent, only I can appeal. It is not only our problem. All political parties, leaders, academicians should sit together and find out a way forward: How to make Union Budget more inclusive and more comprehensive? Take for example, the State of Kerala. If you go through the *Niti Aayog* details, it ranks first in the nation in terms of sustainable development targets. There is a very good 'care economy' system going on. We are number one in many fields. We had submitted a project of Rs.24,000

crores. Rs.24,000 crores is nothing, it is peanuts. But, in turn, what we got back? Not even 10 per cent of it! Many projects were given. 22 AIIMS are there in the country everywhere. There is not even a single one in Kerala. So, we demand that we need one AIIMS. Kerala has a tremendous healthcare system. What is illogical in demanding an AIIMS? It was not allowed. I do not want to make all those demands. Sabari rail line and the Kuttanad Project is another one. Many projects and issues are there. But, these were not at all considered. So, when a State contributes one rupee to the national exchequer, when the Union Government is taking one rupee from our side, at least, half of it should come back. I am not saying that the entire money should come back to Kerala. But, at least, half of it should come back to Kerala in different forms of activities. That is not happening. So, I demand because it is already done by the Government, we have prepared a document with the details, everything was submitted in time. But, again, I would like to use insular, FM and others did not accept it. So, I demand that the Rs. 24,000 crores of rupees of projects must be implemented and I hope that the Union Finance Minister will reply to this in the coming days. Secondly, Sir, is the question of *Kisan*. I strongly demand a special *Kisan* budget for the country. This is *Amrit Kaal* and we are talking about the *Kisan*. Sir, 54 per cent of the total population is *Kisan* and they contribute around 46 percentage of employment but what is the fate of our *Kisan*? I don't want to go into the details of the *Kisan* movement and all those things but kindly look at the Budget allocation during the last five years. This time, there is a Budget of Rs. 48.25 lakh crores and the Budget allocation to the agricultural sector is 3.15 percentage only. While comparing with 2019, it was 5.44 per cent; in 2021, it was 5.08 per cent; in 2021-2022, it was 4.26 per cent; in 2022-2023, it was 3.8 per cent and last year, it was 3.2 per cent. Now, it shows that it has come down again. So, this is the approach of our Government towards *Kisans*. How can we move forward? The Reserve Bank of India transferred around Rs. 2,10,874 crores of rupees to the national exchequer. What about the comprehensive loan waiver scheme for the *Kisans*? Again, what about the MSP? MSP is a genuine but long-pending demand. From Kerala also, we demanded the inclusion of paddy, pepper and rubber into this list.

Sir, the *Bharat Ratna* was awarded to Dr. M.S. Swaminathan. If we can introduce this MSP, that is, Minimum Support Price, the cost of production plus 50 percentage profit, this is the concept, then, that will be a fitting tribute to Dr. M.S. Swaminathan rather than *Bharat Ratna*. There are lots of other issues but due to paucity of time, I don't want to go into the details of other issues. Thirdly, there is an absence of data in our country. It seems that N.D.A. means No Data Alliance. On

what basis, can they prepare these documents? What is the basis of all these things? The Prime Minister is making big, big claims that twenty-five crores of people were lifted from poverty and eighty-one crores of people are getting ration. How can they say that? There is absolutely data darkness and data poverty. The comprehensive census was done thirteen years ago. On what basis, are you talking all these things? Our demand is of a comprehensive census with a caste census as well. The Women's Reservation Bill was, actually, passed in Parliament. To make it effective, we need delimitation and to make delimitation practical, we need to have census. So, these are all interlinked; census, delimitation and Women's Reservation Bill. By simply saying that we are for empowerment and all those things, you cannot move forward. I take this opportunity to demand that census should be done. I hope that the Union Finance Minister will reply to it, even though it is not under her control, but will it happen? Will there be an effective implementation of the Women's Reservation law? Again, Sir, there are two disappointing realities in our country. Number one is unemployment and number two is inflation. मुझे पता नहीं ये बीजेपी के लोग कौन सी दुनिया में रहते हैं। Inflation is a matter of concern. Even the Economic Survey stated that there is 9.1 per cent of food inflation. Inflation is everywhere. One kilo of dal is for more than Rs.160 even in the State of Gujarat. Everywhere it is the same. If the Economic Survey is not taking these two factors into consideration, how can we move forward?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI SANDOSH KUMAR P: I take this opportunity to remind some more things. I would request you to allow me.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude now. Time is already over.

