

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is one notice given by Shri Sandosh Kumar P opposing the introduction of the Protection of Interests in Aircraft Objects Bill, 2025. Would you like to say something? Go ahead. Are you on your seat?

SHRI SANDOSH KUMAR P (Kerala): Yes, Sir. I always speak from my seat only.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Good! This is only to make everyone know that they can speak from their seats only.

SHRI SANDOSH KUMAR P: Sir, since India is a signatory to the Cape Town Convention, I can understand the importance of the Bill, the necessity of the Bill. But the point is that this Ministry is so enthusiastic in bringing up legislations to adapt to international situations. But what about the passengers? This Bill is overwhelmingly focussed on the interests of lessors and creditors. The airline business had a huge profit of more than Rs.16,000 crores during the financial year 2022-23, and again, they are going to help the creditors and lessors. So this point should be taken into account. The Ministry should come up with something which is beneficial to the passengers. That is it.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Hardly a ground to oppose. It speaks of greater participation. I leave it to you. Now, the question is that leave be granted to introduce the Bill.

*The motion was adopted.*

SHRI KINJARAPU RAMMOHAN NAIDU: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

---

### THE UNION BUDGET, 2025-26

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Union Budget, 2025-26. I call upon Shri P. Chidambaram to raise the discussion.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM (Tamil Nadu): Sir, I thank the hon. Finance Minister for presenting the Budget for 2025-26. There ought to be a philosophy behind the Budget, but I cannot divine one in this Budget. I shall not attempt to do so because after going through the Budget speech and the Budget numbers, I believe there is no philosophy behind the Budget. It is obvious that the Budget was politically driven. I

shall not elaborate upon that, but I congratulate the Finance Minister for achieving one of her objects a couple of days ago. Congratulations Finance Minister! I would like to start on an unusual note.

The hon. Finance Minister asked this House to appropriate Rs.20,517 crore for the Ministry of External Affairs. Usually, the MEA does not figure in a Budget speech, but I want to start with the MEA. And, I will tell you why! In 2023-24, the past year, we allocated Rs.28,915 crore. In the current year, the Revised Estimate is Rs.25,277 crore -- almost Rs.3,600 crore less in the current year. And, for next year, the Finance Minister is asking for only Rs.20,517 crore -- another Rs.5,300 crore less. I wish the External Affairs Minister is here. I suspect that, and I hope not, the hon. Finance Minister is doing an Elon Musk on the External Affairs Minister. Somebody must explain. Are we shrinking our world presence? Are we closing down Embassies? Are we closing down Consulates? Be that as it may. A more serious aspect of the MEA! MEA stumbled badly in the last week. And, I say that with responsibility. It is now clear that the United States informed India about the deportation. They gave a list of deportees. India verified the list and confirmed that 104 or so names are Indian citizens. So, this was not surprise to the MEA. It was surprise to the rest of the people. The deportation was known to the MEA. The External Affairs Minister met the Secretary of State, Mr. Rubio, a few days before the deportation. And, that was all published in the newspapers. I ask the Government: Did the External Affairs Minister raise the matter with Mr Rubio? Did he know about the SoP? He told this House, "The SoP has been in place for many years since 2012." If he knew about the SoP, did he protest about the SoP to the Secretary of State of the United States? Did he know that the SoP requires them to handcuff, tie the legs with ropes and cover the face with mask? If he knew about it, did he protest to Mr. Rubio? If he did not protest, why did he not protest? And, the most important question: Did the External Affairs Minister... ..(*Interruptions*)...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Are you yielding?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I am not yielding. I am only stating on basis of what he said. Sir, did the hon. External Affairs Minister offer to Mr. Rubio, 'We will send an aircraft to bring our Indian citizens back.' Another serious matter is, another list of 483 Indians have been identified as illegal immigrants. I don't know when the deportation will take place! I ask a specific question. Will the Government send an Indian aircraft to bring back the Indian illegal immigrants? Now, I go to the Finance Minister's trump card. No pun intended, Sir. Trump card! No pun intended.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Sir, when you say twice, 'no pun intended', I get worried. You said twice, which means, pun is intended. I am wondering whether your reference to Elon Musk is a compliment to the hon. Finance Minister to take to the groove of efficiency.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Sir, I am looking at my clock and my Whip.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Sir, I will add the time. I will add one minute in your time.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Sir, 'income tax cut' is the FM's main thrust of this budget and she has given a number of interviews. The House should know that only 3.2 crore persons pay income tax from the last figures available. The rest file returns, but, they pay 'nil' tax. The Government has raised the threshold from Rs. 7 lakhs to Rs. 12 lakhs and it applies to all tax payers right up to the highest tax payers.

Now, I have looked at the last available statistics of CBDT about the tax payers. My rough calculation is that about 80 to 85 lakh tax payers will go out of the tax net from next year and 2.5 crore will benefit. These 2.5 crore includes not only the middle class which the hon. Finance Minister passionately champions, it includes 2,27,315 persons who returned a total income of more than Rs. 1 crore. It includes 262 persons who returned a total income of more than Rs. 100 crores and it includes 23 persons who returned a total income of more than Rs. 500 crores. So, this is not benefiting the middle class alone, which I welcome, but, it is benefiting the very rich and the richest in the world.

Sir, the hon. Finance Minister has also claimed that she has foregone Rs.1 lakh crores. Yet, she has claimed that the net tax revenues to the Centre will grow by 11.1 per cent in 2025-26. In 2024-25 also, it grew by 11 per cent. So, it is about the same number. After foregoing Rs. 1 lakh crore in this Budget, how does she claim that the net tax revenues to the Centre will grow by the same 11 per cent? This is pure magic; not mathematics. I will reserve after this magic unfolds and I will comment on it later.

Secondly, the hon. Finance Minister says that this Rs. 1 lakh crore will go into consumption and that consumption will boost the economy. Initially, I find a lot of cheerleaders accepted that claim. But, in the last two-three days, even the Finance Minister's cheerleaders are becoming skeptical about that. I ask the hon. Finance Minister: Will not a part of Rs. 1 lakh crore go into savings? SBI Chairman had hoped that part of it will come to him and the banking system. Will not part of Rs. 1 lakh crore go into repaying old household debts? Will not part of Rs. 1 lakh crore go into travel abroad? Will it not go for educating children abroad and will it not go into

consuming imported goods? If you deduct all this, how does the hon. Finance Minister claim that the entire Rs. 1 lakh crore will go into consuming domestic good and services? It is only the consumption of domestic goods and services will boost the GDP rate. Besides, what is Rs. 1 lakh crore when compared to the size of the GDP? The size of GDP this year is Rs. 324 lakh crores. Sir, Rs. 1 lakh crores of Rs. 324 lakh crores is 0.3 per cent!

Are you seriously saying and are you asking this House to believe that 0.3 per cent will boost the economy? My humble advice to the Finance Minister is, do not rely on only one engine of growth- consumption. Look at other engines of growth like exports, capital investment, etc. Those other engines must be revved up. You cannot rely upon one engine of growth. Most of this consumption will not go into consuming domestic goods and services. Now, contrast, what she has forgotten. She remembered the middle class. I congratulate her for that. But what about the section of the people whom she has forgotten? Look at the plight of Indian households. I am taking purely from Government numbers. Between 2012 and 2024, in the 12 year period, food inflation was 6.18 per cent, education inflation was 11 per cent and healthcare inflation was 14 per cent. These have crippled Indian households. Household savings have fallen from 25.2 per cent to 18.4 per cent. The Household Consumption Expenditure Survey, 2023 shows — and mark these numbers — average monthly per capita expenditure of a rural family is Rs.4,226/-, and in urban areas, it is Rs.6,996/-. We must examine these numbers more closely. This is the average for the whole India — Rs.4,662/- and Rs.6,996/-, average for the whole India. But for the bottom 50 per cent, it will be even less and the bottom 50 per cent of the 50 per cent will be even less. Now, what has this Budget done for the average Indian household in the bottom 50 per cent and the bottom 25 per cent? Nothing. What relief has the hon. Finance Minister given them? She could have done one of several things. I am not saying she should have done all the four things that I will mention. She could have done one of several things. One, instead of cutting income-tax, or along with cutting income-tax, she should have cut the GST. Everybody pays GST. The richest and the poorest are paying GST. She could have cut GST. She could have cut the tax on petrol and diesel. Everybody indirectly or directly uses petrol and diesel. She could have increased the MGNREGA daily wage. She could have increased that rate because the poorest are the ones who are going to MGNREGA work. And, she could have raised the statutory minimum wage across the board under the Minimum Wages Act. That would have benefitted thousands and thousands of labourers. She did nothing, but she was focussed on income-tax and she was focused on the Delhi election.

Let me turn to another subject. The most gravest challenge facing India, facing the country is unemployment. I think all of you will agree that unemployment is the gravest challenge. Even the Treasury Benches must agree. Now, the Periodic Labour Force Survey, popularly known as PLFS, concluded that unemployment rate is 3.2 per cent, and the Economic Survey also repeats that. I am sure, the London School of Economics as well as every other University teaches us that any unemployment rate, less than 5 per cent, is equal to full employment. I won't get into the intricacies. If unemployment rate has fallen to 3.2 per cent, why should we worry? We should all be happy because it is full employment according to economic theory. But the same PLFS says, youth unemployment is 10.2 per cent. The same PLFS says, graduates unemployment is 13 per cent. If youth unemployment is 10.2 and graduates unemployment is 13, how does it conclude that the total unemployment rate in India is only 3.2? For every job, for 100 jobs, there are million applicants. For 1,000 jobs, there are several million applicants. Sir, the Economic Survey says and I quote, "We need to create 78.5 lakh non-farm jobs every year until 2030." I ask the hon. Finance Minister, what is her plan? What is the way-forward to create 78 lakh non-farm jobs between now and 2030? They will be in Government until 2029. So far the bulk of the period is their Government. They should tell us clearly a path to create 78 lakh jobs every year until the end of the Government.

Sir, next I come to the famous PLI. The Budget has eight lines of expenditure on employment generation. I have looked at it closely. If I am wrong, the hon. Finance Minister will correct me. There are five lines of expenditure under PLI. There is one line of expenditure called 'New Employment Generation Programme.' There is one line called 'Prime Minister's Employment Generation Programme.' There is one line called 'Skill India.' I don't know the differences between these acronyms. What is the difference between 'Prime Minister's New Employment Generation Programme' and the 'New Employment Generation Programme?' We don't have a new PM, we have the same PM. On the eight lines in the current year -- mark these numbers -- on the eight lines together; I have got the breakdown but I am taking all the eight lines of expenditure -- in the current year, the Budget allocation, when she presented the Budget last year, was Rs. 28,318 crore. This is the gravest challenge. You allocated Rs. 28,318 crore. But what will you spend? By March 31, you will spend only Rs. 20,035 crore. Why are you not spending Rs. 8,000 crore on this challenge, which is the gravest challenge facing the country? The PLI Scheme is a spectacular failure. Otherwise, you would have spent this money. Employment generation is a spectacular failure.

Now I look at another aspect, the wages of salaried male worker as well as female worker. I am giving the numbers of the male worker; the wages of salaried male worker has fallen in the last seven years from Rs. 12,665 per month to Rs. 11,858 per month. This is her own numbers -- from Rs. 12,665 to Rs. 11,858. The wages of self-employed male worker has fallen from Rs. 9,454 per month to 8,591 per month. So what is the position, Sir? The position is, incomes are falling; wages are falling; Government expenditure is not keeping pace with the promises; household net savings have fallen; and household debt has risen.

This is the plight of the bottom 50 per cent of India. There is nothing in this Budget for the bottom 50 per cent. I think, we cannot divide this House into one half speaking for the top 50 per cent and one half speaking for the bottom 50 per cent. I am quite happy to speak for the bottom 50 per cent, but I want the Treasury Benches also to impress upon their Ministers to speak for the bottom 50 per cent of India.

Sir, let us take 'Make in India'. They made such a hullabaloo about 'Made in India'. What was 'Make in India' became 'Made in India'. In global manufacturing trade, India's share is 2.8 per cent; China's share is 28.8 per cent. So, we are not a big player in manufacturing goods trade. The share of India's manufacturing in the GDP has fallen under this Government. And I give the numbers from the Economic Survey. In 2014, it was 15.07 per cent, in 2019, it has fallen to 13.46 per cent and in 2023, it is 12.93 per cent. These are the numbers of the World Bank. The Economic Survey has proportions in the GVA, but that has also fallen from 17 per cent to 14 per cent. So, manufacturing, as a proportion of GDP, has not increased under this Government. So, manufacturing is a spectacular failure and PLI is a spectacular failure. Now, what has this Government got to boast about after the last 11 years?

Sir, I come to my penultimate point. Now, Budget is about numbers. I do not want to burden the House with numbers, but I have to mention some numbers, because the Budget is about numbers. Now, the hon. Finance Minister claimed in a number of interviews that she has not only met the fiscal deficit target, but has improved upon the fiscal deficit target. That is absolutely true if you look at the numbers. The target was 4.9 per cent and the achievement was 4.8 per cent. But how did she achieve this 4.8 per cent? She cut capital expenditure of the Central Government by Rs. 92,682 crore. Not revenue expenditure, Sir, capital expenditure of the Central Government was cut by Rs. 92,682 crore. She cut the grants-in-aid to States for creating capital assets -- that is another form of capital expenditure -- by Rs. 90,887 crore. So, total cut in capital expenditure of the Centre and the States -- I am not apportioning blame -- in the current year, will be Rs. 1,83,569 crore. By cutting capital expenditure by such a humungous amount, she saved on the fiscal

deficit Rs. 43,785 crore. I can understand if she has saved on the fiscal deficit Rs. 1,83,000 crore. It is bad policy, but I would understand. But after cutting Rs. 1,83,000-odd crore, she saved about Rs. 44,000 crore. Is it good policy? I don't know. Is it good economics? I say, no; it is not good economics. You cannot cut capital expenditure and compress your fiscal deficit and say, 'I have met my fiscal deficit target, or I have improved my fiscal deficit.' On the expenditure side, I want hon. Members — all of us are concerned — to look at these numbers. Where have the cuts fallen? On health, Rs. 1,255 crore; on education, Rs. 11,584 crore; and on social welfare, Rs. 10,019 crore.

I wish the Agriculture and the Rural Development Minister was here. On agriculture, the cut is Rs.10,992 crore. On rural development, it is Rs. 75,133 crore and on urban development, it is 18,907 crore. Why do you make these cruel cuts? There are other unkind cuts -- I will not give the numbers -- on POSHAN, Jal Jeevan Mission, National Social Assistance Programme, Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana, Crop Insurance Scheme, Urea Subsidy and PM Garib Kalyan Yojana. In all these programmes, there have been cuts. The most cruel cuts are on -- I hope I am pronouncing this correctly -- Anusuchit Jati Yojana Rs. 1,340 crore; Young Achievers Scholarship Rs. 455 crore; Post-Matric Scholarship for Scheduled Castes Rs.860 crore; Programme for Development of Scheduled Tribes Rs. 670 crore. You cut money for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Anusuchit Jati and you say, 'I have reached my fiscal deficit; I have improved my fiscal deficit'.

