



Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee
Research Foundation

ISSN 2454-9401

Issue: January-February 2022

The Nationalist

A Bold Budget to Ensure Growth
in the Face of Global Uncertainties

Pratim Ranjan Bose

Analysing Budget 2022:

The 5C Focus

Kishore Desai

Union Budget 2022-23:

Innovative Flexibility

Dipankar Sengupta

Holistic Border Management

Brig Anil Gupta

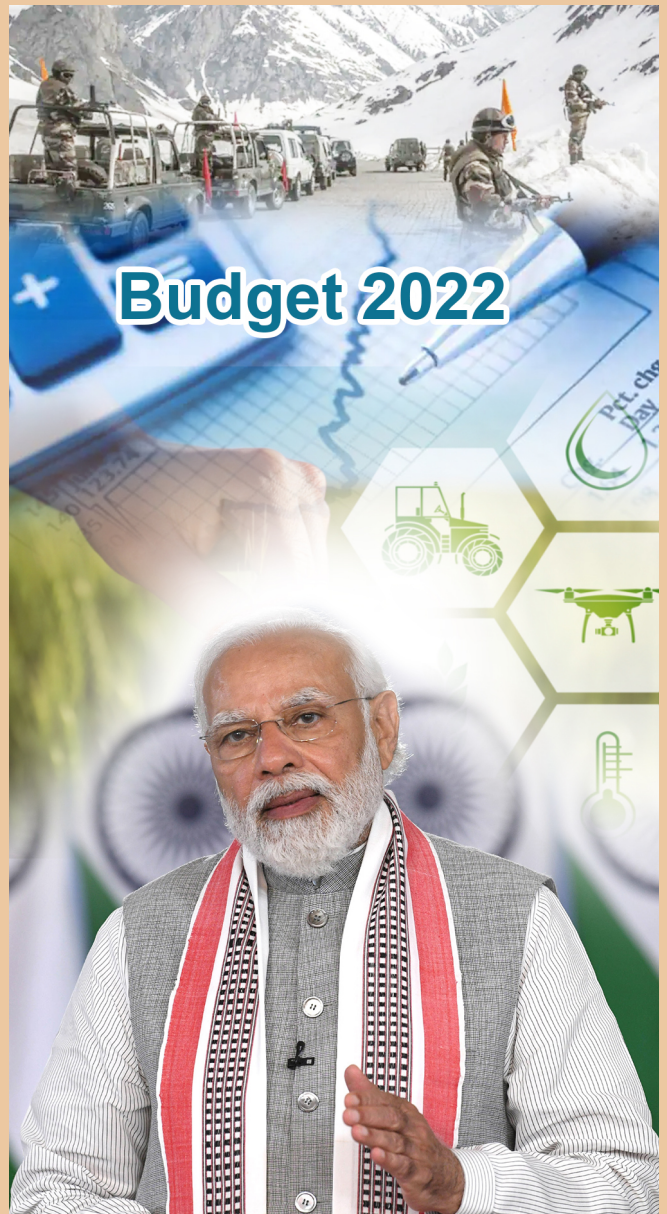
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प्रहलाद सबनानी





**The
Nationalist**

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CONTENT

EDITORIAL

- ★ Vision for Amrit Kaal - *Dr. Anirban Ganguly*

COVER STORY

- ★ A Bold Budget to Ensure Growth in the Face of Global Uncertainties - **Pratim Ranjan Bose**

POLICY OPINION

- ★ Analysing Budget 2022: The 5C Focus
- **Kishore Desai**

POLICY NOTE

- ★ UNION BUDGET 2022-23: INNOVATIVE FLEXIBILITY - **Dipankar Sengupta**

POLICY ANALYSIS

- ★ HOLISTIC BORDER MANAGEMENT
- **Brig Anil Gupta**

LOOKING BACK IN HISTORY

- ★ Jana Sangh and the Goa Liberation Movement
- **Dr Anirban Ganguly**

POLICY ROUNDUP

- ★ ग्रामीण विकास को गति देने वाला बजट - **सतीश सिंह**
- ★ पूँजी निवेश को बढ़ाकर रोजगार निर्मित करने वाला बजट
- **प्रह्लाद सबनानी**