SHRI SANDOSH KUMAR P: Sir, finally, the plight of our unorganized workers. I take this opportunity to demand ESI coverage for the unorganized workers. All these points should be taken into account seriously. Power will come and go. So don't think that these people can control the country always. This will keep changing. Finally, on railways, if I am not saying anything about railway, it will be an injustice from our side.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: But your time is already over.

SHRI SANDOSH KUMAR P: Sir, the railway has become, in a way, disastrous. Railway accidents are continuously happening. Then, in Kashmir also, fifty-five people died during these days.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will now move to the next speaker.

SHRI SANDOSH KUMAR P: Fifty-five persons died in the terrorist attacks during these days. Thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Thank you, Sandoshji. Now Shri A.D. Singh. You have six minutes.

SHRI A.D. SINGH (Bihar): Sir, may I speak for a little more? I have already spoken to Mr. Jha that he will speak less.

श्री उपसभापति: आपके पास 6 मिनट हैं। अगर आप वहाँ समय चेंज करा दें, तो ठीक रहेगा।

श्री ए.डी. सिंह: मैंने मनोज कुमार झा जी को बोल दिया है।

श्री उपसभापति: नहीं, उससे नहीं होगा। यहाँ लिख कर inform करना पड़ता है। प्लीज़।

श्री ए.डी. सिंह: सर,

*"खत के छोटे से तराशे में नहीं आएँगे,
गम ज्यादा हैं, लिफ़ाफ़े में नहीं आएँगे,
मुख्तसर वक़्त में ये बात नहीं हो सकती,
दर्द इतने हैं खुलासे में नहीं आएँगे।"*

This is a highly lackluster Budget with retaliation and no innovations like the past Budget. There is not enough thrust on education, health, employment, private investment, poverty, inflation, everything. The Government is obsessed with creation of big infrastructure projects like highways, airports, bridges, etc. What we need today is more money to be spent in social infrastructure like health, education and increasing nutrition. From 2015-16 to 2023, there is a steady decrease in the allocation of social infrastructure, health, education, nutrition. Earlier, in 2016, it was 23 per cent, but now it has come down to 18 per cent. There is no serious investment in public sector such as healthcare, schools and teachers. The AAP Government which

did work in social infrastructure like education and health were rewarded by three of them going to jail in the past. Because of lack of employment, skill development should focus more on training people for nursing and physiotherapy, which has a great demand in both eastern and western world, and as we see that a lot of Indians are working in the middle east and minting money to India. This will also ease the financial position of the unemployed who can have the opportunity to go abroad and work in case job is not available in India. The next important factor which I see is that only lip service is being given to agriculture sector. Unless we make our agriculture sector very vibrant, then only the rural demands can increase and the position of farmers can improve. Today, only pockets of agriculture are in good shape. Majority is far behind. And, I can assure the House, through you, that the next agriculture green revolution will take place in the Indo-Gangetic Plain. In the Northern part of India, we still have to encourage people from Punjab, Haryana for crop diversification, which I have already said earlier in my last speech. In ICRIER, economists like Ashok Gulati have suggested a transfer of 35,000 hectares to farmers who shift from paddy to pulses and other crop millets. It has been proposed that cost of 35,000 hectares would be split half between Centre and the State, which Haryana has already done. Now, so far as fertilizer is concerned, the Government's thinking looks really muddled. The hon. PM had advocated for reducing chemical fertilizer used, especially urea, which had a very low use efficiency, pollutes groundwater and vulnerable to pollute air. Neem-coated urea was made compulsory and big bag size was reduced from 50 to 45. What purpose has it served? Did this step bring down use of urea, which was the directive of the hon. Prime Minister? There are always references to organic farming and natural farming. Has the pros and cons of this policy shift been analyzed fully? My submission to the Government, through hon. Chair, is that keeping politics apart, let us give clear guidance to the farmers. And, I would request that ICAR should properly conduct a soil health study, make a soil health card and the Government should encourage different use of fertilizers region-based because I am sure the soil of Kerala will, definitely, be different from soil of Bihar or say, West Bengal or UP. So, indiscreet use of various kinds of fertilizers will benefit no farmers. And also in my last Budget speech, I had also said, people are talking that a lot of vegetables and fruits get destroyed. Almost 40 per cent vegetable fruits and almost 10 per cent of agriculture produce gets destroyed. Unless we have a vibrant cold chain all over the India, through the cooperative sector, only then we can increase the earning of the farmers. In this way, we can do something for the farmers that the perishable fruits do not get destroyed. Now, I am coming to Special Package to