Look at the grand announcements in this Budget. One grand announcement was Urban Challenge Fund in Para 58 of the Budget Speech. I was impressed; Urban Challenge Fund! Rupees one lakh crore was announced. What is the allocation? It is only Rs. 10,000 crore! The next is Jal Jeevan Mission in Para 55 of the Budget Speech. Jal Jeevan Mission says, 'We have provided water to 80 per cent of the population of India and we will provide for the remaining 20 per cent. We are, therefore, extending the scheme.' The Budget Estimates for the current year was Rs.70,163 crore and the actual expenditure is Rs.22,614 crore. I mean, this is pure magic. You don't spend one-fourth or one-third of your money and you claim that everybody has been provided water.

Now, I come to my last point. You will give me one more minute.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I would. I have undertaken.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Now what did the CEA say? The Chief Economic Advisor is a reasonably autonomous office. I am glad the hon. Finance Minister has given him

the freedom to speak his mind and to be frank and forthright. I congratulate the hon. Finance Minister in the end for that also. What did he say? He said, 'Get out of the way'. That is all we are saying, 'Get out of the way', in a different context. Deregulate! Deregulation drives growth. Work towards giving to people back their agency and enhancing the economic freedoms of individuals and organisations. What is the response of the hon. Finance Minister to get out of the way and to deregulate? Her response is to announce in the Budget Speech seven new schemes, eight new missions and four new funds! Now where will the money come for these schemes, missions and funds? I do not know because there is no allocation. So, in conclusion, I want to say this. Governance is in the present. There is a Government, but I am sorry to say there is little governance.

There is no philosophy, therefore, no policies. In 1991, we faced a graver situation. There was a man who entered this Parliament and entered the North Block. He had an economic philosophy. He followed it with policies that required wisdom and farsightedness. Dr. Manmohan Singh had that philosophy. And, I am urging the hon. Finance Minister to recapture the wisdom and the farsightedness of Dr. Manmohan Singh.

I have one last question. This is through the Finance Minister to the Government. Why have you not conferred the Bharat Ratna on Dr. Manmohan Singh?

MR. CHAIRMAN: I thought the former Finance Minister would cheer and congratulate the present Finance Minister for having created a record of presenting eight consecutive Budgets, surpassing that of Shri C.D. Deshmukh. The House takes note of it. It is a history in formation. Rest of the issues are for the two sides to deal. I call upon Dr. Dinesh Sharma. Sir, your time is 25 minutes.

**डा. दिनेश शर्मा** (उत्तर प्रदेश) : श्रीमन्, हमारे माननीय वरिष्ठ नेता के द्वारा मुझे 35 मिनट का समय मिला था।

MR. CHAIRMAN: How much time was he allotted?

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI KIREN RIJIJU): Sir, he can take 35 minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Okay. It stands revised. Dr. Dinesh Sharma has 35 minutes.

**डा. दिनेश शर्मा:** माननीय सभापति महोदय, यह मेरा सौभाग्य है कि आपने मुझे केंद्रीय बजट 2025-26 पर बोलने का अवसर दिया है। इसके लिए आपका धन्यवाद।

(श्री उपसभापति महोदय पीठासीन हुए।)

महोदय, वास्तव में यह एक ऐतिहासिक अवसर है, जब हमारी सम्मानित वित्त मंत्री जी के द्वारा लगातार मोदी 3.0 में, यह जो तीसरी बार एनडीए की सरकार है, इसमें आठवीं बार बजट का प्रस्तुतिकरण किया गया है। मैं इस पूर्णकालिक केंद्रीय बजट की प्रमुख विशेषताओं को सदन के सम्मुख रखना चाहता हूँ।

माननीय उपसभापति महोदय, यह राजनीतिक अर्थव्यवस्था की आवश्यकताओं की संपूर्ति करने वाला एक असाधारण रूप से सफल बजट है। मैं ऐसा इसलिए कह रहा हूँ कि इसने जहाँ विभिन्न वर्गों को छुआ है, वहीं निम्न स्तर पर जो कम आय वाले लोग हैं, उनके लिए आय का सृजन करना, उनकी आय में संवृद्धि करना भी इस बजट का उद्देश्य रहा है।

मान्यवर, इसमें आवास, शहरी मामले, नवाचार, अनुसंधान एवं विकास, महिला सशक्तिकरण और जनजातीय सशक्तिकरण के क्षेत्र में बहुत सारे क्रांतिकारी परिवर्तन किए गए हैं। मैं जानता हूँ कि बजट का प्रस्तुतिकरण - हालांकि बजट की यह व्यवस्था तो पहले 1997 तक शाम को 5:00 बजे होती थी, क्योंकि उस समय अंग्रेजों का जो समय होता था, वह वहाँ 11:00 बजे होता था, लेकिन अब इसकी प्रस्तुति दिन में होती है। यानी भारतीय व्यवस्था के अनुसार इसका जो प्रतिपादन होता है, मैं वित्तीय अनुशासन को बनाए रखने के लिए माननीया वित्त मंत्री जी को बधाई देता हूँ। मैं उनको इसलिए भी बधाई देता हूँ कि हमारा लक्ष्य जो पांचवीं अर्थव्यवस्था की तरफ बढ़ने का है, तो निश्चित रूप में जिस प्रकार से राजकोषीय घाटे को कम किया गया है, जिस प्रकार से हमारे विकास की जो दर है, वह स्थिर रूप में लगातार बढ़ रही है, हम 2026 तक चौथी अर्थव्यवस्था के रूप में पूरे विश्व के पटल पर आएंगे। हमारा यह कहना है कि हमारे इस बजट में 5 ट्रिलियन डॉलर की इकोनॉमी की तरफ जो तमाम प्रावधान किए गए हैं, इनसे निश्चित रूप में यह 2047 में 'विकसित भारत' की परिकल्पना का एक रोड मैप के रूप में प्रस्तुत हुआ है।

महोदय, यह सही है कि अंतरराष्ट्रीय मुद्रा कोष के द्वारा भी इसकी प्रशंसा की गई है और उसने वैश्विक मंदी के बीच भारतीय अर्थव्यवस्था को एक उज्ज्वल स्थान दिया है और इसे विकास का केंद्र बनाया है, जो हमारी मजबूत नीतियों और दूरदर्शी सोच के कारण ही संभव हो पाया है।

मान्यवर, मैं जानता हूँ कि हालांकि अभी हमारे पूर्व वित्त मंत्री महोदय सम्भवतः चले गए हैं, उन्होंने बड़े अच्छे तरीके से इसका विश्लेषण किया है।

मान्यवर, आज एक विडंबना है कि भारत में और खास तौर से राजनीति में दो चीजें बहुत तेजी के साथ समाप्त हो रही हैं - एक है व्यक्ति का भरोसा और दूसरा है कांग्रेस पार्टी। ये दोनों बहुत तेजी से समाप्ति की तरफ बढ़ रहे हैं। मैंने इसको ऐसे नहीं कहा। वे जिन नीतियों के कारण अभी तक बजट का विश्लेषण कर रहे थे, उन्होंने कभी गरीब को नहीं छुआ, कभी मध्यम वर्ग को नहीं छुआ। मैंने तो तमाम विपक्षी नेताओं के बयान उस समय पढ़े थे, जब वे कह रहे थे कि मध्यम वर्ग के लिए जो 7 लाख रुपए तक की सीमा है, उसको आप 10 लाख रुपए तक कीजिए। प्रधान मंत्री जी के मार्गदर्शन में हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने उसको 12 लाख रुपए तक कर दिया है। जो 7

लाख रुपए तक करना था, उसको 12 लाख रुपए तक की छूट दे दी गई है। मैं यही कहूंगा कि यही अद्भुत समायोजन है और आज के भारत की आर्थिक व्यवस्था में नेकनीयती के कारण इस प्रकार से अर्थ संतुलन बना है। मैं कांग्रेस के लिए कभी-कभी हँसी में कहता हूँ :

*'खुद चिराग बन के जल वक्त के अंधेरे में,  
भीक के उजालों से रौशनी नहीं होती।'*

वह राष्ट्रीय पार्टी आज छोटे-छोटे दलों पर, छोटी-छोटी नीतियों पर, तमाम विघटनकारी मंतव्यों पर अपनी नीतियों को उद्धाटित करती है। आदरणीय खरगे जी चले गए, वे हमारे वरिष्ठ नेता हैं और आज हम लोगों ने आदरणीय सोनिया जी का उद्धोधन सुना है। मैं इतना ही कहूंगा कि आपका लगातार जो प्रदर्शन है, उसके लिए मैं आपको बधाई देना चाहता हूँ और कोटिशः बधाई देना चाहता हूँ। आपने कम-से-कम दिल्ली की विधान सभा चुनाव में तीन सीटों पर अपनी जमानत बचाई है - इसके लिए मैं आपको बधाई देना चाहता हूँ। ...**(व्यवधान)**... आप कहते रह गए, बदनाम करते रह गए कि संविधान खतरे में है। आप बदनाम करते रह गए कि आरक्षण समाप्त हो रहा है और जनता ने आपकी जो बदनीयती थी, उसको पहचाना। हरियाणा आया, महाराष्ट्र आया, दिल्ली आया और आगे की तैयारी प्रारंभ है। इसीलिए मैं आप सबसे कहना चाहता हूँ, हमारे जो मित्र हैं, उनसे मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आपकी समस्या के दो कारण हैं। एक कारण तो यह है कि बिना सोचे कार्य करना, जो मन में आया, कर डाला और दूसरा है बिना कार्य किए सोचते रहना। आपने जो किया नहीं, उसके लिए भी आप सोचते रहते हैं।

आदरणीय चिदम्बरम साहब ने अभी अपने उद्धोधन में कहा कि मनमोहन सिंह जी को 'भारत रत्न' देना चाहिए। आपने उनको क्या दिया? अगर 80 के दशक की बात की जाए, जब वे एक संवैधानिक पद पर थे, वित्त मंत्री नहीं थे, संभवतः योजना आयोग के उपाध्यक्ष थे... अभी जो पूछा जा रहा था कि आपने ग्रामीण में क्या किया? ग्रामीण व्यवस्था के उन्नयन के लिए माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी के मार्गदर्शन पर सीतारमण जी ने जो किया, वह अभूतपूर्व है। मैं यह इसलिए कह रहा हूँ क्योंकि उस समय यही बात मनमोहन सिंह जी ने कही थी। उस समय आदरणीय राजीव गाँधी जी प्रधान मंत्री हुआ करते थे और उन्होंने उस समय मनमोहन सिंह जी का अपमान करते हुए कहा था कि यह जोकरों का समूह है। उस समय मनमोहन सिंह जी जोकरों का समूह दिखाई पड़े थे। जब उनके विधेयक को कांग्रेस के एक बड़े नेता फाड़ रहे थे, जो उनको यूजलेस दिख रहा था। ...**(व्यवधान)**... वे कौन नेता हैं, यह तो आप जानते ही हैं, जो जाड़े में भी गर्मी का अहसास करते हैं। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

**श्री उपसभापति :** नो, नो, प्लीज़।

**डा. दिनेश शर्मा:** महोदय, आज बदले हुए समय में जब सरकार काम कर रही है, तो सरकार के काम के समय, आज उसको यह कहा जाता है कि आपने यह वादा पूरा नहीं किया, वह नहीं किया। अगर हमने वादा पूरा नहीं पूरा किया, तो हम सत्ता में कैसे आए, हमने कैसे जीता! मैं तो कहूंगा:

*'हर वादा दिल से निभाते हैं हम,  
तभी तो जनता के मन में भाते हैं हम।'*

हम लगातार जीत रहे हैं और आप लगातार हार रहे हैं। अगर आज इसका विश्लेषण किया जाए, तो जहां हमने वित्तीय अनुशासन को बनाया है, वहीं जो एफआरबीएम है, बजट प्रबंधन अधिनियम है, उसके द्वारा हमने निर्धारित लक्ष्यों की प्राप्ति के लिए राजकोषीय घाटे को लगातार कम करने का जो संकल्प लिया था, उसको आज हमारी सरकार ने बखूबी प्रस्तुत किया है। अगर आप बजट का अवलोकन करें और उसका विश्लेषण करें, तो एक अद्भुत चीज दिखाई पड़ती है। वित्तीय वर्ष 2023 में हमारा राजकोषीय घाटा चार प्रतिशत था, वित्तीय वर्ष 2025 के बजट का जो रिवाइज्ड एस्टिमेट हुआ, उसके अनुसार हमारा राजकोषीय घाटा 1.9 प्रतिशत था और वित्तीय वर्ष 2026 के लिए बजट का जो एस्टिमेट है, उसके अनुसार हमारा राजकोषीय घाटा 1.5 प्रतिशत आएगा।

अर्थ प्रबंधन की कुशलता का यही एक मापन यंत्र है। मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज जिस प्रकार से हमारी ये व्यवस्थाएं चल रही हैं, अगर यही रुझान जारी रहा तो वर्ष 2030 में राजस्व अधिशेष, जिसे आप revenue surplus कहते हैं, उसकी तरफ हम लोग तेजी के साथ बढ़ जाएंगे, बल्कि हम उसको प्राप्त करेंगे। आप कह सकते हैं कि एक यह बार और 1981 में प्राप्त किया गया था, लेकिन उसके बाद आपने क्यों प्राप्त नहीं किया, भारत को सोना क्यों बेचना पड़ा? क्यों भारत एक deficit financing की तरफ बढ़ता गया? आपकी नीतियों ने भारत को कमजोर बनाया और पराधीन बनाया। यही कारण था कि आप अमेरिका से सड़ा हुआ लाल रंग का गेहूँ मंगाते थे, जिसको लेने के लिए यहां पर लोग राशन कार्ड लेकर लाइन लगाते थे, उन पर लाठीचार्ज होता था और बमुश्किल से उनको थोड़ा-सा राशन मिल पाता था। इन्हीं आर्थिक नीतियों के कारण आज कुछ-कुछ प्रदेशों में 10 किलो राशन मुफ्त मिल रहा है, कहीं 5 किलो राशन मुफ्त में मिल रहा है। यही अर्थ प्रबंधन का एक सारांश है, जिसको समझने की जरूरत थी।

