



## **Challenges Before the Sixteenth Finance Commission\***

*By Dr M Govinda Rao, Chief Economic Adviser, Brickwork Ratings*

The Sixteenth Finance Commission will have to be appointed soon and it will have challenging tasks in the prevailing difficult fiscal environment of Indian federalism. The Fifteenth Finance Commission's recommendations will be up to 2025-26 and the new Commission's recommendations should be available for consideration by the Finance Ministry before presenting the Union budget for 2026-27. It takes at least two years for the new Commission to finalise the report and, therefore, the Commission will have to be appointed by the President of India within the next few months.

Article 280 (3) of the Constitution lists the basic tasks of the Commission. These include (a) the distribution of taxes from the divisible pool between the Union and the States and allocation of the States' share to individual States; (b) the principles governing the grants to be given to the States from the consolidated fund of India; (c) recommend measures to augment the consolidated funds of the States to supplement the resources of Panchayats and Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) based on the recommendations of the State Finance Commissions and (d) any other matter in the interests of a sound finance. Under (d), a number of matters are referred to the Commission in the Presidential Order appointing the Commission; notable among them are making recommendations on disaster relief and reviewing deficit and debt levels of the Union and States recommending fiscal consolidation roadmap for the ensuing five years. The Presidential Order also includes a number of matters to be taken into account while making recommendations which often serve as the 'guidelines.

The Sixteenth Finance Commission will have formidable challenges to face in the prevailing precarious fiscal environment. The relationships between the Union and some States have become more and more acrimonious and the competition for fiscal resources is acute. Besides the general election to the Parliament, elections are slated in a number of States including Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, and Rajasthan in 2023-24, and with a promise of various freebies, subsidies, transfers, and guarantees, the fiscal situation is likely to deteriorate further. The Coronavirus pandemic has severely strained the finances of the Union and the States and competition for resources is much more acute than that was seen before. The Union government's strategy of mobilising additional resources through special excises on diesel and motor spirit and increasing cesses and surcharges in the aftermath of the 14th Finance Commission's recommendations have continued to be contentious.

The finances of both the Union and the State governments have deteriorated sharply in recent years. The pandemic pushed the aggregate fiscal deficit and public debt to 13.3% and 89.6% of GDP, respectively in 2020-21. As the economy recovered post-pandemic, the deficit and debt ratios have receded to 8.9% and 85.1%, respectively but the targets of limiting the aggregate debt to GDP ratio at 60% which was predicated before the pandemic no longer looks feasible, at least in the short and medium. In fact, even before the pandemic, in 2019-20, there were considerable slippages in limiting



the debt-to-GDP ratio as compared to the FRBM targets set by the 14th Finance Commission at less than 60%.

At the Union level, the ratio of fiscal deficit to GDP rose to 9.2% in 2020-21 before receding to 6.9% the next year. The debt-to-GDP ratio rose to 61.5% in the pandemic year before falling to 57.1% in 2022-23. Almost three-fourths of the fiscal deficit was used for meeting revenue expenditures in 2020-21. The fiscal consolidation plan had to be abandoned by the Union government, and the States were given relaxation in their borrowing limit from 3 % of GSDP to 4% without conditions and 5% with some reform conditions. The relaxation of the target resulted in the slippage in the gross fiscal deficit at the State level to 4.1% of GDP but returned strongly to reduce the deficit to 2.8% the next year largely by compressing capital expenditures. However, both deficit and debt levels in some of the States have risen sharply to unsustainable levels.

Macroeconomic stabilization is predominantly a Central function, and the States have no incentive to contain their deficits and debt except that the accumulation of debt increases their interest burden and crowds out much-needed expenditures on social and physical infrastructure. Since the States are required to seek the Centre's permission to borrow as long as they are indebted to the former, some of the States cut down the capital expenditures and resorted to off-budget borrowings through their enterprises. Also, the Fifteenth Finance Commission could not factor in the impact of the pandemic on the finances of the States in its entirety in its projections. One of the guidelines issued in the Presidential Order appointing the Commission was to "...examine whether revenue deficit grants be provided at all" and the Commission worked out its projections to phase out the post-devolution deficits in the terminal year by adjusting the States' own revenues and revenue expenditures so that no major State is eligible to get the grants in the terminal year of its recommendation. Most of the fiscally stressed States were recipients of revenue deficit grants and as they failed to undertake reforms to align their growth of revenues and expenditures to contain the deficit, their debt situation was driven to unsustainable levels. Furthermore, the Commission assumed that the GST compensation will continue for the period of its award and as this was discontinued in July 2022 the situation in these States became precarious.

The Sixteenth Finance Commission will have the challenging task of dealing with the problem of fiscal imbalances. Making recommendations for tax sharing and grants in a fiscally stressed situation and in a politically surcharged environment will require the Commission to tread the path with utmost care. In addition, incentivising the States, particularly the fiscally stressed ones, for prudent fiscal behaviour would be a major challenge. The related issue is of framing the next-generation fiscal rules. The Fifteenth Finance Commission had recommended the setting up of an inter-governmental group to define and achieve fiscal sustainability and design a new framework and implementation schedule which has not been done. The Commission will do well to take stock of the impact of various reform incentives, including those on local governments, to strategize further reforms.

***\* Views are personal.***



**Contacts:**

**Investors & Media Contact**

+91 95133 99706

1-860-425-2742

[investordesk@brickworkratings.com](mailto:investordesk@brickworkratings.com)

[media@brickworkratings.com](mailto:media@brickworkratings.com)



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