EVENT@SPMRF

- ★ Discussion on #ShivajiMaharaj & #ShivajiUtsav in #Bengal & release of a special booklet: #Shivaji, Shivajir Kirti Ebong Shivaji Utsav” (Shivaji, Shivaji’s achievements & Shivaji Utsav) at Kolkata, West Bengal on 19 Feb 2022
- ★ Discussion on “New Uttar Pradesh, New Vision : New India” on 12 Feb 2022
- ★ Discussion on “Budget for AmritKaal” on 08 Feb 2022
- ★ Discussion on “Politics of Radicalism & the Rise of Extremism in Kerala” on 22 Jan 2022
- ★ Discussion on “Marichjhapi Massacre Crime By Communists” on 31 Jan 2022
- ★ Noida Dialogue 2.0: Discussion on “Transformed UP: propelling India’s Growth” at Noida, Uttar Pradesh #NewUPConclave Outreach on 04 Jan 2022



Dr. Anirban Ganguly

Vision for Amrit Kaal

perpetuate her national interests, an India which would not be a pushover and would display an independent spirit and capacity to take stands in consonance with her aspirations and interests, play hardball and yet be recognised as a responsible power. They had imagined an India which would be recognised as a beneficent power, as a power identified with humanism and compassion, a power that can be looked upon with hope by the hitherto marginalised, discriminated and ignored. They had also aspired for an India that would generate new-thought, new discoveries, a civilisational democracy which would establish a new narrative of democracy attuned to her civilisational experience and wisdom. Post independence these aspirations remained unfulfilled.

P rime Minister Narendra Modi has given the mantra of 'Amrit Kaal', a quarter century period in which India must strive to assume the status of a global power, recognised for her ability to do things differently. Amrit Kaal stretches from the seventy-fifth year of India's independence to the centenary of her freedom in 2047. It is a period which is crucial, defining and holds within it infinite possibilities and scope. Our actions and direction in this phase which is also full of symbolism will define and shape the India of our aspirations and the aspirations of countless those who had struggled for India's freedom.

Those belonging to generations which had sacrificed themselves for India's freedom also nurtured a vision and aspiration for India. They had aspired for India to be free and to re-position herself as a great power in the world. Many of them, while in the midst of the struggle, also wrote and ideated on the vision of a great India, an India conscious of her cultural and spiritual strength, capable of perfecting her material skills and potential, an India at the forefront of imparting a new vision of education, of cooperation, of governance, an India imparting to the world new ideas, an India which would astutely guard and

For decades a Nehruvian India was compelled to base herself on shallow philosophies and vacuous visions of a great-power status. These delayed or prevented the articulation and the working out of her essential aspirations, its neglect of basics as well as that of a grand vision and narrative were visible. That is now changing and changing irreversibly. Amrit Kaal offers a collective opportunity to realise Prime Minister Narendra Modi's vision and call for transforming India and propelling her to the status of a civilisational power. The India that is preparing itself in Amrit Kaal, is moving to realise these aspirations. Across a wide spectrum a multi-pronged action of national progress is visible. This action is laying the unshakable foundations of a new India. The effort is inching forward despite opposition, subterfuge and a humongous attempt by a certain quarter to delay that rise and to keep India tied to the apron strings of other powers. The consciousness of Amrit Kaal is challenging that mindset or attempting to delay and divert India's progress-march.

Speaking in the early years after independence, Dr Syama Prasad Mookerjee, had observed that 'The struggle for freedom has ceased to be. But the freedom that has come must be maintained and enriched. There looms ahead the much greater struggle on the home front against our old enemies – hunger, poverty, ignorance and disease and their attendant host of social evils. The hour has struck for launching this struggle, and victory is certain if, as we are sure, every citizen joins in this effort, offers his willing cooperation and makes the necessary sacrifice.' This hope is being realised comprehensively, Prime Minister Modi's repeated call for 'Jan Bhagidari' in order to fundamentally transform India has found resonance and effect. In Amrit Kaal, India is tackling both the old enemies and new enemies and is resolutely moving towards realising the ideals that activated and drove her epic struggle for freedom.