महोदय, मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री महोदया को धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ। आदरणीय खरगे साहब उनके लिए कई बार बड़े सम्मान से "माताजी" शब्द का प्रयोग करते हैं। मैं यह नहीं मानता कि उन्होंने भूल से ऐसा कहा होगा, हो सकता है कि उनके मन में उनके प्रति आदर भाव रहा हो, लेकिन मां क्या है? मां तो वह है जो घर में सभी बच्चों का ख्याल रखती है। जो कमजोर है, वह उसकी इच्छाओं की भी संपूर्ति करती है। जो सबल है, वह उसको भी प्यार करती है और पूरे परिवार का संचालन करती है। आज अगर हम इस बजट को देखें, तो आदरणीय वित्त मंत्री महोदया ने जहां ग्रामीण अर्थव्यवस्था के उन्नयन के लिए काम किया है, वहीं उन्होंने शहरी इंफ्रास्ट्रक्चर को भी ठीक किया है। वहीं पर, बच्चों की शिक्षा के लिए और शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में क्रांतिकारी परिवर्तन के लिए बजट का आवंटन है, तो वहीं आईआईटीज़ और आईआईएम्स के लिए भी इसमें कुछ न कुछ प्रावधान किए गए हैं।

महोदय, मैं आपसे करना चाहता हूँ कि जब लोग कहते हैं कि भारत की जो मूल अवस्था है, उसकी प्रगति की जो जड़ है, वह निश्चित रूप से यहां का मध्यम वर्ग है। पिछली सरकारों ने मध्यम वर्ग के ऊपर क्यों नहीं ध्यान दिया? इस बजट का जो मूल तत्व समाहित है, मैं समझता हूँ कि उसने आज से पहले कभी किसी ने इसके बारे में नहीं सोचा कि मध्यम श्रेणी की जितनी इनकम

नहीं होती, उससे ज्यादा उनको टैक्स देना पड़ता है और कभी-कभी तो उनको अपनी आय का 30% तक का टैक्स देना पड़ता था। उसके बारे में उन्होंने कभी नहीं सोचा था। आज का जो बजट है, उसमें निश्चित रूप से 12,75,000 रुपये तक की वार्षिक आय वालों का आयकर शून्य कर दिया है। अभी आयकर का विधेयक भी आने वाला है, जिसमें उसका सरलीकरण भी होगा और अन्य तमाम चीजें भी होंगी। मैं कह सकता हूँ कि सरकार के ये जो कदम हैं, ये Ease of Doing Business को बढ़ावा देने वाले हैं, क्योंकि आज निवेश बढ़ रहा है।

मान्यवर, आज आर्थिक विकास तेजी से बढ़ रहा है और शायद हमें यही अमृत काल की ओर और मजबूती से ले जाने वाला है। अभी कुछ दिन पहले, आरबीआई ने रेपो रेट कम किया है। कुछ लोग इस पर भी व्यंग्य कर सकते हैं। रेपो रेट कम होने का मतलब क्या है? इसका मतलब यह है कि लोन सस्ते हो जाएंगे, लोगों के हाथों में धन आएगा, जिसे वे या तो खर्च करेंगे या उसे बचाएंगे। अगर वे उसे बचाएंगे, तो निवेश बढ़ेगा और अगर खर्च करेंगे, तो उपभोक्ता वस्तुओं की मांग बढ़ेगी और मांग बढ़ेगी तो प्रोडक्शन बढ़ेगा। इस प्रकार, ये सारी चेन, जो एक साथ चल रही है, मैं समझता हूँ कि यही भारत का असली अर्थशास्त्र है, जिसका प्रस्तुतिकरण होना चाहिए था, जिसे आजादी के बाद भी करने में कांग्रेस की सरकार असफल रही। मैं इस बारे में भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि भारत में तमाम चीजें हमारे सामने आईं। हमारी जो विकास दर है, अगर हम देखें तो वर्ष 2025-26 में 6.4 तक की वार्षिक विकास दर का अनुमान है। पूंजीगत व्यय को 8.2 प्रतिशत तक बढ़ाने का जो अनुमान है, मैं समझता हूँ कि वह भी हमारी अर्थव्यवस्था का एक मजबूत पहलू बनकर हमारे सामने आता है, जो हमारे देश को उन्नति की ओर ले जाएगा। इस प्रकार, हर क्षेत्र में काम हुआ है।

मान्यवर, अभी आवास के बारे में टिप्पणी हो रही थी। प्रधान मंत्री जी ने तो महिलाओं के नाम पर आवास का आवंटन किया है! अगर हम देखें तो हमारी आयुष्मान भारत की जो स्कीम है, उससे तमाम लोगों का घर-परिवार सुखी हुआ है। अगर उनके पास अपने मकान होंगे तो एक महिला स्वस्थ वातावरण में रहेगी, स्वस्थ वातावरण में उसके बच्चों का पालन होगा और वह अपनी स्वस्थ मानसिकता का योगदान अपने अन्य कार्यों के उन्नयन के लिए दे सकती है। इसलिए मैं कहूंगा कि आवास और शहरी मामलों के हमारे जो माननीय मंत्री हैं, उन्होंने एक अच्छी पहल की है।

मोदी जी के नेतृत्व में एनडीए की तीसरी बार बनी हुई सरकार ने सबके लिए घर का जो लक्ष्य रखा है, उसके तहत पूरे देश में और तीन करोड़ परिवारों को पक्का घर मिलने वाला है। इतना ही नहीं, इस योजना के लिए 5 लाख, 36 हजार करोड़ रुपये बजट का प्रावधान किया गया है। मोदी जी जो कहते हैं, वही गारंटी है। मोदी जी जो कहते हैं, वही करते हैं। कुछ लोग तो कहते हैं कि मोदी जी आपको दिल्ली के लिए अगला जन्म लेना पड़ेगा, तो मैं उन्हें बताना चाहता हूँ कि मोदी, जी इसी जन्म में बड़े से बड़ा काम करने की कूव्वत रखते हैं। आपदा समाप्त हुई है, लेकिन आपदा समाप्त होने के बाद दिल्ली आज खुशहाली मना रही है। कुछ लोग यहां मौजूद नहीं हैं, लेकिन मैं राजनीतिक व्यक्तियों के लिए उनसे कहूंगा कि जाड़े में ठंड और व्यक्ति का घमंड – दोनों ही अकड़ पैदा करते हैं। और जनता राजनीति में अकड़ को बड़ी जल्दी ठीक करती है। वही हुआ - अगले जन्म की ज़रूरत नहीं पड़ी, इसी जन्म में फैसला हो गया। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस बजट से कुछ लोगों में मन और मस्तिष्क में घबराहट पैदा हुई है। वहीं के, एक राज्य के भूत -

मान्यवर मेरे मुंह से भूत शब्द गलत निकल गया - भूतपूर्व मुख्य मंत्री, हालांकि 'भूत' शब्द भी गलत नहीं है। भूत की एक विशेषता है कि वह चारों तरफ चक्कर काटता रहता है। भूतपूर्व मुख्य मंत्री ने कहा था कि यह बजट गरीबों को लिए और मध्यम श्रेणी के लोगों के लिए होना चाहिए था। मैं बताना चाहूंगा कि मध्यम श्रेणी के लिए जो पहले कभी सोचा भी नहीं था, वह प्रधान मंत्री जी के नेतृत्व में हो गया है। उन्होंने 10 लाख की आय सीमा की बात की थी, यहां 12 लाख रुपये हो गई, रेपो रेट कम हो रहा है, आठवें वेतन आयोग का गठन भी हो गया है। अगर आप देखें तो गरीब और दलित महिलाओं के लिए किसी ने कभी सोचा ही नहीं था। इसमें एससी/एसटी के लिए 2 करोड़ रुपये तक के टर्म लोन की व्यवस्था हुई है। कौन सा वर्ग ऐसा है, जो अछूता रहा हो? कोई नहीं रहा। मान्यवर, हम अमृतकाल की तरफ मज़बूती से आगे बढ़ रहे हैं, यह शायद इसलिए भी संभव हुआ कि हमने जो रोटी, कपड़ा और मकान... दीनदयाल जी कहते थे:

*“भूल गए राग रंग, भूल गए जकड़ी  
तीन चीजें याद रहीं नून, तेल, लकड़ी”*

अब नून, तेल और लकड़ी की ज़िम्मेदारी भी हम ले रहे हैं। दीन दयाल जी के अनुयायी, उनके मानने वाले और शिष्यवत भाव रखने वाले प्रधान मंत्री जी सब कुछ पूरा कर रहे हैं। अब अगर दवा की ज़रूरत है, तो सरकार मुहैया कराएगी। बच्चे का विवाह है, तो उसकी चिंता सरकार करेगी। शिक्षा की आवश्यकता है, तो मुफ्त शिक्षा की व्यवस्था हमारी सरकार करेगी। आज रोज़गार की ज़रूरत है, तो मुद्रा लोन के तहत बढ़ी हुई राशि सरकार देगी। हर चीज़ की चिंता करने वाली यह चिंतनशील सरकार है। मान्यवर, जो चिंता करता है, वह निश्चित रूप से पराभव का भाव लेता है। जो चिंता करने वाले लोग थे, वे आलोचना करते थे, कटाक्ष करते थे, व्यंग्य करते थे। इन सबके बीच न केवल एक दूरदर्शी बजट आया, बल्कि बजट ने वर्ष 2025 तक और 40 हजार घर पूरे करने का संकल्प लिया है। उन्होंने 'Special Window for Affordable and Mid-Income Housing Fund' के अंतर्गत 50 हजार घर दे दिए हैं। वर्ष 2025 तक हम और 40 हजार मकान देने वाले हैं। आपको और क्या चाहिए? मैं काव्य का रचनाकार या कोई कवि नहीं हूँ, बल्कि काव्य का श्रोता हूँ, उसका श्रवण करता हूँ। श्रवण करते हुए मुझे कुछ बातें याद आती हैं:

*“एक छत तो हर सिर का अधिकार है  
भारत के घरों में पलता विकास का आधार है।  
दीवारें नहीं, यह हर बच्चे की मुस्कान है,  
हर घर में बसता भारत का सम्मान है।”*

यह जो भारत का सम्मान है, इस सम्मान के उन्नयन के लिए हमारी सरकार ने काम किया है। मान्यवर, आज गरीबों के लिए हर क्षेत्र में कार्य किए जा रहे हैं। मान्यवर, मैं यही कहूंगा कि:

*“जो अज्ञात को खोजने का साहस रखते हैं,  
वही विकास की नई दिशा भी गढ़ते हैं।”*

आज तमाम जगहों पर जो नहीं हो रहा था, उसको भी खोज कर सरकार ने पूरा किया है। अभी तीन दिन पहले मैं समाचार पत्र में सुभाष चंद्र बोस जी के ड्राइवर कमरुद्दीन साहब का एक चित्र देख रहा था। कमरुद्दीन साहब, सुभाष चंद्र बोस जी के ड्राइवर रहा करते थे और वे बदहाली के वातावरण में अपना जीवनयापन कर रहे थे। प्रधान मंत्री जी ने उनको खोजा और न केवल खोजा, बल्कि उनकी सारी आवश्यकताओं को पूरा किया और प्रधान मंत्री जी कमरुद्दीन जी के चरण छूते हुए दिखाई दिए। यही भारत है। जो वाल्मीकियों के कुंभ मेले में सफाईकर्मियों के पैर धोते हुए देश का प्रधान मंत्री दिखाई दे, यही भारत का प्रतीक है। सर, विपक्ष के लिए यही विडम्बना दर्दनाक बनती जा रही है। वे तरह-तरह की बातें, जो भारत के प्रतीक हैं, भारत की जो सभ्यता है, जो भारत का सनातन है, कभी-कभी उस पर आघात भी करते हैं और बाद में कभी-कभी डुबकी भी लगाते हैं। हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश में कुंभ में बहुत निर्मल पानी था। यह अलग बात है कि वहां एक अप्रिय घटना घटी, तो उस पर हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने भी दुख व्यक्त किया। यह घटना नहीं घटनी चाहिए थी, उससे सबको दुख हुआ। एक जमाने में चार करोड़ लोग आते थे, लेकिन आज जिस तरह की व्यवस्था है, जिसकी वजह से आज 2025 में 40 करोड़ का आंकड़ा पार कर चुके हैं। वहां लोग आ रहे हैं, क्योंकि वहां व्यवस्था भी अच्छी है और लोगों का जाति-पाति, अलग करो, काटो, बांटो और राज करो का जो अभियान था, उसकी जगह वहां सनातनियों का एक साथ स्नान होता है। अगर नाव का केवट है, तो पंडित जी भी साथ में हाथ मिलाते हुए दिखाई देते हैं। वहां कोई दलित समुदाय की जाति नहीं पूछता, कोई धर्म नहीं पूछता और साथ मिलकर ईश्वर की स्तुति में अपने को नतमस्तक करते हैं। यही महाकुंभ का जो जिस्ट है, उस जिस्ट के मर्म को कोई समझ नहीं पाया। वहां पर लोग गए और वीआईपी क्लबर में गए। 100 लोगों की सेना लेकर गए थे, 11 डुबकी लगाई। हमारे यहां सम्मानित है, मैं सम्मान करता हूं। वैसे लोग कहते हैं कि कुंभ के मेले में बहुत सारे लोग खो जाते हैं। हालांकि कुंभ में खोया-पाया का कैम्प लगा हुआ है, लेकिन दिल्ली में जो चुनाव का महाकुंभ था, उसमें उत्तर प्रदेश के दो लड़के खो गए। एक लड़का कह रहा था कि वह नेशनल हैराल्ड के घोटाले का आरोपी है, तो दूसरे उत्तर प्रदेश के लड़के कह रहे थे कि ये शराब घोटाले के आरोपी हैं। ये दोनों मिलेंगे, अलग होंगे, तो वह उनका अपना कार्य है, लेकिन मेरा प्रश्न यह है कि जब आपने 11 डुबकियां लगाई थीं, तो कम से कम यमुना मईया में साथ में हाथ पकड़ कर एक डुबकी तो लगा लेते। आपने नहीं लगाई, क्योंकि आपने वादा पूरा नहीं किया। जब वादा पूरा नहीं किया, तो निश्चित रूप में जनता ने आपको नकार दिया। यह जो बजट है, यह वादों को पूरा करने वाला है। क्रमशः हर जगह पर एक-एक छोटे-छोटे वादों को पूरा करने वाला है। जनजातियों के संबंध में देखें, तो 'धरती आबा जनजाति ग्राम उत्कर्ष अभियान' चलाया है। अगर आप देखेंगे, तो 24,100 करोड़ रुपये का बजट रखा गया है, वह न्याय महाअभियान पीएम-जनमन के लिए रखा गया है। अगर आप देखें कि जो अत्यंत पिछड़े जनजाति समूह हैं, उनको लंबे समय से उपेक्षित रखा गया था, उनके लिए तमाम कल्याणकारी योजनाएं हमारी सरकार ने बनाई हैं। पहली बार 'जनजातीय गौरव दिवस' मनाने का काम भी हमारी सरकार ने किया है। मैं कह सकता हूं कि ग्रामीणों के लिए, जनजाति के लिए, दलित महिलाओं के लिए और नौजवानों के लिए स्टार्ट-अप को भी दुगना बढ़ा दिया गया है। आज मुद्रा लोन को भी दुगना कर दिया है। रोजगार का सृजन करने वाला है, तो वहीं चमड़ा उद्योग में नई क्रांति