Bihar, if I recollect, when Andhra was separated, under the 13th Schedule, there was a 12 Point Programme as to how to help them. No such things happened in Bihar. And, I think that the Special Package for Bihar is a misnomer. ...(*Time-bell rings*)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your time is over.

SHRI A.D. SINGH: Sir, I will take two minutes more.

श्री उपसभापति : आपकी पार्टी से कम हो जाएँगे।

श्री ए.डी. सिंह : कोई बात नहीं, कम कर दीजिए। मैंने मनोज जी को बोल दिया है।

The Special Package also is a misnomer because I don't find that Bihar is in a good state to spend the money also. Bihar has got problems in respect of spending the located amount. In financial year 2023, as much as Rs.51,722 crores of the revenue expenditure, 22 per cent of the Revenue Budget and Rs. 14,786 crores of Capital Budget remain unspent and had to be surrendered. This is the state of affairs every year. I do not know how. And, one very important thing I want to talk about the income tax. Hardly 8 to 9 crore people are in the list of income tax payee, out of which more than 4.5 crores people just pay no income tax, they just file the return. And, then there are slabs. During the first term of the hon. Prime Minister, when hon. late Shri Arun Jaitley was the Finance Minister, a serious discussion had taken place to bring the total income tax slab for everybody at 18 per cent. But, probably the Finance Secretary wanted that, if I recollect, but then Revenue Secretary did not allow that. So, I will urge the Government that let the income tax lab become 18 per cent so that more money can be mopped up and the base will be widened tremendously. Sir, regarding private investment, private investment is shying away because of the risk involved of ED and CBI. ...(*Time Bell rings*)...

श्री उपसभापति: आपके ऑलरेडी दो मिनट अधिक हो चुके हैं। अब उनके लिए मात्र 2 मिनट 55 सेकंड या 2 मिनट 53 सेकंड बचे होंगे।

श्री ए.डी. सिंह: सर, हमारा 15 मिनट का समय बचा हुआ था।

श्री उपसभापति: यह आपके सामने ऊपर है।

SHRI A.D. SINGH: Ok right; thank you so much, Sir.

श्री उपसभापति: माननीय श्री गुलाम अली जी। आपके बीस मिनट हैं।

श्री गुलाम अली (नामनिर्देशित): डिप्टी चेयरमैन सर, आपने मुझे 2024-25 के यूनियन बजट और जम्मू-कश्मीर के बजट पर बोलने का मौका दिया, इसके लिए मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ। मैं सबसे पहले देश को यह बात जरूर बताना चाहूँगा कि 1947 के बाद एक शख्स, जिसने भारत की तहजीब, भारत की संस्कृति में as son of the soil जन्म लिया और भारत के लोगों ने उनको तीसरी बार देश की सेवा करने का मौका दिया है। देश के लोग माननीय नरेन्द्र मोदी जी को तीसरी बार देश का वजीर-ए-आज़म बनने के लिए मुबारकबाद देते हैं। देश के लोगों ने उनको इसलिए mandate दिया कि हम दुनिया की एक बड़ी मईशत बने।