A Bold Budget to Ensure Growth in the Face of Global Uncertainties



Pratim Ranjan Bose

Former President Pranab Mukherjee, who had been India's finance minister as well, once famously described the Budget as a "political document". The Narendra Modi government converted it into a business document.

No big bang announcements, no populist measures ahead of Uttar Pradesh election—the Union Budget 2022 came as a statement of policy continuity, which is reassuring to business. The record 35% rise in capital expenditure is set to create growth multipliers.

Policy consistency

The policies are well known. The government is focused to create long term growth momentum. A complete overhaul of the physical and digital infrastructure will improve the core competence of the economy as an investment destination. Continued attention on social sectors will make this growth sustainable, equitable and transformational.

Typical to this government, they set priorities and go all-out to implement them to the last detail. The first term of the Modi government saw the successful implementation of the Swachh Bharat Mission to make India open defecation free.

Ayushman Bharat created a viable framework for affordable quality healthcare.

Jan Dhan Yojana ensured financial inclusion which in turn improved the efficiency of social support programmes. Unprecedented growth in fintech through Digital India initiative; creation of UPI payment platform; widened market space like never before.

Sustained focus on rural electrification, universal access to cooking gas and a huge focus on housing for the rural and urban poor changed lives, created low-skill jobs. The benefits of these initiatives became apparent during the pandemic when life and economic activities in rural India remained relatively less affected.

In the second term (that coincided with the pandemic), the government is taking the affordable housing agenda forward with renewed vigour. Rs 48,000 crore is provided to build 80 lakh houses under PM Awas Yojana (PMAY) for rural and urban poor in 2022-23. The economy will gain in terms of demand for cement, steel etc. and job creation.

Health is wealth

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On August 15, 2019 - when the Modi government launched Jal Jeevan Mission (JJM) - less than 17% of India's 19.27 crore rural households had access to piped drinking water. JJM promised to provide individual tap water connections to every rural household by 2024.

As of January 2022, nearly half (46%) of the rural households enjoy piped drinking water supply. Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman provided Rs 60,000 crore to bring another 3.8 crore (19.7%) households under the scheme in 2022-23.

To cut the long story short, two-thirds (66%) of 90 crore rural Indians will have access to safe drinking water, by March 2023. The gains will come through better health, higher work-participation rate, better labour productivity, higher earnings. Not to mention there will be less public expenditure on healthcare in the long term.

The biggest reform initiative in healthcare is mentioned in just one paragraph in the Budget speech. The government will build an open platform, for the National Digital Health Ecosystem. It will consist of digital registries of health providers and health facilities, unique health identity, consent framework, and universal access to health facilities.

While the details are yet to be out. One

can easily guess the impact. Currently, transparency and customer confidence are low in the private healthcare sector, which is at the forefront in offering critical tertiary healthcare. Low transparency is arresting the growth of the health insurance sector. The net sufferers are common citizens.

The digital ecosystem should bring both public and private healthcare under a common platform, address data poverty, ensure better regulation on healthcare providers, set the stage for transparent insurance coverage.

It can be a game-changer. A dramatic increase in quality and coverage of health insurance and better customer satisfaction is foretold.

Bold decision

The Budget was prepared with many uncertainties in mind. First and foremost, the existing GST compensation window to States will close in June 2022. Opposition States are demanding extension of the window.

It is guessed that the Centre may extend the window but on condition that States should allow the inclusion of petroleum products and electricity in GST. States may agree as the upside potential of revenue from liquid auto-fuel is limited in the face of the electric-

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vehicle revolution. Petrol sales in particular should feel the heat within a year or two.

Either way, the Centre is faced with revenue risk and the issue is not touched upon in Budget speech for understandable reasons.