लाने के लिए लगभग 20 से 22 लाख नौकरियों का सृजन करने वाला है। अगर आप दूसरी तरफ देखेंगे, तो तमाम प्रकार के एआई के ऊपर भी तमाम बजट का प्रावधान किया गया है। अगर मैं देखूँ, तो हर तरफ चौमुखी विकास के लक्ष्य मिलेंगे। यह महत्वपूर्ण है, लेकिन अगर कोई इसमें बहाना ढूंढता है कि यह नहीं किया, यह करना चाहिए था, तो निश्चित रूप से हमें जो करना चाहिए था, हम कर रहे हैं। हमने आर्थिक सशक्तिकरण के लिए एक 'प्रधान मंत्री जनजातीय विकास मिशन' को शुरू किया है। उद्यमिता के लिए हमने वोकल फॉर लोकल को शुरू किया है।

3.00 P.M.

हम आवासीय विद्यालयों के माध्यम से 1 लाख, 25 हजार आदिवासी बच्चों को शिक्षा की गुणवत्ता में आगे लेकर आए हैं। दस वर्षों में हमारी सरकार ने आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में 10 से 30 नये मेडिकल कॉलेज खोलने का निर्णय लिया है।

श्रीमान, शायद यही वेदना थी और यह वेदना बजट से पूर्व, राष्ट्रपति महोदया के अभिभाषण के पहले दिन दिखाई पड़ी। भाजपा सरकार आदिवासियों के लिए, दलितों के लिए योजना लाएगी। महोदय, एक बड़े नेता, क्योंकि वे सदन के नेता नहीं हैं, वे प्रतिपक्ष के नेता होंगे, लेकिन उनका जोश इतना रहता है कि वे सदन में खुद तो सोते हैं और जब राष्ट्रपति महोदया भाषण देती हैं, तो कहते हैं कि उबाऊ भाषण था। एक आदरणीया, जो खुद बहुत अमीरी का जीवन जी रही हैं, वे पुअर लेडी कहती हैं। वे सुस्त लेडी या थकी हुई लेडी बताती हैं। कौन थका है — इसका निर्णय आप करेंगे!

महोदय, संवैधानिक पद पर आसीन एक उच्च पदस्थ आदिवासी महिला के लिए इस प्रकार के वक्तव्यों का प्रयोग करने के लिए मैं समझता हूँ कि यह भारत की राजनीति में शर्मनाक है। महोदय, यही नहीं, उन्हीं की पार्टी के एक नेता हैं, जो बंगाल से आते हैं — वे पहले उनके नेता थे, उन्होंने उन्हें राष्ट्रपत्नी के रूप में संबोधित किया। आप अपमान के कौन-सी सीमा पर ले जाना चाहते हैं? एक नेता, जो कभी उनके साथ रहकर, असत्य का पूरा पुलिंदा लेकर उनके बारे में कहते हैं कि ये राम मंदिर नहीं गई, ये वहाँ नहीं गई आदि-आदि, तो मैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि आपको क्या पता कि माननीय राष्ट्रपति महोदया आज कुंभ में स्नान कर रही हैं। महोदय, यही भारत की सनातन संस्कृति है। अगर आपको उनके बारे में पता करना है, तो सर्व कर लीजिएगा कि वे धर्म का प्रदर्शन नहीं करतीं। वास्तव में अगर देखा जाए, तो मई, 2024 में हमारी राष्ट्रपति महोदया राम मंदिर गई थीं और उन्होंने सरयू नदी में स्नान भी किया था। उन्होंने वहाँ पर पूजा भी की थी, वे महा आरती में शामिल भी हुई थीं। आपको इन बातों की जानकारी नहीं है, आप तो बस इसलिए आरोप लगाते हैं, ताकि आप लोगों में भेद पैदा करें। यह अगड़ा है, यह पिछड़ा है, यह अनुसूचित है, यह दलित है, इनको बाँटो, इनको अलग करो, फिर राज करने की परिकल्पना करो। अगर ये कुंभ चले जाएंगे, तो कुंभ में एक साथ मिलकर आपस में सब एक हो जाएंगे! इसलिए इनकी जो दुश्मनी थी- महोदय, मैं *दुश्मनी* शब्द का प्रयोग कर रहा हूँ - वह दुश्मनी किसी और से नहीं थी, बल्कि वह कुंभ और सनातन पर थी, इसीलिए वे सोच रहे थे कि ये सभी आपस में मिल क्यों रहे हैं? ये इस चीज़ की तलाश में भटक रहे थे कि दुख की घड़ी आ जाए। इनकी जो गिद्ध दृष्टि है, वह एक दुखद घटना की तलाश में भटक रही थी।

महोदय, एक घटना होने के बाद जिस तरीके से शर्मनाक बयान दिए गए, मैं समझता हूँ कि वे उचित नहीं थे। महोदय, आज समय बदला है और इस बदले हुए समय पर मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारा जो बजट है, वह एक नई दिशा और दृष्टि की तरफ बढ़ रहा है। मैं इसकी दिशा और दृष्टि इसलिए कहूँगा, क्योंकि इसमें Atal Innovation Mission से लेकर National Quantum Mission तक की उपलब्धता है। इसमें AI और Semiconductor Ecosystem को मजबूत करने से लेकर Deep Tech Startup को बढ़ावा देने तक का विज्ञान है। इसमें एक सोच है, जिसमें 10 हजार, 300 करोड़ के ऐतिहासिक निवेश के साथ IndiaAI Mission, यानी भारत में कृत्रिम बुद्धिमत्ता के परिप्रेक्ष्य को क्रांतिकारी रूप में बदलने के लिए भारत को तैयार करने का विज्ञान है।

मान्यवर, यह बजट शोध और नवाचार, जिसको आप research and innovation कहते हैं, उस क्षेत्र में वैश्विक हब बनाने के लिए अपनी प्रतिबद्धता को और मजबूत कर रहा है। महोदय, यह ऐसे ही नहीं है। लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी ने 'जय जवान-जय किसान' कहा था, अटल जी ने उसमें 'जय विज्ञान' जोड़ा, आदरणीय प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा 'जय जवान-जय किसान-जय विज्ञान-जय अनुसंधान' और जय अनुसंधान के साथ इन तमाम नवाचारों में, तमाम प्रयोग करने के लिए आज हमारी वित्त मंत्री जी ने धन का आवंटन किया है। शायद इसी का परिणाम था कि भारत ने वैक्सीन का उत्पादन स्वयं कर डाला।

महोदय, वैक्सीन का उत्पादन करने के साथ-साथ भारत ने 120 देशों को उसकी संपूर्ति भी की। अब भारत प्रधान मंत्री जी के नेतृत्व में याची नहीं है, बल्कि यह भारत दाता बनकर 2047 के विकसित भारत की परिकल्पना की तरफ तेज गति से अपनी आर्थिक यात्रा पूरा कर रहा है। मान्यवर, मैं यह कहूँगा कि आज भारत Nuclear Energy Mission की तरफ, स्वच्छ और टिकाऊ ऊर्जा को बढ़ाने की तरफ अग्रसर है। अगर कहा जाए कि देश निजी भागीदारी से रिसर्च, डेवलपमेंट और इनोवेशन के साथ-साथ 20 हजार करोड़ के निवेश की तरफ बढ़ रहा है, तो यह अतिशयोक्ति नहीं है।

हमारा भारत नवाचार अनुसंधान की संस्कृति को आगे बढ़ा रहा है। शायद यही विकसित भारत 2047 की परिकल्पना है। "अबला जीवन हाय तुम्हारी यही कहानी, आंचल में है दूध और आंखों में पानी।" हमने ऐसी बहुत सारी कविता की लाइंस का समय-समय पर प्रयोग किया है, इनका उल्लेख किया है। लेकिन, यह क्यों किया है? क्योंकि, यह उस समय की व्यवस्था थी। नारी, जो आधी आबादी की हकदार थी, उसे अधिकार नहीं मिला था। उस नारी पर अत्याचारों की बाढ़ थी, वह शिक्षित नहीं थी, वह तमाम कुरीतियों की शिकार थी। उसके पास अपने अधिकारों के लिए आगे बढ़ाने के कोई उपाय नहीं थे। तमाम रूढ़िवादिता से घिरी हुई उस नारी के बारे में आज से 50 साल पहले की ये उक्तियाँ कि "अबला जीवन हाय तुम्हारी यही कहानी, आंचल में है दूध और आंखों में पानी", आज नहीं है। आज के मोदी जी के भारत में, प्रधानमंत्रित्व काल के भारत में अब नारी जीवन हाय तेरी कहानी नहीं है, बल्कि अब नारी के जीवन में न आंसू हैं, न पानी है। नारी के जीवन में उमंग है, उत्साह है, आगे बढ़ने की परिकल्पना है और यही कारण है कि आज यह बेटी बचाओ, बेटी पढ़ाओ योजना, यह बाल विवाह से मुक्ति के लिए बाल विवाह मुक्त भारत अभियान, यह प्रधानमंत्री मातृ वंदना योजना, यह लखपति दीदी योजना, यह नारी शक्ति वंदन अधिनियम और अगर आप देखें, तो इनके साथ-साथ 91 लाख से अधिक स्वयं सहायता समूह के माध्यम से दस करोड़ महिलाओं के सशक्तिकरण का अभियान है। इनके साथ-साथ, तीन करोड़

लखपति दीदी बनाने का अभियान प्रारंभ हो चुका है। 1,15,00,000 महिलाएं इस मुकाम तक पहुंच चुकी हैं। यही भारत है, यही भारत की अर्थनीति है, यही भारत का प्रबंधन है, यही भारत का स्वराज्य है। मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि बीते 6 महीने में 50 लाख महिलाओं ने इस लक्ष्य को प्राप्त भी किया है।

मान्यवर, बहुत सारी बातें हैं। मैंने तो एक उक्ति ही बताई है, एक कविता की लाइन बताई है। मैं लखनऊ से हूँ। लखनऊ में एक मशहूर शायर हुए थे — मजाज़ लखनवी। उन्होंने कहा:

“तिरे माथे पे ये आँचल बहुत ही खूब है लेकिन  
तू इस आंचल से इक परचम बना लेती तो अच्छा था।”

अब वह आंचल से परचम लहरा रही है। आज वह गृहणी नहीं है, बल्कि आज वह फाइटर प्लेन को चलाने वाली भी बन चुकी है। आज वह नेतृत्वकर्ता भी है, तो आज वह राजनीति में भागीदारी भी कर रही है। महिला सशक्तिकरण की इस दौड़ ने पूरे विश्व को भारत का विश्लेषण करने के लिए मजबूर किया है। मान्यवर, मैं कह सकता हूँ कि आज लोग कहते हैं कि मर्यादा पुरुषोत्तम श्री राम के बारे में कहते हैं कि राजकुमार राम को भगवान राम बनाने का कार्य जनजातीय समाज ने किया था। आज उस जनजातीय समाज के उन्नयन के लिए जिस प्रकार से काम किया है, मैं समझता हूँ कि यह अद्भुत है। अगर देखा जाए, तो आज 70 साल के बाद भी भारत आगे बढ़ने के कगार पर चला है, तो वह हमारे देश का संविधान है। संविधान में कहा था कि हमारे यहां के सभी निचले स्तर के लोगों का उन्नयन हो, तो आज मध्यम श्रेणी के लोगों के लिए आठवां वेतन आयोग बना है। रेपो रेट कम करने के बाद, उनकी लोन की सीमा बढ़ेगी। वे बचत करेंगे। आज वे 12 लाख रुपए तक आयकर की सीमा से मुक्त हुए हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि जब खर्च बढ़ेगा, तब ये सीमाएं और लाभ भारत की विकासशीलता में आगे बढ़ेंगे। आदरणीय विद्वज्जन यहाँ से रोज लापता हो जाते हैं। आज क्या है, वे तो रोज ही लापता हो जाते हैं। ये पूरे भारत के परिदृश्य से लापता हैं। मैं उनसे कुछ कहना चाहता था। मैं उनसे यही कहूँगा कि आप दूसरे की लकीर छोटी करने में क्यों लगे रहते हैं, कभी आपने लकीर को बड़ा करने की क्यों नहीं सोची। मोदी जी कहते नहीं हैं, बल्कि करते हैं और शायद यही कारण है कि जो लक्ष्य का निर्धारण नहीं भी था, उस लक्ष्य के निर्धारण के साथ आज हमारा संकल्प तेजी से बढ़ा है।

मान्यवर, मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि आज महंगाई की दर 10 वर्षों से 5.1% रही है। आदरणीय पी. चिदम्बरम जी चले गए। मैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि इसे आपने क्यों नहीं किया, आपके पास तो अवसर था, लेकिन आप नहीं कर पाए। भारतीय जनता पार्टी की सरकार आने के बाद, 10 वर्षों में महंगाई की दर 5.1 प्रतिशत रही, जबकि मनमोहन काल में यह दर करीब 8.2 प्रतिशत थी।

इस समय भारतवर्ष में महंगाई की दर 5.1 प्रतिशत है। यह अद्भुत है। हमारा विदेशी मुद्रा भंडार भी बढ़ चुका है। आज हमारे समय में विदेशी मुद्रा भंडार 619 अरब डॉलर पहुंच गया है, जबकि आपके समय में, कांग्रेस के शासनकाल में यह 292 अरब डॉलर था। हम कह सकते हैं कि आज बेरोजगारी की दर घटी है। यह 2018-19 में 5.8 फीसदी थी और 2022-23 में यह 3.2 फीसदी हो चुकी है।