डिप्टी चेयरमैन सर, जब पिछली सरकारें थी, जो दस साल तक रहीं, तब हम 11वें नंबर पर थे और 11वें नंबर पर ही रहे, लेकिन जैसे ही देश के वजीर-ए-आज़म नरेन्द्र मोदी जी ने 2014 में देश की कमान संभाली, तो उन्होंने देश को 11वें नंबर से 5वें नंबर की मईशत बनाया। मैं देश के 140 करोड़ लोगों का मशकूर हूँ, जिन्होंने वोट दिया, उनका मशकूर हूँ और जो सोच बना रहे हैं कि भारत एक विकसित देश बने, दुनिया में एक उभरती ताकत बने, उनका भी मशकूर हूँ। मैं नरेन्द्र मोदी जी को दिल की गहराइयों से मुबारकबाद देता हूँ और उनकी तंदुरुस्ती के लिए भी दुआ करता हूँ। आज भारत के नागरिक को सम्मान मिलता है, तो इससे हमें खुशी होती है। जो देश हमें आँखें दिखाते थे, आज वे ही देश हमारे देश के वजीर-ए-आज़म नरेन्द्र मोदी जी को अपने highest Civilian Award से नवाजते हैं। सऊदी अरब, अफगानिस्तान, फिलिस्तीन, मालदीव, यूएई, बहरीन, यूएसए, फिजी, पापुआ न्यू गिनी, इजिप्ट, फ्रांस से लेकर रूस तक वजीर-ए-आज़म नरेन्द्र मोदी जी को अपने highest civilian और दूसरे एज़ाज़ों से नवाजते हैं। यह देश के हर नागरिक के लिए बाइस-ए-फख्र है।

डिप्टी चेयरमैन सर, यहीं पर बात खत्म नहीं होती, बल्कि यूनाइटेड नेशन्स देश के वजीर-ए-आज़म को "Champions of the Earth" अवार्ड से नवाजती है। देश के वजीर-ए-आज़म नरेन्द्र मोदी Seoul Peace Prize से नवाजे गये। देश में 'स्वच्छ भारत मिशन' की शुरुआत हुई और इसके तहत शौचालय बनाने की शुरुआत हुई। जब देश के वजीर-ए-आज़म ने खुद झाड़ू पकड़ कर जेनरेशन को यह मैसेज दिया कि यह एक खास कम्युनिटी का काम नहीं है, बल्कि हम सबको स्वच्छता और देश की सफाई का ख्याल रखना है। आज उनको Global Goalkeeper Award से नवाजा गया तथा और बहुत सारे एज़ाज़ हैं। डिप्टी चेयरमैन सर, लोग हमें लड़वाते थे। हमारे पहले वजीर-ए-आज़म, जवाहरलाल नेहरू जी की जो पॉलिसी थी, उन्होंने अपने टाइम में अच्छे काम किए हैं, हम इसको नहीं कह रहे हैं, लेकिन हमें आपस में हमारे पड़ोसियों से लड़वाते थे। डिप्टी चेयरमैन सर, आज भारत फख्र से अपनी बात कहता है। पहले यूएन से लेकर दुनिया की बड़ी-बड़ी बॉडीज़ और यूरोप के बड़े-बड़े देश हमें मानते नहीं थे, लेकिन आज हमारी बात का वजन है, जो 140 करोड़ लोगों के लिए बाइसे फख्र बात है।

डिप्टी चेयरमैन सर, चाहे सऊदी अरब हो या यूएई हो, हमारी जो गल्फ की पॉलिसी थी, हम उसमें बहुत कमजोर थे। उनके यहाँ हमारे 7.5 मिलियन स्किल्ड और अनस्किल्ड वर्कर्स काम

करते हैं और 55 बिलियन remittance की शक्ल में हमारे देश को देते हैं। सर, चाहे सऊदी अरब हो, कतर हो या यूएई हो, आज वे देश दुनिया में भारत के साथ शाना बशाना खड़े हैं। आज जब हमारे वज़ीर-ए-आज़म रशिया में जाते हैं, तो वे मुल्क जो पाकिस्तान को हमारे खिलाफ हमेशा सपोर्ट करते थे, वे कहते हैं कि भारत को हम सालसी के लिए इस्तेमाल कर सकते हैं। यह फॉरेन पॉलिसी, जिससे हमारे हर नागरिक का सिर ऊँचा हुआ है, इसके लिए मैं देश के वज़ीर-ए-आज़म को मुबारकबाद दूँगा। सर, पिछले दिनों हमारे नेवी के अफसरान को कतर देश से बाइज्जत बरी करवाया गया, इसके लिए मैं अपने देश के वज़ीरे खारजा और देश के वज़ीर-ए-आज़म को मुबारकवाद दूँगा कि वे बाइज्जत अपने घर वापस आए।