The second big uncertainty lies with volatility in energy prices due to geopolitical developments and the global supply chain bottleneck (that had already pushed sea-freight through the roof). A slight change in global dynamics and India runs the risk of inflation or need for government subsidy.

Last but not the least, Covid pushed many countries to high borrowing mood, ignoring fiscal prudence. The same Greece that had once pushed the EU to the brink of a financial collapse, now have a debt-GDP ratio of 206%. Of other PIGS countries Italy 154%, Spain 120% and Portugal 130%. The USA is 133%.

Though India is comfortable at 90% debt to GDP, the global financial system is at risk. A small breach in Europe can trigger another global financial crisis.

Standing in the face of such uncertainties, the government came out with an expansionary budget. A bit risky in conservative terms but it's a signature approach of the Modi government that dares to take the risk for

bigger gains to the nation.

India has already created an example by not following the developed world prescription of cash handouts during the Pandemic and instead used the money in building infrastructure. The formula resulted in world-beating growth and the government stuck to it.

Implementation of transport, transit and digital infrastructure is the central theme of this budget. PM Gati Shakti will ensure that every rupee should generate maximum economic benefit.

The Rs 1,00,000 crore fifty-year interest-free loan window opened to States (over and above the existing borrowing windows) to undertake capital investment under PM Gati Shakti, can be a game-changer. It will encourage states to build allied infrastructure which will improve utilization and efficiency of the core projects undertaken by the national government.

Boost to business

India witnessed a massive infrastructure boost during the tenure of the Modi government. The National Highway network was doubled in seven years. UDAN-Regional Connectivity scheme triggered unprecedented growth in air connectivity. The under-construction national gas grid should take industrial activity to the hinterlands.

But the government is not stopping there. It is focused on ensuring the success of the Make-in-India campaign. The production-linked incentive (PLI) scheme and domestic procurement in defence are two major planks in this direction.

The Union Budget 2022, extended the last date for availing concessional (15%) tax

India witnessed high growth during the 2004-09 period but the UPA government of the day didn't do enough to make it sustainable. Between 2010 and 2014, the outward FDI from India was higher than the inflow. It means even Indians were not comfortable investing in India. The trend was reversed from 2015. But it took time till 2020-21 to build the momentum.

benefit, for the newly incorporated domestic manufacturing companies. Clearly, the prospective investors in the PLI scheme will benefit from this extension.

The finance minister made her intentions clear by announcing additional Rs 19,500 crore allocation under the PLI scheme for manufacturing high-efficiency solar modules. At the same time, 68% of the capital procurement budget in defence is earmarked for the domestic industry in 2022-23, up from 58 per cent in 2021-22.

The Make-in-India campaign was subjected to widespread contempt. However, if everything goes according to plan the critics will be forced to swallow their words, sooner than later. Many capital goods which are now imported will soon be made in India.

Growth paradigm

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The FDI inflow in India is now at a record high. Kumar Mangalam Birla, chairman of the \$50 billion Aditya Birla Group, recently predicted that the Indian corporate sector would go for a capital investment rush in the coming decade.

Simply put, India is on a growth cycle. Unless the world economy throws some fresh challenges, the coming growth cycle may last longer than the 2004-09 period.

One definite side-effect of this growth is the rise in employment opportunities. India is already witnessing a fast increase in net job creation in the organized sector. The IT sector is witnessing a serious crunch in the availability of manpower. And, that's the concern of the future.

Disruptive technologies and Covid is changing the business dynamics at a very fast pace. To give one example, the EV sector is on the verge of unprecedented growth at the cost of the traditional auto sector. That spells doom for many allied sectors linked to petrol or diesel-run vehicles.

Add to that the fast pace of automation, increasing adoption of technologies like artificial intelligence, and the growth is expected to create more skilled jobs than the semi-or low-skilled ones. Moreover, unlike in the past, the skill demand scenario will be highly volatile.

It is to be seen how India negotiates these challenges.

(The writer is a well known veteran journalist, public policy expert and commentator. The views expressed are the authors own.)