मान्यवर, हमारा आज का जो क्रम है - मैं समझता हूँ कि चाहे वह भारतीय रेलवे हो, भारतीय रेलवे ने तो अद्भुत काम किया है। इसके अलावा अर्बन डेवलपमेंट में भी अद्भुत काम किया गया है। शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में नई शिक्षा नीति क्रांति लाई है। इसमें सभी भाषाओं को सम्मान मिलेगा। आज आप सभी भाषाओं में शोध कर सकते हैं। आप 14 से अधिक भाषाओं में परीक्षाएं दे सकते हैं। शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में भी अभूतपूर्व काम किया गया है और गृह मंत्रालय ने एक लाइन खींची है। लोग कहते थे कि आप असत्य वादा करते हैं, लेकिन क्या हुआ - 70 साल की समस्या 70 मिनट में वन, टू, थ्री हो गई और पता चला की धारा 370 और 35ए गायब हो गई। आज कश्मीर में सुशासन है। आज कश्मीर अच्छी तरह से आगे बढ़ रहा है। मैं यही कहना चाहता हूँ कि regional trend का युग है। हवाई अड्डे तेजी के साथ बढ़ रहे हैं। रेलवे, वाटरवे, हाइवे, बुलेट ट्रेन में जो ऐतिहासिक सुधार है, यह सारा कुछ अद्भुत दिखाई पड़ता है।

मान्यवर, मैं चुनाव के समय नागपुर गया था। माननीय मंत्री महोदय ने जो काम किया था, मैं उसे देखकर अचम्बित था कि नीचे सड़क है, ऊपर पुल है और उसके ऊपर मैट्रो है। आज यह भारत उन विकसित राष्ट्रों को चुनौती दे रहा है, जिनकी बराबरी हम डेवलपमेंट प्रोसेस में तो कर चुके हैं, लेकिन अब हम उनको पछाड़ने की तरफ आगे बढ़ रहे हैं।

मान्यवर, मैं कहूंगा कि हमारा जो यह बजट है, यह न केवल तमाम उपलब्धियों को लाने वाला बजट है, बल्कि इस बजट के माध्यम से मैं कह सकता हूँ कि हम आज उन बारीकियों को भी देख रहे हैं, जैसा बाबा साहेब भीमराव अम्बेडकर जी ने सपना देखा था कि हम एक संवैधानिक व्यवस्था वाला भारत देखेंगे। वे संस्कृत भाषा को लाना चाहते थे और उन्होंने जर्मनी की एक यूनिवर्सिटी में संस्कृत भाषा पढ़ी भी थी, लेकिन उस समय की कांग्रेस की सरकार ने नहीं लाने दी थी। कमरुद्दीन जी, उस समय भाषा समिति में थे, उन्होंने संस्कृत भाषा को लाने के लिए संसद में भाषण दिया था, लेकिन उस समय की सरकार ने वह कार्य नहीं किया। आज शिक्षा नीति के माध्यम से यह सब हो रहा है। ...(समय की घंटी)...

माननीय उपसभापति महोदय, मैं अपनी बात को समाप्त करता हूँ। आज हमारे लिए गए फैसले विकसित भारत की नींव रखेंगे। एक ऐसा भारत, जो आर्थिक रूप से मजबूत, सामाजिक रूप से समावेशी और तकनीकी रूप से आगे हो, जहां से तरक्की, समृद्धि, नवाचार की रोशनी पूरे विश्व में फैलेगी। मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री श्रीमती निर्मला सीतारमण जी को इतना दूरदर्शी और प्रगतिशील बजट प्रस्तुत करने के लिए बधाई और धन्यवाद देता हूँ और इसका पूरा समर्थन करता हूँ।

**श्री उपसभापति :** माननीय सभा के नेता।

**सभा के नेता (श्री जगत प्रकाश नड्डा):** माननीय उपसभापति जी, जब भारत के पूर्व वित्त मंत्री बोल रहे थे, तो मैं उसमें इन्टरवीन करना चाहता था, लेकिन माननीय पूर्व वित्त मंत्री जी ने yield नहीं किया, हमें परमिशन नहीं दी, लेकिन वे जिन फैक्ट्स के बारे में बोल रहे थे, मुझे लगता कि उनको यहां पर क्लेरिफाई करना हमारी जिम्मेवारी है। पहली बात तो मुझे समझ में नहीं आई कि Chidambaram Saheb was speaking on Budget or speaking on the External Affairs Ministry! He started his speech where he questioned, 'Did the Foreign Minister have

a talk with the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of America?’ मुझे आश्चर्य हुआ कि उन्होंने यह क्वेश्चन 2012 में क्यों नहीं पूछा when he was the Minister? मेरे मन में यह प्रश्न आया कि why they did not ask this question in 2013? Why they did not ask this question in 2009? Here, the hon. External Affairs Minister made a statement and he has come out with facts. He made a statement in this very House, where he explained it in detail.

(MR. CHAIRMAN *in the Chair.*)

Along with that, he took the questions and also gave the clarifications. The clarifications were given.

मैं आज फिर इस बात को स्पष्ट करना चाहता हूँ, क्योंकि ऐसा बताया जा रहा है, जैसे कि ये जो deport किए गए, ये अमानवीय ढंग से जो हुए, इसकी चिंता आपको ही है! यह अलग बात है कि 2009 में नहीं थी, 2010 में नहीं थी, 2011 में नहीं थी, 2012 में नहीं थी, 2013 में नहीं थी। जागे, तो 2025 में जागे! देखिए, national interest को कभी भी political चश्मे से नहीं देखना चाहिए। मैं बताना चाहता हूँ, ...(व्यवधान)... Hon. Members would be aware that the process of deportation is not a new one. I repeat, it is not a new one and has been ongoing for several years. I would like to share with the House, the details of deportation from the United States of America since 2009. The numbers year-wise, as available with our law enforcement agencies, are as follows: 2009 - 734 persons ...*(Interruptions)*... यह सारा का सारा पढ़ा है। ...(व्यवधान)... अंत में, ...(व्यवधान)...

**श्री सभापति :** सुनिए, जयराम जी, I got your point. यह हो तो चुका है, पर होने के बाद माननीय चिदम्बरम जी ने बात कही, इसलिए ये बोल रहे हैं। ...(व्यवधान)...

**श्री जयराम रमेश (कर्नाटक):** सर, यह क्या है?

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am chairing. ...*(Interruptions)*... Yes, hon. Leader of the House.

SHRI JAGAT PRAKASH NADDA: Sir, I would just like to say, deportations by the U.S. are organized and executed by the Immigration and Customs Enforcement Authorities. The Standard Operating Procedure -- deportations by aircraft used by ICE -- is effective from 2012. I repeat, it is effective from 2012 and provides for the use of 'restraints'. Restraints में ही 2009 से लेकर सभी लोग आए हैं और ये 2025 में भी आए हैं। लेकिन मुझे समझ में नहीं आता है कि जिस प्रकार से वही चाँद कभी अमावस्या में चला जाता है, कभी पूर्णमासी में आ जाता है, पता नहीं जब अपनी बारी आती है, तो वे अमावस्या में रहते हैं और जब हमारी बारी आती है, तो पूर्णमासी में अपनी पूरी चाँदनी दिखाने की कोशिश करते हैं। यह

double standard ठीक नहीं है। इतने वरिष्ठ नेता ने बात कही, तो मुझे हाउस में इसको clarify करना था, मैंने इसको clarify किया और मैं इसको authenticate भी करता हूँ। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

MR. CHAIRMAN: You will get your turn after one speaker. ...*(Interruptions)*... I permit a very brief intervention by Shri Tiruchi Siva. You have one minute.

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA (Tamil Nadu): He gave a clarification that it is happening since 2012 that they were deported in an air force flight. But we would like to know if they had been handcuffed and chained even from 2012.

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is what he said. ...*(Interruptions)*... That is what he said. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA: No, Sir. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: He said in 'restraints'. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA: He did not tell that. ...*(Interruptions)*... It happened only this year, Sir. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: One minute. ...*(Interruptions)*... Let me clarify. I persuade Members of the House. They are very learned to know about the procedure. Mr. Chidambaram knows it much more than anyone else. The expression used by the hon. Leader of the House is very categorical, 'restraint'. You know what 'restraint' means... ...*(Interruptions)*... Sir, it is there since 2009, he said so. ...*(Interruptions)*... He exactly says the same thing.

**श्री जगत प्रकाश नड्डा** : सर, इधर के लोग कभी जेल नहीं गए हैं। ...**(व्यवधान)**... इधर के लोग ...**(व्यवधान)**... मैं इधर बोल रहा हूँ। ...**(व्यवधान)**... इनको मालूम नहीं है कि जब custody ली जाती है, तो आपको ध्यान में होगा, ...**(व्यवधान)**... Ask them to ...*(Interruptions)*... मुझे मालूम नहीं है, शायद ये किसी ज़ुर्म में गए होंगे, वह मुझे मालूम नहीं, लेकिन मैं यहाँ ...**(व्यवधान)**...

साकेत बाबू, मैं इधर की बात कर रहा हूँ, आप क्यों बीच में आ रहे हैं? ...**(व्यवधान)**... आप उधर की बात क्यों कर रहे हैं? ...**(व्यवधान)**... सर, इन्होंने जेल नहीं देखी है। जब किसी को कस्टडी में लिया जाता है.. इसमें सारे SOPs लिखे हुए हैं। ...**(व्यवधान)**... You have to follow those SOPs. ...*(Interruptions)*... SOPs follow किए जाते हैं। ...**(व्यवधान)**... वे सारे SOPs follow किए जाते हैं और वही 2009 में भी follow हुए, जो 2025 में हुए हैं।

MR. CHAIRMAN: The House is progressing rather well. Ignore the past few minutes; it should not be a precedent. I will make one appeal. The hon. Members of this House may work to get more involved with the procedure, and the ‘restraint’ used by the Leader of the House and its connotations are sometimes dictated for survival and safety of the person subjected to restraint. After the External Affairs Minister made the Statement, I learnt myself in detail to all that the External Affairs Minister had indicated, and I will share it with Jairamji, during the course of the day in my Chamber. He will fully appreciate that ‘restraint’ is sometimes generated for pure safety of the person concerned. ...*(Interruptions)*... I call Shri Ritabrata Banerjee. You have 15 minutes.

SHRI RITABRATA BANERJEE (West Bengal): Sir, I stand to make my speech, speaking on the Budget for the All India Trinamool Congress. As an MP from Bengal, this is a special time to be speaking. Last week, history was being made in my State. Captains of industry, thought leaders, heads of missions of 40 countries and leading entrepreneurs from across the world were drawn to Bengal for the two day Bengal Global Business Summit. Last week, many path-breaking projects were announced, from AI to tourism, from steel to energy to telecom. About a mammoth of Rupees four lakh plus crores in new investments and tens of thousands of prospective jobs made the headlines. One of the world’s biggest industrialists said this at the Bengal Global Business Summit in Kolkata- “Now Bengal is also witnessing a renaissance in economy and business... and no power on earth can stop Bengal’s resurgence.”

(THE VICE-CHAIRPERSON (SHRIMATI SUNETRA AJIT PAWAR) *in the Chair.*)

Yes, Madam, Bengal means business.

Now, let me dissect the below par Union Budget presented last week. India has more than 50 per cent of its population below the age of 25 years and more than 65 per cent, below the age of 35. Now the question is whether the country looks upon this population as a liability or as a resource. This is the basic question which the Budget must deal upon. In dark times, will there also be singing? Yes, there will also be singing; there will be singing about the dark times. The hon. Finance Minister has just left. The previous Budget presented by her in July 2024 after the Lok Sabha election had accorded priority to employment and skill development, given the nature of the election mandate. The Finance Minister had announced a Prime Minister’s package of five schemes and initiatives to facilitate jobs and internship opportunities for 4.1 crores youth over a five year period with a Central outlay of Rupees two lakh

crore. However, this year's Budget, February 1<sup>st</sup>, did not refer to the Prime Minister's package even once. There is not even a single mention of the package. What do we learn? That the Cabinet note on employment-linked incentive scheme is under finalization and several meetings have been held with the Ministry of Labour and the CII to discuss the relationship between capital expenditure and employment generation. In other words, the future of the Scheme looks completely bleak. Now, the Periodic Labour Force Survey (PLFS) — it is a Government data — revealed that in 2023-24, youth unemployment rate, for those aged 15-29 years, had gone up to 10.2 per cent and the unemployment rate among graduates was 13 per cent. The latest Economic Survey data shows that average real earnings of self-employed male workers in India have been decreasing constantly from 2017-18. There is a constant decline. The monthly real wage of male workers, salaried workers, is constantly declining. Surplus labour, inundating the job market, combined with high food inflation have severely squeezed the real incomes and livelihoods of an overwhelming majority of Indian workforce. For a Finance Minister and a Government always telling, *Sabka Saath Sabka Vikaas*, to overlook this is really, really dangerous. Modi Government's mammoth <sup>₹</sup> for the last 10 years, has taken a toll on our hard-earned public money. Over the last 10 years, frauds and corporate sharks frittered away; at least, Rs. 12 lakh crore of Rs. 16.11 lakh crore our banking system has written off. Out of this, the nationalised banks alone have written-off more than Rs. 12 lakh crore. When the hon. Finance Minister replies, I will urge upon that she must tell us, tell the House, how much of these written-off loans of nationalised banks have been recovered.

Now, we could also compare this Rs. 16.11 lakh crore that has been written-off that disappeared over 10 years with the Union Government budgets for Education where the total expenditure was less than 40 per cent of this, and for Health, where it was less than half. To make up for this lost money, banks charge higher and higher user charges for every little service. The rates for loans go up because banks have suffered at the hands of frauds and fund-siphoning.

Now, Madam, the stupefying increase in the wealth of the favoured 10 topmost cronies through favours, rule-tweakening and the low-value sale of high-value national assets during Modi's Rule has been massive. But the 'Rs. 12 lakh crore wipe-out' by nationalised banks may help us understand how the next tier of cronies and beneficiaries gain from the regime. After all, our money in banks did not really

---

<sup>₹</sup> Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

disappear. They just hopped on to line the pockets of those who knew their way around in very complex, corrupt and dark times.

Now, in 1956, both the Houses deliberated for three months. LIC was formed. The then Prime Minister of the country, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, gave from the corpus Rs. 5 crore for the formation of the LIC. The LIC started its journey. Today, LIC means 51,000 crore of rupees. LIC means 30 crore of policyholders. Now, you are allowing 100 per cent FDI. Allowing total freedom and greater access to foreign capital could only retard the orderly growth of the insurance industry with the focus more on profits rather than providing the people and business the much-needed security.

Our hon. Chief Minister has written to the Finance Minister last year on August 2<sup>nd</sup>. She wrote a letter asking her to withdraw the 18 per cent GST on life insurance and health insurance policies. I quote from the letter, "With deep anguish, I am writing to you regarding the imposition of 18 per cent GST on life insurance and health insurance policies and the withdrawal of deductions. The GST is bad because it adversely affects the people's ability to take care of their basic vital needs. This additional burden may be acting as a deterrent for many individuals from taking new policies or continuing their existing insurance coverage, thereby leaving them vulnerable for unforeseen financial distress." Now regarding the withdrawal of the GST on health insurances, the Finance Minister is always shifting the onus to the GST Council. Madam, everybody is aware who is in charge of the GST council, who controls the GST council. It is the BJP-ruled States which have the majority in the GST council. Then what is stopping the Finance Minister and her party? The lack of political will is stopping them to roll-back this GST on health insurances.