सर, मोदी जी को लोगों ने चुना है। मोदी जी की जो इमेज है, उससे लोगों की इमेज बढ़ती है। हमने कल तक वज़ीर-ए-आज़म ऐसे भी देखे कि उनको फैमिली चुनती थी और उनकी इमेज से फैमिली को लाभ होता था। 2014 से पहले करप्शन, टेररिज्म और पॉलिसी का पैरालिसिस था। जो बिल पास होते थे, वे वोट बैंक को मद्देनजर रखकर पास होते थे और earlier, the prince was running behind. मेरा कहने का मतलब है कि जब वज़ीर-ए-आज़म यूथ के पीछे दौड़ते थे तो वे वज़ीर-ए-आज़म से भागते थे। आज के जो वज़ीर-ए-आज़म हैं, वे फैमिली की पोलिटिक्स नहीं करते, कास्ट की पोलिटिक्स नहीं करते। हमने अपीज़मेंट की पॉलिसी बदल दी और आज हमने डेवलपमेंट और स्ट्रॉंग लीडरशिप की पॉलिसी को अपनाया है। कल तक हमारा युवा नौकरियों के लिए -- नौकरी जरूरी है, इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर है, हमें स्किल्ड, अनस्किल्ड और स्पेशियलाइज़्ड लोग रिक्वायर्ड हैं, लेकिन इसके साथ-साथ आज देश के वज़ीर-ए-आज़म की पॉलिसीज़ की वजह से देश का युवा नौकरी देने वाला बन रहा है, आज वह देश को तामीर करने का विज़न रखता है। जनाब डिप्टी चेयरमैन सर, कल तक हमारा युवा स्ट्रेस में था। न्यूजपेपर्स की खबरें थीं, पहली हेडलाइंस होती थीं, बड़ी-बड़ी हेडलाइंस होती थीं। कभी 2G स्कैम, कभी कोलगेट स्कैम, कभी चॉपर स्कैम, कभी टाटा ट्रक्स स्कैम, कभी सीएनजी स्कैम, कभी आदर्श स्कैम, लेकिन आज देश के वज़ीर-ए-आज़म ने उनको एक विज़न दिया है और देश को विकसित भारत में बदल दिया है। हम सबको इस पर फ़ख़ होना चाहिए। उपसभापति महोदय, 'डिजिटल इंडिया', यह लफ़्ज़ सिर्फ़ कहने के लिए नहीं है। अगर हम स्कैम्स में, 2जी जैसे स्कैम्स में फंसे रहते, तो कोरोना काल में हमारे बच्चों के साल खत्म हो जाते। आज दुनिया में जो ऑनलाइन ट्रांज़ैक्शन होती है, उसमें 48 परसेंट ट्रांज़ैक्शन सिर्फ़ भारत करता है। महोदय, डिजिटल इंडिया का जो रिवॉल्यूशन है, उसका परिणाम यह है कि आज भारत में सबसे सस्ता इंटरनेट है, आज हमारे बच्चों को access है, हमें इस मॉर्डन तकनीक की सराहना करनी चाहिए। कल किसी के पास बड़ा फोन होता था, तो वह किसी से ढंग से बात नहीं करता था, लेकिन आज मज़दूर जब सिर पर टोकरी उठाता है तो दूर कहीं अपने गाँव में वीडियो कॉल से बात करता है।

महोदय, नरेन्द्र मोदी जी ने वज़ीर-ए-आज़म बनने के लिए बहुत बड़े-बड़े bold decision लिए, उन्होंने वोट बैंक पॉलिटिक्स नहीं की।

महोदय, demonetization की बहुत मुखालफ़त की जाती है, लोग करते हैं, कहते हैं कि नोट कहां चले गए! मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि demonetization से terrorism और ड्रग्स के लिए जो ब्लैक मनी इस्तेमाल किया जाता था और जो फ़र्जी नोट थे, उन्हें जब खत्म किया ...(व्यवधान)...

प्रो. मनोज कुमार झा (बिहार): गुलाम अली साहब, यह बजट पर चर्चा है।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please, please. आप बोलें।

श्री गुलाम अली: डिमॉनिटाइज़ेशन से इंडिविजुअल आई टी रिटर्न भरने वालों की संख्या 25 परसेंट increase हुई।...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति: प्लीज़, बैठकर आपस में बात न करें।

DR. JOHN BRITTAS (Kerala): Would you please yield for a moment ?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is not yielding. Please sit down.