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Analysing Budget 2022: The 5C Focus



Kishore Desai

Article 112 (1) of the Constitution of India states the following: “*The President shall in respect of every financial year cause to be laid before both the Houses of Parliament a statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for that year, in this Part referred to as the “annual financial statement”*”. The annual financial statement that the Constitution refers to is nothing but the Union Budget. Given this, one can technically argue that the Union Budget is supposed to be just a statement of annual financial accounts of the Government. A statement that outlines the receipts and expenditure proposals for the upcoming financial year. While that’s true, more importantly, what a Union Budget really reflects is the development vision and governance philosophy of any incumbent Government. The choices that a government makes while allocating scarce financial resources that it has at its disposal reflects the development vision it envisages for the country.

So, the important question to ponder in this context is how should one analyse the Union Budget 2022? A nuanced analysis of various announcements made in the Union Budget 2022 indicate that the Modi Government is putting up a bold agenda to steer India towards a modern and futuristic economy where everyone has easy and equitable access to development opportunities. The following perspectives substantiate the key

focus themes that emerge clearly in the Union Budget 2022:

Credibility: Demonstrating the focus on “walking the talk”

First and foremost, the Budget 2022 cements the fact that the Government doesn’t believe in mere talks, instead it relentlessly and consistently focuses on walking its talk.

Last year, in the Union Budget 2021, Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman had announced a target of investing INR 5.5 lakh crore as capital spend in FY 2021-22. As such the capex investment proposal was quite ambitious: 30% increase from FY 2020-21 (INR 4.1 lakh crores) and if one takes into account the fact that post Budget, the country witnessed the devastating second wave as well as the third wave of COVID pandemic during much of the last financial year, it would have been perfectly reasonable to expect the Government to fall short of its targets. Despite such challenging externalities, the Union Government ended up exceeding this target. Union Finance Minister announced in the 2022 Budget that the revised estimate of capital expenditure for FY 2021-22 was estimated to be INR 6.03 lakh crores (almost INR 50,000 crores

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higher than the original budget estimates). Similarly, on the fiscal management, the FM said that the fiscal deficit for FY 2021-22 was expected to be 6.9% of GDP as against the estimates of 6.8%, a minor slip from the target.

Contrast this with what used to happen before 2014. Union Budget presentations were mainly used as a national platform from where grand, populist announcements were made, only to be forgotten next year. New schemes got introduced and tough delivery targets were set every year. But most of them remained on paper, with hardly any real, tangible realizations of those targets.

So, when the FM announced another steep increase in the capex plan for FY 2022-23 to INR 7.5 lakh crores while at the same time tapering the deficit down to 6.4%, most stakeholders expressed complete confidence in the ability of the Government to deliver on this target as well, reflecting high credibility in governance.

Continuity: consistency with the longer-term development vision

Over the last several months, the Union Government has been rolling out development initiatives such as the AtmaNirbharBharat

program, PM Gati Shakti, National Infrastructure Pipeline (NIP), National Monetization Pipeline (NMP), privatization of Public Sector Enterprises, Productivity Linked Incentive plan (PLI) etc. These initiatives are tools to realize the vision of the Government to build a modern, state-of-the-art infrastructure in India and make India self-reliant and a powerhouse for exports. Given the very nature of these programs, they are large, complex, multi-year and multi-departmental programs. The proposals made in the Union Budget 2022 clearly demonstrated the continued focus of the Government towards ensuring smooth, fast and unhindered implementation of these programs.

Citizen-centricity: inclusive development and ease of living for all

The proposals of the Budget clearly reflect that the Government has put citizens at the center while devising its economic policy and development agenda. Realizing inclusive development and ease of living for all Indians stand out as a clear priority of the Budget. Proposals to enable farmers access latest digital technologies such as drones, accelerating universal access to quality infrastructure and connectivity, piped water, housing, education and health services, nutrition, banking and financial services etc. through ongoing as well as new initiatives are examples which demonstrate the citizen-centricity in economic policy. Kick-starting Ease of Doing Business 2.0 and Ease of Living program by providing all citizens a single point access to Government services is another important strategy to enhance ease of living for all citizens.