Madam, I was born and brought up in a refugee colony in the added areas of Kolkata. Migrated people, bearing the brunts of partition, had set up these colonies where from our adolescence we learnt that when politics determines our future, we must determine the politics. Political awareness runs in every blood and veins of Bengal in general and these innumerable refugee colonies in particular. Though I don't have the first-hand experience of the horrors of partition unlike my father, still like many third or fourth generation refugee, I consider my refugee ancestry as one of my greatest badges of honour. This 'refugee ancestry' has passed on the political understanding of fighting for legitimate rights. As a trade union activist, fighting for the rightful dues of the working people becomes my duty. You are denying the people of their dues, denying the people of Bengal of their rightful dues. You are denying the MGNREGS workers. They are not in a begging mood anymore as they have realized that this denial is completely political. West Bengal owes a staggering figure of Rs. 1.75 lakh crores. The delay has not only affected the implementation of critical

programmes but also created challenges for local governance, particularly, in rural areas that depend heavily on such funds for employment and infrastructure development.

Madam, the fight for these funds is necessarily political. We are aware that we may be standing here, but if we shift our position and we shift to the other side, things will fall in place. But Bengal refuses to surrender. Bengal hates to surrender. Bengal will never surrender. Bengal will never bow down. I understand the problem of the Treasury Benches. You cannot fight Mamata Banerjee politically, you cannot match Mamata Banerjee's good governance, you cannot match Mamata Banerjee's welfare schemes and hence, you continue to deprive lakhs of our people. The more the deprivation, the sharper and greater will be our resolve, the resolve of our people to fight you in a befitting manner. The resolve finds resonance in the immortal words of the true polymath, who has been our greatest identity. <sup>&</sup> It was the greatest Bengali of the last thousand years, Tagore, who said:

“Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;  
 Where knowledge is free;  
 Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;  
 Where words come out from the depth of truth;  
 Where tireless striving stretches its arms toward perfection;  
 Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of  
 dead habit;  
 Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought and action —  
 Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.”

Now, Madam, as I am a trade union activist, I want to give this august House some important figures. I am not a student of economics, but these are very basic figures. When unorganized workforce in our country goes on increasing, the health of the economy is not in proper shape. Now, let me look into the figures that are available. Figures show that in Africa, 86 per cent of the labourers are in the unorganized sector while 14 per cent are in the organized sector; in Asia Pacific and Arab countries, 68 per cent are in the unorganized sector and 32 per cent in the organized sector; in the Americas, 40 per cent are in the unorganized sector and 60 per cent are in the organized sector; in Europe and Central Asian countries, 26 per cent are in the unorganized sector while 74 per cent are in the organized sector. And

---

<sup>&</sup> English translation of the original speech delivered in Bengali.

now, we now come to *vishwaguru* India. Let me tell the House, as a trade union activist, we are facing these problems. There are serious implications of this. Ninety-three per cent of the workforce has fallen under the unorganized sector; only seven per cent are organized workers. The organized workers definitely have some statutory benefits, but the unorganized workers are deprived of the statutory benefits. Fifty per cent of the contribution to the GDP of our country comes from the unorganized sector. Only six per cent of them are covered by social security measures. The blood, toil, sweat and tears of these workers are the bulwark of our economy. But the Budget has completely neglected them and has said nothing about them.

Now, I want to mention about two schemes. One is the *Pradhan Mantri Shram Yogi Maandhan Yojana*, PMSYM, a Central scheme and the other is a State scheme of Bengal known as *Bina Mulya Samajik Suraksha Yojana*, BMSSY. Now, people from the unorganized sector who are covered by the *Pradhan Mantri Shram Yogi Maandhan Yojana*, PMSYM, have to contribute every month. They have to contribute money every month. In the BMSSY scheme of Mamata Banerjee, they need not contribute a single rupee; the entire money, from the age of 18 to 60 years, is given by the Government. Now, I come to flat figures. In the report up to January, 2025, in Bengal, the number of registrations of unorganized workers made under the *Bina Mulya Samajik Suraksha Yojana* of Mamata Banerjee is one crore and seventy-six lakh-plus. The number of benefits distributed is 34,94,000, almost 35 lakhs. The amount distributed is Rs. 2,606 crores. Let the Central Government show the political will, take up the responsibility and make the entire contribution for the workers, like Mamata Banerjee is doing, in the Central schemes. Now, Sir, I am a trade union worker and Mr. Prakash here stays in a tea garden in the northern part of Bengal. I will mention some tea-chronology that is very essential to mention here.

In 2016, when I was a Member of this House, hon. Finance Minister was the then Commerce and Industry Minister. This is the Gazette Notification. The Gazette Notification is dated 28th of January, 2016. Before that, the hon. Prime Minister had gone to Madarihat. He had promised about taking up some sick tea gardens. So, this Gazette Notification on 28th of January mentioned that Birpara, Garganda, Lankapara, Tulsipara, Hantapara, Dumchipara, Dimnima, seven tea gardens, will be taken over by the Tea Board. Within eight months, all these gardens got closed. And it was Mamata Banerjee and the Labour Department who took all the initiative of opening these tea gardens. 2016 was the Assembly elections of Bengal!

Now come to 2021-22 Budget. In the Budget, thousand crores announced for Assam and Bengal tea gardens. I don't know about Assam, but as far as Bengal's experience is concerned, not a single penny has reached us. Now, this year, when

the Budget has been announced, their tea imports are hampering us. Such problems like Central Government's decision of plucking dates; damage of 7 per cent tea crop are also there. There is discussion in the tea garden. Common workers are discussing in the tea garden, 'Oh, this year is 2025; so, in this Budget, nothing will come. Bengal's Assembly election is in 2026. So, in 2026, definitely, you will have some promises, some *jumlas*, about the tea gardens'. But the results will come out in the month of May. Next year, when Mamata Banerjee becomes the Chief Minister of West Bengal for the fourth consecutive time, we will be back here in the House and we will not raise slogans. We will be raising people's issues. Now, Madam, the fight against the anti-people policies will intensify. The fight against discrimination of Bengal will intensify. This regime will try to suppress all truth by all possible means. (*Time-bell rings*)... I will take half a minute, Madam. This regime will try to suppress all possible truth by all possible means. There will be conspiracies to bury Bengal into oblivion. But the boys of Bengal cannot be choked. The boys of Bengal cannot be stifled. The people of Bengal, under the leadership of Mamata Banerjee, will give a befitting rebuff to the anti-people policies.

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती सुनेत्रा अजीत पवार) :** आपका बोलने का समय समाप्त हो गया है।

SHRI DEREK O'BRIEN: The Party has so much of time. Please do not switch the microphone off. ...(*Interruptions*)...

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती सुनेत्रा अजीत पवार) :** आपकी बात पूरी हो गई है।

SHRI RITABRATA BANERJEE: The fight against the anti-people policies will intensify. The fight against the discrimination of Bengal will intensify. This regime will try to suppress all truth by all possible means. There will be conspiracies to bury Bengal and Bengalis into oblivion. But, our voice cannot be choked. Our voice cannot be stifled. Bengal, under the leadership of Mamata Banerjee, will give a fitting rebuff to the anti-people policies of the Government. % "*El pueblo, unido bojo Mamata Banerjee, Jamas Sera vencido.*"

& The people, united under Mamata Banerjee, shall always be victorious. Jai Bangla!

---

% Hon. Member spoke in Spanish.

& English translation of the original speech delivered in Spanish.

SHRI DEREK O'BRIEN: Madam, everyone is participating in the Budget discussion, and take one minute this way or that way. But what has happened today is that microphone has been switched off. These are very basic issues not to fight over. Somebody from that side may go over by one minute. We may go over by one minute. The Party has 45 minutes of time. At 45 minutes, we switch it off. Madam, with all respect to you, can you please ensure that this thing doesn't happen? It is unbelievable that it has happened. His conclusion has been wiped off. ...(*Interruptions*).. Just one minute. This is not a complaint. Madam, it is a good debate. Everybody is speaking. But, please, understand how we are feeling. The second largest opposition Party here with 13 MPs, with 40 minutes on our clock, our opening speaker's mic is switched off! Somebody has to take care. And my appeal to you, through the Chairman, is not to make this happen again. Thank you.

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती सुनेत्रा अजीत पवार) :** आप सबको बोलने का समय दिया जाएगा।

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA (Tamil Nadu): Madam, a Budget is not merely a statement of accounts, but it is a statement of intent. The Budget reveals the priorities of the Government, and the priorities show the real governance of today. Our Prime Minister has described this Budget as a roadmap to 'Viksit Bharat'. Am I right? The word is 'Viksit Bharat', which means 'developed India'. But, the numbers show very well that the path seems only a mirage. There are so many reasons to explain that. For example, the Union Budget was presented as a proclamation of progress, conveniently hiding the realities on the ground of stagnant growth, growing inequalities and a sizeable demographic dividend slipping off the fingers into a demographic disaster. This Government's economic policies have always enriched the privileged few, leaving behind a lot of sections of the people into joblessness, inflation and shrinking opportunities. We have got so many things to say about that, but before that, the Finance Minister was praised highly by the hon. Chairman that she has continuously presented her eighth Budget. But, what is the progress? The graph, instead of going up, is dipping down.

I would like to recall what all she has told from 2019. In 2019, while presenting the Budget, she quoted from *Purananuru*, which is an advice to a Pandya king, Arivudai Nambi. I don't want to take the Tamil version and consume my time. In English, it says that a few mounds of rice from paddy, that is harvested from a small piece of land, would suffice for an elephant, but what if the elephant itself enters the field and starts eating? What it eats would be far lesser than what it would trample over. This is the version of the hon. Finance Minister quoting *Purananuru* from

Sangam Literature. But now, we experience that the elephant, the Union Government, is trampling upon the States' fields which had cherished very well. I will substantiate why I am telling all these things. There are, of course, ample evidences.

In 2019, it was *Purananuru*, and in 2020, she quoted *Thirukkuralar*. The English translation of which means, & “A country's five jewels are: unfailing health, farm productivity, joy, good defence and wealth”. Any person, who accepts anything in reality will see what the development today is after these Budgets presented by her or by this Government. Unfailing health - we are treading behind. Farm productivity - why are one lakh tractors waiting outside the borders of Delhi? If they were contended and productivity was more, or, they were given more, it would not have happened. So also is the case with wealth. In 2021, she quoted other lines of *Thirukkuralar*, & “A good king is one who is able to acquire wealth, guard it and distribute it justly.” That is it. Of course, you collect revenues and you guard it, but the question is: whether it is distributed justly to all the people equally in this country? The answer is, 'No'. As I said earlier, it enriched the privileged few and deserted the people who are in this country in the lower rung. That is what my senior colleague, Mr. Chidambaram, told here. Only one per cent of this population is enjoying or controlling 22.6 per cent of the income and 40.1 per cent of the wealth.

One percent of our population controls 40.1 per cent of wealth and enjoys 22.6 per cent of income. Whereas, the poor, the people at the bottom, have only 15 per cent of the income and 6.4 per cent of the wealth! It is totally disproportionate. I think, the hon. Finance Minister has to explain all these things.

Madam, in 2025, the hon. Finance Minister said, English translation of which means, & “All earth looks up to heaven whence raindrops fall; All subjects look to king that ruleth all.” As living beings look upon the sky for rains, the citizens look upon the Government for good governance.” Yes, they are looking upon, looking upon and looking upon but no good governance! These are not mere allegations. This is happening because of the partisan approach of this Government. For example, if a woman is going to buy some flowers from a woman, who is selling it on the roadside, she will measure it with her hands, but if the customer is regular and very well known to her, you can measure it with your own hands because the seller's hands may be small. Like that, if you talk about their yardstick, they have a yardstick for the States ruled by the ruling party and they have a smaller yardstick for the States being ruled by the Opposition parties. I think, they have to explain this also. These are not just allegations, there are ample evidences.

---

& English translation of the original speech delivered in Tamil.

& English translation of the original speech delivered in Tamil.

This House being the Council of States, and, I, myself being the representative from the State of Tamil Nadu, I would like to talk about my State. Before going into the larger issue and greater implications, I have to mention something about my State with regard to what we are suffering, though we perform very well. Tamil Nadu's contribution to the GDP of this country is 9.04 per cent, while what it gets by way of devolution of funds is 4.08 per cent. The 14<sup>th</sup> Finance Commission recommended for 42 per cent tax devolution; the 15<sup>th</sup> Finance Commission reduced it to 41 per cent but, actually, it is only 32 per cent. It is not even that. So, what I want to say is: when we contribute 9.04 per cent to the GDP, we are given back only 4.08 per cent! I have no grudges with any other person from any other State. But, for the sake of statistics, I have to tell these figures.

The contribution of the State of Uttar Pradesh to the country's GDP is 8.19 per cent while it is getting 17.94 per cent of the devolution. What is the rationale behind it? ...*(Interruptions)*... Please. I have already said, I have no grudges against your State but what is happening has to be elucidated. Madam, the contribution of the State of Bihar towards the nation's GDP is 2.87 per cent while it is getting back 10.08 per cent! We are giving more and what we are getting back is not even half of what we are giving! Why is this discrimination? Why is this partisan attitude? The hon. Finance Minister has to enlighten us with rationale behind this approach, which I call as victimization or discrimination just because these are Opposition-ruled States. Despite this, we are doing very well, better than the Union Government, and we can say it holding our heads high. It is not just a statement. Let us see the Union Government's allocation towards education.

Madam, just now, my senior colleague, the former Finance Minister, who initiated the debate, mentioned about Make-in-India. In the year 2015, lofty proclamations about Make-in-India were made by the hon. Prime Minister. At the same time, Make in China was proclaimed in China. In 2025, the recently-elected President of the United States of America, Mr. Donald Trump, spoke about Make in America. As soon as he assumed power, he addressed a conference of the international investors. In that conference, he said, "You are all manufacturing outside America and making America a market. Hereafter, you should make everything in America; only then, you will be given the benefits or else, I will be taxing you very heavily, which you cannot tolerate."

