



The Debt Dilemma: Saving the Burden on the Future Generation*

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Elevated levels of India's fiscal deficit and public debt have been a matter of concern in India for a long time. Even before the pandemic, debt levels were among the highest in the developing world and emerging market economies. The pandemic pushed the envelope further and relative to the GDP, the fiscal deficit in FY21 increased to 13.3% and the aggregate public debt to 89.6%. As the economy recovered after the pandemic, the deficit and debt ratios have receded to 8.9% and 85.7%, respectively. The projections show that even without any serious disruptions to the economy, the debt level is unlikely to return to the pre-pandemic trajectory in the medium term. With elections to eight states slated to happen in 2023 and with the general elections slated in 2024, the electoral budget cycle could push the debt ratio further and there can be serious questions about its sustainability unless targeted interventions are made to reduce the debt burden, which may not be politically easy with elections on the horizon.

The debt-dynamics equation states that when there is no primary deficit (fiscal deficit in the year excluding the past legacy of interest payments), if the growth rate of GDP exceeds the effective interest rate paid on government bonds, the overall debt will decline. However, what is missed in these discussions is the distortions caused by financial repression to keep the interest rates on government borrowing low to reduce the cost. When the Statutory Liquidity Ratio (SLR) of the RBI mandates the banking system to hold 18% of their demand and time liabilities in government securities, and when the RBI intervenes in the market through open market operations around the time when the government borrowing is taken up, the interest rate on government borrowing is kept repressed. In such a situation, the debt may decline, but the distortions from the financial repression can adversely impact growth.

Thus, even when the sustainability of debt may not be threatened in the medium term, the costs of carrying high deficits and debt to the economy are heavy. First, on average, interest payments constitute over 5% of GDP and 25% of the revenue receipts, this is more than the government expenditure on education and healthcare put together. Large interest payments crowd out the much-needed expenditures on physical infrastructure and human development and emerging priorities to make the green transition. The issue is particularly concerning in the states of Punjab, Kerala, Rajasthan, and West Bengal. In Punjab, the Debt to GSDP ratio is 48.9%, in West Bengal, 37.6%, Rajasthan 35.4%, and in Kerala close to 33%. Second, high levels of debt make it difficult to calibrate counter-cyclical fiscal policy and constrain the ability of the government to respond to shocks. Third, the debt market in India is largely captive with mainly the commercial banks and insurance companies participating in it for meeting SLR requirements. With a cash reserve ratio



(CRR) of 4.5%. and SLR of 18% of net demand and time liabilities, and 40% of the credit by the commercial banks earmarked for the priority sector, the resources available for lending to the manufacturing sector are low driving up its cost of borrowing. The rating agencies keep the rating low when the deficits and debt are higher, and this enhances in cost of external commercial borrowing. Finally, today's borrowing is taxing tomorrow, and the burden of large deficits and debt will have to be borne by our future generation.

It is clear that, in the present fiscal environment, even achieving a consolidated debt-to-GDP ratio of 58.2% recommended by the 14th Finance Commission for 2019-20 would be unfeasible in the medium term. The Commission had recommended that the Union government should bring down its deficit relative to GDP from 43.6% in 2015-16 to 36.3%, and the States should maintain their deficit at about 22%. Even before the pandemic, the aggregate public debt had slipped to 74.3% in 2019-20, and the pandemic pushed it to 89.7% in 2020-21. With the nominal GDP recovering to grow at 18.5% in 2021-22 after the pandemic, the debt ratio declined only marginally to 85.7%. This implies that every individual in the country carries a debt burden of Rs 1,64,000 on his head. With the high primary deficit of 3.7% of GDP in 2022-23 and budgeted at over 3% in 2023-24, we will have to contend with elevated debt levels in the medium term.

The issue is of critical importance and the fast pacing of fiscal consolidation imperative. Fortunately, after 6 years, GST has stabilized and has shown high growth potential. As the technology platform has stabilized, it is expected to maintain high buoyancy in the medium term. The technology has helped to improve tax administration and improved compliance. With cross-matching of GST returns with income tax returns, the compliance of income tax too is expected to improve and in the medium term, the aggregate tax-GDP ratio is likely to increase by 1.5 to 2 percentage points. In terms of policy interventions, this is the time to rethink the role of the State and vacate the activities which should really belong to the market rather than competing with it. At the Central level, even after much talk about disinvestment, the progress has been slow. Rather than dispensing with activities like telecom to the private sector, the government continues to pore money to BSNL and MTNL. MRNL. Equally disturbing are the employment melas to fill the so-called vacant posts which have been anyway found redundant. At the state level, it is important to guard against the return to the old pension scheme and indulging in large-scale giveaways for electoral reasons. Of course, redistribution is a legitimate government activity and that is best done through making cash transfers rather than subsidizing commodities and services. Giving subsidies alters relative prices resulting in unintended resource distortions. Equally important is the need to impose hard budget constraints by enforcing the FRBM rules in allowing the states to borrow and that squarely is in the domain of the Union government.



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