श्री गुलाम अली : महोदय, सैस पर सैस लगा रखे थे। माननीय मोदी जी ने 17 से ज्यादा टैक्सेज को एक ही कलम से खत्म करके, उन्हें क्लब करके एक जीएसटी किया और बिज़नेस को ईज ऑफ़ ड्रइंग बिज़नेस किया।

सर, जनरल कैटेगरी में इकोनॉमिक वीकर सेक्शन के बारे में कोई नहीं सोचता था। देश के वज़ीर-ए-आज़म ने उनके लिए भी इकोनॉमी बनाई। सर, आज हर नौजवान को 20 साल की उम्र के बाद हैल्थ की प्रॉब्लम है, आज हर घर में हर व्यक्ति को योगा का ज़रूरत है और ऐसे में दुनिया में 'Yoga Day' मनाना, मुझे लगता है कि पूरी दुनिया इससे फ़ायदा उठा रही है।

सर, पहले आम गरीब के लिए feel नहीं कर सकते थे, आज आम गरीब, आखिरी आदमी, अंत्योदय के लिए देश के वज़ीर-ए-आज़म ने नीति आयोग बनाया है। वह क्यों बनाया! ताकि, They can feel the feeling of poor people. उसके बाद उनके लिए planning बनाई।

सर, 1,200 से ज़्यादा ऐसे कानून, जिन कानूनों का कोई मतलब नहीं था, उन्हें भी खत्म किया है।

महोदय, मैं देश की वज़ीर-ए-खज़ाना, Finance Minister, निर्मला सीतारमण जी को मुबारकबाद दूंगा कि उन्होंने जो बजट पेश किया है, वह pro-people है, वह किसानों के हित में है, वह industrialists के हित में है, वह वातावरण के हित में है, वह नौजवानों के हित में है, वह मज़दूर के हित में है, उन्होंने कोई तबका वंचित नहीं रहने दिया। महोदय, मुझे समझ नहीं आता, मैं कल एक वीडियो देख रहा था, कांग्रेस पार्टी के एक बड़े सीनियर और तजुर्बेकार लीडर कह रहे थे कि हमारे manifesto को बजट में कॉपी किया है। जब मैं दूसरे दिन हाउस में बैठा, तो उसी पार्टी के सीनियर लीडर बोलते हैं कि यह बजट बोगस है। अब मुझे मालूम नहीं है। वे घर में सलाह कर लें कि यह बजट बोगस है या मेनिफेस्टो है। वे खुद फैसला कर लें।...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति : माननीय गुलाम अली जी, एक मिनट रुकिए। अब दो बजे से प्राइवेट मेम्बर बिजनेस है। आपका जो पांच मिनट का समय बचा रह गया है, पुनः साढ़े चार बजे बजट पर बहस शुरू होगी, तब आप बाकी समय बोल सकते हैं।

2.00 P.M.

PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No.1, 'The Representation of the People (Amendment) Bill, 2022.' Shri Iranna Kadadi to move for leave to introduce the Bill.

The Representation of the People (Amendment) Bill, 2022

श्री ईरण्ण कडाडी (कर्णाटक): महोदय, मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ कि लोक प्रतिनिधित्व अधिनियम, 1951 का और संशोधन करने के लिए विधेयक को पुरःस्थापित करने की अनुमति दी जाए।

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

श्री ईरण्ण कडाडी : महोदय, मैं विधेयक को पुरःस्थापित करता हूँ।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No. 2, 'The Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 2022 (Insertion of New Article 21B).' Shri Iranna Kadadi to move for leave to introduce the Bill.

The Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 2022 (insertion of new article 21B)

श्री ईरण्ण कडाडी (कर्णाटक): महोदय, मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ कि भारत के संविधान का और संशोधन करने के लिए विधेयक को पुरःस्थापित करने की अनुमति दी जाए।

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

श्री ईरण्ण कडाडी : महोदय, मैं विधेयक को पुरःस्थापित करता हूँ।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Third, 'The Right of Children to Free, Compulsory and Quality Education (Amendment) Bill, 2023.' Shri Iranna Kadadi to move for leave to introduce the Bill.