This is the way of cohesion. This is the way he is approaching, that the status of economic position of America should improve by 'Make in America'. What happened to 2015 proclamation of India and China? China has reached its target, but India has not. Why? It is because the basic things which a nation needs are

education, healthcare and infrastructure. Everything has been achieved by China. But here, the situation is very poor. It has to be admitted. The Union Government is allocating only 2.5 per cent of total expenditure to education. That is Rs. 1,20,628 crore. In my State, the Tamil Nadu Government is allocating Rs. 49,700 crores, that is, 13.6 per cent of our total expenditure. What Tamil Nadu Government is spending towards education is 40 per cent of the total allocation by the Union Government to the entire country. Ours is 13.6 per cent; this year, it is 13.17 per cent. So also is the healthcare. The Union Government allocation is 1.89 per cent. India is the thickest populated country. What we have but America does not have is the youth population. America may have very good education, may have very good infrastructure, but they do not have the youth force as we are having. We are having 64 per cent of our population as youth force. How are you going to utilize that? They are suffering because of unemployment. And healthcare is very much important. The last rung of the people who work, do not get anything. What is the reality of the income tax slab which Madam Finance Minister has announced that up to 12 lakh of income will be exempted? I do not want to go into it. How many are the beneficiaries? Only one crore of the people are benefited by this. We have nothing against it. Let them enjoy it. But what about the remaining 139 crore of the people? I want to say another thing which is about the EWS, which the Government is very much proud of. For the economically weaker section, the slab is 8 lakh rupees per year. That is 75,000 per month. And five acres of land and 1,000 square feet of residential flat or anything which they live in and 8 lakh rupees, that is the slab for economically weaker section of people. Leave that alone. What does the BPL slab show? I am not creating anything on my own. All the learned Members here know that very well. Those who live in the urban areas, if their spending is below Rs. 37 per day, they come under the BPL. And in the rural area, it is Rs. 29. A person who is not able to earn even Rs. 1,000 a month is considered as BPL, but a person earning Rs. 8 lakh will be considered economically weaker. That is a different thing, but they need basically education and healthcare for their children. This Government is allocating only 1.89 per cent of its total expenditure to healthcare, whereas my State, the Tamil Nadu Government, is spending 5.8 per cent of the total expenditure. What I am telling about Tamil Nadu is the Dravidian model of Government by Mr. M. K. Stalin. What I am telling about the Union Government is Modi's form of Government. The billionaires are increasing. In this one year, many will be surprised, not shocked because this is happening, 75 persons have added up to the billionaires list in our country. It is going up and up. What is actually happening is, billionaires are increasing, whereas the basic needs of the people are not fulfilled. Another very

important statistics is, every five days, one billionaire is coming out successfully, millionaire or billionaire. Numbers are increasing. Every five days, India sees a person becoming a millionaire.

At the same time, I have some other statistics. There are two different views. You see a very high building where a millionaire is living. ...(*Interruptions*)... On the other hand, look at the number of rape cases in India. There are approximately 87 cases per day. If you look at the number of murder cases, there are approximately 78 cases per day. ...(*Interruptions*)... If you look at the number of farmers' suicide, there are approximately 31 cases per day. ...(*Interruptions*)... My dear brother, Mr. Murugan, I will come to that. I know what you are saying. Wait. ...(*Interruptions*)... Thanks for your interruptions because you interrupted and I got a point. I have got with me very good statistics. If you look at the number of unemployment related suicides, there are approximately 9 cases per day. Look at the number of human trafficking cases, there are approximately 6 cases per day. Look at the number of dalit atrocities, there are approximately 141 cases per day. Look at the number of students' suicide, there are approximately 36 cases per day. Look at the figure of cyber crimes, there are approximately 180 cases per day. There are two different views. On the one hand, the rich are becoming richer. On the other hand, the poor are becoming poorer. This is the real stage of this country. He said, 'What about Tamil Nadu?' Now I am telling about Tamil Nadu. Tamil Nadu is performing very well. The national average of enrolment in higher education ...(*Interruptions*)... You have presented the Budget with statistics. I am also speaking on statistics. On enrolment of students in higher education, national average is 27 per cent whereas Tamil Nadu's is 47 per cent. And what is it that we are getting? The UGC is used by the Union Government to suppress the State Governments. The colleges, the universities are within the jurisdiction of the States. The land belongs to the States. Money for building structures is spent by the States. The salaries of the teachers, who are working there, are given by the State Governments. Scholarships and concession to students are given by the State Governments. The UGC, crossing its jurisdiction, has recently given some guidelines that the Vice-Chancellors of those universities will be selected by a panel headed by the Governor of the State and the Members will be appointed by the UGC. What is the role of the State Government in that? You have to tell that. Everything is ours. We are looking after governance. We are looking after education, though it is in the Concurrent List. Our enrolment is 47 per cent. But you want to indirectly bring your people inside through the Selection Committee headed by the Governor, who is always against the Governments which are ruled by the opposition. If the State Government enacts a law for the needs of the

people, even for that, the Governor will not give his assent and he will act as authority... *...(Interruptions)...* He will be heading the Search Committee, and the Members will be appointed by the UGC. What will happen? There is stiff opposition to it, but nobody listens. Why is this happening? Because, indirectly, the Union Government is encroaching upon the powers of the States. They are transgressing and snatching the powers of the States. This is not the way for reforming education. Comparatively, wherever you are ruling and wherever all these things are being said, everything is very low. Tamil Nadu is doing very well but we are being victimized.

In this Budget, we have, of course, very sad observation. Our hon. Finance Minister also belongs to Tamil Nadu. That is why she quoted *Purananuru* and *Thirukkural*. I can also do that. But I am not in a position to do that. We are only looking at the Union Government. We feel that we are in the Union of India. We are a State in the Indian Union. But the Union Government does not recognize us so.

#### 4.00 P.M.

You talk much about infrastructure and we are asking for metro projects. *...(Time-bell rings)...* Madam, we have time and we will adjust. The metro projects for Coimbatore and Madurai, which have been demanded by the State Government, have not been mentioned in the Budget. And so many national highways, which we asked for, have not found a place in this. For Centrally-Sponsored Schemes, like MGNREGA, earlier, the share was 75:25, but, now it is 60:40. The State has spent its due share, but the Centre has not given its share. So also is for SSA. *...(Interruptions)...* I don't know the difference in meaning. It is SSA. Even in that, the States are not being given its due share by the Union. Do you know why? It is because the States are not implementing the NEP. See, it is the State Government's choice, whether to accept a policy, which is to the convenience of the Union Government. We are saying that we have got our own new Education Policy; we have constituted a committee that would come out with it. But, it says that if you do not adopt NEP, you would not be given your due share; likewise, UGC says that if the State does not abide by the guidelines of the University Grants Commission, the universities cannot award degrees to the students. How strange? Who are they to dictate? Who are they to dictate to the universities that you cannot do that? Surprisingly, Madam, you yourself may see what is right or wrong. The Vice-Chancellors in the universities need not have academic background! They need not have been a Professor, a tutor, an Assistant Professor or anything. Any person from outside will come and head the university; he will decide the curriculum and he will be

guiding the colleges. What is it? It is authoritarian to the extreme in every sector. As mentioned about UGC, so also the schools are victimized that we are not entitled to have share under SSA from the Central Government! So also is disaster relief. There were two cyclones -- Fengal and the Michaung. There were two cyclones and Tamil Nadu suffered a lot. We have been asking for a relief measure of Rs.30,000 crore from the Union Government. I also raised it during the Zero Hour and I have received a reply from the Home Ministry saying that the State could give it from the SDRF. It is beyond that; it exceeds SDRF limits. What is NDRF for? They give only lame excuses. Members from all the parties with conscience tell us. We asked for Rs.30,000 crore, but we were given only Rs.267 crore. What is it? We have to undertake so many things that have been damaged during the cyclone like infrastructure and people have to be brought back to normalcy. For that, the States are spending, whereas the Union Government stays off and says that they do not have anything. So, in this way, disaster relief is not being compensated properly. We are being victimized under SSA. In MGNREGA scheme, we do not get what we want. We are not getting the road projects, which we asked for. Also, the devolution of taxes is not in the due manner or rational manner to my State.

Madam, what is happening in my country? As I said earlier, on one side, we see richer people; on the other side, we see something different. MSME is a very important Ministry. MSME is the largest employment provider next to agriculture. Moreover, as per the Budget of the hon. Finance Minister, it is 7.5 crore who are getting employment. 36 per cent of the manufacturing of this country is by MSME. 45 per cent of the exports of this country are from MSME. But, what is the support this Government is extending to MSME? When they go to banks for loan under PMEGP, every bank has a different rate of interest. The topmost bank, which is very close by the person who is going to be an entrepreneur, charges the highest. They do not know; they cannot classify and, surprisingly, what I noticed in this Budget is that it is enhancing the limits of MSME.

The investment limit for microenterprises, currently, is Rs. 1 crore. It will be enhanced to Rs. 2.5 crore and the turnover to Rs. 10 crore. Small Enterprises, from Rs. 10 crore to Rs. 25 crore investment and turnover from Rs. 50 crore to Rs. 100 crore. And, for Medium Enterprises, from Rs. 50 crore to Rs. 125 crore investment and turnover from Rs. 250 crore to Rs. 500 crore. My dear colleagues, please tell me, what is a Micro Enterprise? MSME people are in just for Rs. 5 lakhs; just getting a five lakh rupee loan. A woman is running something, doing some business and gives employment to seven persons, two from the same family and five from that village. So, instead of projecting that we have disbursed that much amount of loans, you

have to give loans to more number of persons in order to generate employment. That is the purpose of the MSME. For example, a shopkeeper, after he closes his shop, would not come and check how much collection is there. But, he will see how many bills have been given and how many persons have entered his shop. That means, he is bothered about the number of customers than the collection. In a mall, customers will be very less in a shop. In a multinational brand company, the collection will be very much. But, at the same time, the ordinary textiles in our bazaar will have a lot of people but the collection will not be even half of what is collected in a mall. So, what is necessary? It means, you have to help the MSMEs, that too, the poorest people, to have more enterprises, and in that way you can generate more employment. And, this year, very surprisingly, there is an increase in the income tax slab. Everyone is praising it. The collection of taxes-- direct taxes is 56.78 per cent from personal income tax and the corporate tax has come down! Sir, direct taxes is 56.78 per cent, out of which, 53.3 per cent is from ordinary people. What have you done to these ordinary people? Instead of them, you are favouring the corporates! And, indirect taxes remained at 42.68 per cent or something. The indirect taxes mostly constitute the GST. Sir, 83 per cent of the indirect taxes is from GST. That is what, again, our former Finance Minister told here. What are you doing with that? Why do not you cut down the GST? Every person, even an auto driver, even a farmer, even a labourer in a farm, is paying GST. Income tax is given by other people-- middleclass or upper middleclass. Every individual is paying GST. Why do not you cut down that? Have you cut down the Excise Duty on petroleum products? As he said, it would have benefited a lot in the nation. But you have not done so! You are not doing anything to the common man. You don't have them in focus. You are making a Micro Enterprise into a mini corporate! How can a Rs. 10 crore turnover one is called a micro enterprise? MSME is not able to market. That is why the Government has a scheme--PPP. The public sector undertakings have to procure from the MSME; 25 per cent of their purchase should be from the MSMEs. In that, there is a slab, sub quota of 4 per cent, to the SC/STs and 3 per cent for women. That has not yet been reached. We have been telling as to why you do not include the OBC also in that. But, though there is allocation, reservation, sub quota, but it is not achieved. They are not able to market it. What are the devices you have for the MSME products to be marketed? How will you control the interest rates equally? You can prevail upon the RBI. You can have your say on Repo Rate or anything of that sort. But, an ordinary person who goes to a bank, the nearby bank, should not be taxed in the name of interest verification.

In that way, again I say, the MSME, the largest employment provider has to be taken care of. But you are trying to make it a corporate. The indirect taxes, the GST is going up and up. I cannot say everything in this very short time what are the details of GST; which is more, which is less. Everything is contradictory which affects the common man. You have taken away all the revenue rights of the State Governments and it has been subsumed into GST. But do you compensate that? You collect GST compensation cess. You collect surcharge for welfare schemes. These surcharges and cess are not in the divisible pool. So, you are getting more money by another way, shortcut way, by way of cess and surcharge and the Union Government is keeping that without sharing with the State Governments. The last person is paying, but the State Governments are not benefitted. I have got much more to say. There is one more thing about the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY). Even in that, the State Government, my Government is spending Rs.6 lakhs for a house. The Union Government is giving only Rs.1.5 lakh; even that is not being given. This is about PMAY-Rural and PMAY-Urban. So is the case with Jal Jeevan Mission. What was the estimate last time? The Budget Estimates was Rs.67,000 crores, but the revised was Rs.22,000 crores. And this year, again, it is Rs.70,163 crores. When you have not achieved the target you fixed the earlier year, you are giving rosy pictures. So it is only the numbers that attract the people.

Madam, I would like to conclude with one thing. Whenever a Budget is presented, everyone is looking. The stock market is stumbling. The middle class people are relying upon the stock market. The poor people are expecting the prices to come down. The prices are going up. There is wealth inequality, inequitable distribution of wealth and in such a situation, they are all disappointed. We are not speaking anything ill or have ill will towards against any individual. The Government of the day, which has to take care of the people, is not taking care of them. You have to mend your ways or else the people will end your days. Thank you very much.

SHRI GOLLA BABURAO (Andhra Pradesh): Madam Vice-Chairman, I thank for giving me an opportunity to speak on the Union Budget 2025-26 in this august House. I also thank my party YSRCP, President and former Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, Shri Jagan Mohan Reddy *garu* for giving me the opportunity to speak on the important subject on the Union Budget. I congratulate the hon. Finance Minister for presenting the Budget successfully for eight years continuously. I was given only eight minutes' time. As our senior Members pointed out a lot of weaknesses in the Budget, I too endorse the senior Members for what they spoke about the reality in the Budget. In

Telugu there is a sentence, the English translation of which means, <sup>&</sup> “Regret for *some*, love for some.” Here, ‘love’ for privileged sections and ‘regret’ for unprivileged sections. The entire Budget, from each and every point, has deceived the poorer and vulnerable sections.

I will go through only five-six subjects. The budgetary allocations are fuel for the governance of the country. Everything is dependent on better financial allocation and optimal utilization of financial resources. The total expenditure in 2025-26 is expected to Rs. 50,65,345 crores, which is an increase of 7.4 per cent over the Revised Estimate of 2024-25. Out of this, Rs.16,21,899 crores is proposed to be spent on Central Sector Schemes which is 7.2 per cent increase over the Revised Estimate of 2024-25 and Rs. 5,41,850 crores is proposed to be spent on Central Sponsored Schemes which is 30.5 per cent over the Revised Estimate. The Government receipts, excluding borrowings, are estimated to be Rs.34,96,409 crores which is 11.1 per cent higher than the Revised Budget Estimate. But, it is a tough task to bridge the gap between the receipts and the expenditure of Rs.15,68,936 crores as the revenue deficit is targeted at 1.5 per cent of GDP and fiscal deficit is targeted at 4.4 per cent. There is a great need to cut the wasteful expenditure to bridge the fiscal deficit. The Government increased the income tax exemption limit to Rs.12 lakhs which is considered to be great relief to the middleclass but, in the process, Government loses Rs.1 lakh crores. I appreciate the income tax exemption will benefit a large number of people in this income tax bracket. But, this is no help to the poorest of the poor who are in the margins of society, though statistics say the number of people living below poverty line has decreased considerably, still there is a lot to be done for the poorer sections of the society. Due to decrease in the value of money, whatever has been given to the poor is little and a lot needs to be done. For example, the value of 500 rupees per day wages, has got much value five years ago than now. Similarly, whatever the poverty alleviation measures taken are not much effective in the changed economic scenario. So, there is a great need to improve poverty alleviation measures to match with increase in the cost of living. Similarly, inflation continues to make much impact on our day-to-day life, especially household budgets making essential commodities, fuel transport and health care become more expensive. So, a lot more needs to be done to address the basic economic problems facing the citizens, especially the weaker sections of the society. Allocation towards MGNREGA and PM KISAN remained as the same as the revised estimates for the 2024-25, despite the fact that rural distress has been increased. The Government

---

<sup>&</sup> English translation of the original speech delivered in Telugu.

would have increased the allocation for MGNREGA and PM KISAN as it remained the same since 2024 Budget Estimates. The importance of these two schemes are well known to the Government. As majority of poor and unemployed are dependent on these two programs for their livelihood, these two programs need to be given higher allocation, at least, in the future. The allocation towards the Ministry of Rural Development is increased by Rs.14,527 crore which 8.3 per cent to Rs.1,90,406 crore in 2025-26. Programmes for the welfare of women and children have been allocated Rs.5,65,161 crore in 2025-26 -- an increase of 18.5 per cent over the Revised Estimates in 2024-25. These allocations include programmes being implemented across all Ministries. Allocation towards the welfare of women is estimated to increase due to increased allocation for the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana for which the female head of the family must be co-owner of the house. The allocation towards the welfare of children is estimated to increase due to higher allocation towards the school education under Samagra Shiksha Abhiyan.

The allocation for Scheduled Castes has to increase due to increased allocations under the National Rural Livelihoods Mission. For the first time, a new scheme for SC, ST and Women is there. Other vulnerable groups have been allocated Rs. 2,523 crores compared to the last year's budget allocation of Rs. 1,620 crores. The Central schemes and projects have been allocated Rs. 1,324 crores compared to last year's budgetary allocation of Rs. 910 crores. The allocation in this year's Budget has increased. But, there is need to implement these programmes to achieve the targets. For example, the funds for National Commission for SC, ST and OBC have been reduced in this Budget by Rs. 26 crores over the previous year's Budget.

In this context, Madam, I want to appeal to the hon. Finance Minister and the Government of India, even for the entire five years, the Social Justice Ministry is really spending very, very meager on all their programme. ...*(Time-Bell rings)*... If you take allocation for women, OBC, SC and ST welfare, put together is not even 2 per cent of the Budget allocated! It is most unfortunate. I strongly feel that instead of calling it Social Justice Ministry, we should call it as 'Social Injustice Ministry'. This is my personal feeling about the Budget. We all have studied in the social welfare hostels.

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती सुनेत्रा अजीत पवार) :** माननीय सदस्य, आप conclude कीजिए। आपका बोलने का समय समाप्त हो गया है।

SHRI GOLLA BABURAO: When we were studying, so many facilities were there. For five years, there were no scholarships; there were no funds for National SC Finance and Development Corporation, the National OBC Finance and Development

Corporation and even for the National Women Corporation. How will they increase their standard of living? This is really unfortunate. I request the hon. Finance Minister and the hon. Prime Minister to look into this deficit.

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती सुनेत्रा अजीत पवार) :** माननीय सदस्य, आपका बोलने का समय समाप्त हो गया है।

SHRI GOLLA BABURAO: I once again request the august House to really think over the real deceiving towards the poor people of our nation.

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती सुनेत्रा अजीत पवार) :** माननीय सदस्य, आपका बोलने का समय समाप्त हो गया है। The next speaker is Shri Debashish Samantaray.

SHRI GOLLA BABURAO: Madam, 90 per cent people of our country are poor, but, the entire Budget is meant for rich people. I will tell you one example, Madam. Even in my State, Andhra Pradesh, our former Chief Minister has allocated Rs. 275 crores for the poor people, for BCs, SCs, STs, Minorities, for all these people.

SHRI DEBASHISH SAMANTARAY (Odisha): Madam, I start with the key shortcomings in this Budget. Firstly, there is limited focus on wage growth. While there are mentions of employment generation and skilling initiatives, there is no clear plan to increase minimum wages or labour conditions.

Gig and informal workers - the speech briefly acknowledges Gig workers and proposes healthcare benefits. But, it does not address concerns like job security, social security and fair wages for the growing informal workforce. Absence of direct support for industrial labour - The speech discusses boosting MSMEs and manufacturing, but does not propose substantial measures to improve the working conditions, wages or rights of factory and industrial workers. Housing and social welfare gaps - While SWAMIH Fund 2 is introduced to address housing concerns. It primarily targets middle income housing rather than affordable housing solutions for the low income workers. Lack of direct cash transfers or subsidies - Unlike previous budget, this one does not propose new or expanded direct financial support for low income workers to counter inflation and rising living costs.

Coming straight to the State of Odisha, sadly, with concern, I highlight the persistent neglect of Odisha by successive Governments at the Centre. This Budget which was expected to bring inclusive growth has once again failed to address the pressing issues faced by the people of Odisha. I would call it a double betrayal. They

came to power and said that now Odisha has a double engine. But, this double engine has failed in Bhubaneswar. This double engine Government had spoken a lot about infusing urban facilities. Of course, in this regard, I would like to state that the ex-Chief Minister, hon. Naveen Patnaik/ji had given a tremendous boost to the urban growth of Odisha whereby Bhubaneswar became the number one smart city. It is surprising; the Centre has announced a huge amount for the urban development. Shri Naveen Patnaik, in his tenure, had sanctioned Bhubaneswar-Puri-Cuttack metro and started work on it. And, then, he left the Government with a surplus of Rs.48,000/- crores. He had never come to the Centre begging for funds for his metro. He left the Exchequer of Odisha with a surplus of Rs.48,000/- crores. Will the metro of Bhubaneswar ever see the day or has it been just shelved? There is no clarity about it by the Finance Minister. He left Rs.48,000/- crores. What have they done? The so-called main engine in Delhi has not funded Odisha after they got 20 seats. That is why, Modi 3.0 is here. This fund has been spent on some promises which were made in the manifesto of the BJP. They spent from Rs.5,000/- crores to Rs.10,000/- crores for giving an MSP and Rs.20,000/- crores were spent for Subhadra Yojana. To change the colour of Odisha into saffron, they have spent Rs.2,000/- crores. It is a disappointing Budget, that ignores the common man. The Budget attempts to shining the surface but beneath that shine lies disappointment. It has failed to address the concerns of the common man -- rising unemployment, soaring prices and inflation, worsening poverty levels and lack of investment in health and education. There has been an attempt to window dress the Budget but it falls far short of what the people of this country, especially, Odisha deserve. No measures have been taken so far to control inflation. There is not a word by the Finance Minister on how this inflation is going to be controlled. While the Finance Minister has announced a tax relief of up to Rs.12,00,000/-, what about the rural poor, daily wage workers and tribal communities who are struggling under price rise? Inflation remains unchecked. Take the case of kendu leaf workers. It is a major livelihood source for lakhs of tribal women. They are forced to pay 18 per cent GST on kendu leaves. Is this the way to support the most marginalized communities? We have been repeatedly asking for special category status. Other States are receiving special funds because of this Government's political compulsions. Bihar has been given a substantial amount.

That is not my concern. Let Bihar get it. Odisha contributes significantly to the divisible pool of taxes. Yet it does not receive its fair share. Due to this, we are losing vital funds that could have boosted infrastructure, strengthened welfare schemes and accelerated income growth. This is nothing short of economic injustice. There is

exploitation of Odisha's natural resources, the rich minerals that we have. The Centre is the authority of these major minerals. There are mineral royalties and auctions. The Centre auctions Odisha's mineral blocks, but the State gets an unfair share of the revenue. Coming to coal block auction, Odisha was promised Rs. 70,000 crores, but it received a meagre Rs. 370 crores. What happened to the coal blocks being auctioned and what happened to that money? I hope the Finance Minister will give a reply regarding this. ...(*Time-bell rings*)... This is an unjust burden on States like Odisha which are already struggling with fund shortages. The Finance Commission must take these commitments into account. There is historical neglect of Odisha's infrastructure, Railways. They earn a whopping Rs. 25,000 crore annually and they have allotted only Rs. 10,000 crore to Odisha. Key railway projects like Bhubaneswar station ...

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती सुनेत्रा अजीत पवार) :** माननीय सदस्य, आपका समय समाप्त हो गया है।

**श्री देवाशीष सामंतराय :** टाइम खत्म हो गया है, लेकिन एक-आधा मिनट और दे दीजिए। सभी को ज्यादा टाइम दिया है, फिर आप मुझे क्यों रोक रही हैं? आप लोगों ने इतना टाइम लिया है, तभी तो कंप्लेंट नहीं कर रहे हो। ..(*व्यवधान*)... Odisha's rail density is much lower, much lower than neighbouring States like West Bengal, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh. Key railway projects are pending. ...(*Interruptions*)... बोल तो रहा हूँ, कुछ नहीं दे रहे हैं, किसी को भी नहीं दे रहे हैं, केरल को क्या दिया है? This is how the Centre treats the State that contributes so much to the national economy. Under Clean Energy Cess, the Central Government collects Rs. 21,000 crore. But they have given nothing towards that. I don't know whether the other States have got anything or not. The coal royalty has not been revised since 2015.

In the end, I would conclude by requesting, through you, that Orissa be granted Special Category status, fair share of Central taxes and revenues, higher investment in railway and infrastructure, revision of coal royalty, and equitable share from clean energy cess. Thank you.

DR. M. THAMBIDURAI (Tamil Nadu): Thank you, Madam Vice Chairman, for giving me this opportunity. On behalf of AIADMK party and on behalf of my Leader, Shri Edappadi Palaniswami, I rise to participate in the discussion on the Union Budget, 2025-26, presented by the hon. Finance Minister.

Madam, I want to mention certain points which my leader, Shri Edappadi Palaniswami, has observed about this Budget. First, in the Economic Survey, for the year 2024-25, it was mentioned that 'there is a necessity to promote investment

capital and increase domestic consumption to achieve specific economic growth.' It was expected that the Budget for 2025-26 would include plans for focusing on the poor, women, farmers, and youth, but we are missing that. At the same time, my Leader, Shri Edappadi Palaniswami, observed that he is welcoming the changes made in the custom duty to promote domestic production. The income tax limits have been changed, which we also welcome.

As my other colleagues spoke from Tamil Nadu, we are also disappointed that more allocation is not made for Tamil Nadu. While Bihar has got more Schemes, the States like Tamil Nadu did not get any major schemes or proposals in this Budget.

Tamil Nadu is a water-deficit State. We are sad to note that there is no project to take care of the irrigation needs of Tamil Nadu. We expected projects like interlinking of rivers, but there is no mention about that in this Budget. Godavari-Kaveri Interlinking project would benefit Tamil Nadu but it did not find a place in the Budget.

We expected some new railway line projects. There is no mention of that in this Budget. There is no mention of metro rail projects in cities like Coimbatore and Madurai, as our friends here mentioned. Madam, we have been repeatedly asking for railway lines between Jolarpettai via Krishnagiri-Hosur-Bengaluru, but there is no mention of that here. We requested for a Greenfield airport in Hosur but that has not been mentioned. I am not sure about the fate of other Greenfield airports like the one at Parandur. I am not aware if any steps have been taken by the Central Government in this regard.

Madam, as hon. Member, Shri Tiruchi Siva said, there are many National Highway projects that we requested for, but they were not considered. There was an eight-lane project that the Edappadi Palanisamy Government had requested from Salem to Chennai. That has not yet materialised. When I was a Member of Lok Sabha representing Karur, I had requested for extension of the road from Karur to Coimbatore under the eight-lane project. That was also not accepted. I had also requested for a link from Tiruchi to Karur, which would have eased travel between Coimbatore and Tiruchi. That too has not been done.

Madam, talking about expansion of medical education, the Finance Minister has said in her Budget Speech that next year, 10,000 seats would be added. I appreciate that. It is worthwhile to mention here that the former Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Shri Edappadi Palanisamy, was the only Chief Minister to have established 23 medical colleges in four years as Chief Minister. He also made reservation for 7.5 per cent of MBBS seats in those colleges for students from Government schools, especially from rural areas, in order to benefit them. Enrolment

in higher education is very high in Tamil Nadu. I appreciate what the hon. Member here said. But it was because of our former Chief Ministers, *Puratchi Thalaivar*, MGR, Jayalalitha and Edappadi Palanisamy that more engineering colleges were established. ...*(Interruptions)*... Now, I wish to talk about rape cases in Tamil Nadu. The number of cases of rape has increased in Tamil Nadu. If you take into account the statistics in Tamil Nadu after the new Government assumed office, rape cases have increased. ...*(Interruptions)*... I have got limited time.

(MR. CHAIRMAN *in the Chair.*)

Sir, I appreciate the demand for more money for Tamil Nadu, but the present DMK Government has failed to fulfil the promises made at the time of elections. Four years are over. Electricity bills have increased, property tax has increased and registration fee has increased. The present DMK Government has failed to fulfil the election promises. Coming to the housing scheme, the Central Government as well as the State Governments are providing funds, but the money is not sufficient. The money allotted for each house is very less. For better quality, the allocation needs to be enhanced. Poor people are not able to get good houses and are suffering. Our leader, Edappadi Palanisami, has always insisted that the Central Government as well as the State Government must increase the allocation for construction of houses for the poor people, especially those living in the rural areas, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, so that they get good houses. I would request the Minister to consider all these points. Thank you, Sir.

---

#### Panel of Vice-Chairpersons

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Ramji Lal Suman; five minutes. Before that, hon. Members, I have included the names of Shri Rajeev Shukla and Dr. M. Thambidurai in the Panel of Vice-Chairpersons to help the Chair, in addition to the earlier Panel. Shri Ramji Lal Suman.

---

#### THE UNION BUDGET, 2025-26– *Contd.*

**श्री रामजी लाल सुमन** (उत्तर प्रदेश) : सभापति जी, यह 2025-26 का जो बजट है, यह निराश करने वाला बजट है। इसमें विशेष रूप से ग्रामीण अंचल की उपेक्षा हुई है। मनरेगा एकमात्र