Catalysing job creation

The Budget had a clear emphasis and focus on catalysing job creation in an economy which is witnessing a robust, resilient recovery.

To that extent, sharp increase in provisions for capex investments (from INR 5.54 crore in FY 2021-22 to INR 7.5 lakh crores in FY 2022-23 and to INR 10.68 lakh crore including the grants-in-aid to state), extension of the emergency credit line guarantee scheme (ECLGS) for MSMEs, setting up online e-bills system for settling dues of suppliers and contractors and laying out supportive policies and light-touch regulations for making the already thriving Indian start-up ecosystem more vibrant and robust are proposals which would facilitate creation of jobs across all sectors and across skill-levels.

Climate Action: steering India towards a cleaner, greener and a zero-waste economy

Finally, the Budget also laid out several specific action items to accelerate transition towards a cleaner, greener and zero waste economy. It's proposed boosting the fiscal incentives to build fully integrated high-efficiency solar modules in India by 5 times (from INR 4500 crores originally to INR 24000 crores), enabling transition towards circular economy, promoting

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fast shift to electric mobility and increased public transport, battery swapping policy, co-firing biomass pellets in coal plants to reduce stubble burning and implementing measures for increasing efficiency of energy consumption. All these measures would accelerate transition towards a cleaner transport and cleaner energy mix in Indian economy.

The Union Budget 2022 puts forward a number of proposals to accelerate growth, sustain a virtuous cycle of investments and create a solid foundation for a truly modern, inclusive and developed India, that all Indians collectively aspire to be part of when we celebrate our 100 years of Independence. The 5C's discussed above – Credibility (credible governance), Continuity, Citizen-centricity, Catalyzing job creation and Climate Action capture the important priorities that one can expect the Government to continue its focus on in the times to come.

(The author is a public policy professional and a former OSD at Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister (EAC-PM) and NITI Aayog. The views expressed are his own.)

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UNION BUDGET 2022-23: INNOVATIVE FLEXIBILITY



Dipankar Sengupta

The Union Budget for the year 2022-23 presented by Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman has to be viewed in the context in which it has been presented i.e. after a year where COVID Wave II and III struck India and indeed the world within the space of the year i.e. 2021-22 with the former being far more severe than the first wave. In itself, these developments should have gravely impacted the Budget presented a year ago just as Wave I had impacted the Budget for 2019-20. And yet in spite of the Central Government spending an additional two lakh crores (the bulk of it being food transfers to the poor during Wave II) in the 2021-22 fiscal over and above what was budgeted for, the fiscal deficit of the Union government was 6.9% of the GDP as opposed to the budget estimate of 6.8%. This was possible because of a surge in revenues that was the result of the strong recovery of the economy in spite of Wave II and III.

This development itself should lay to rest the credibility of the figures as set forth in the current budget as well as the strength of the recovery of the Economy. However, it has not which has to do more with the political positions taken by certain observers rather than economic data. The most striking item in the Union Budget 2022-23 is the allocation of Rs 7.2 lakh crores to capital

expenditure (capex) as compared to the revised estimate for 2021-22 which stands at Rs 6.02 lakh crore rupees. With MNREGA and other grants in aid for the creation of capital assets, then the projected effective capex exceeds 10.5 lakh crores substantially more than revised estimates of Rs 8.4 lakh crores for 2021-22. Furthermore, if the capital spending of the Public Sector Enterprises is considered the figures are Rs 12.19 lakh crores compared to the revised estimates of Rs 11 lakh crores. This itself should not have been a matter of debate. But some observers have dismissed the capex figures budgeted by claiming that capex entries like the one lakh crore interest free loan to the States will crowd out their capex and the capex amount budgeted for NHAI will not be supplemented by additional borrowing as it has been previously leading to no net increase in capex spend where NHAI is concerned. The first contention is clearly speculative and stated without any reason given. As for the second, the observers clearly are not consistent with the lens with which they have viewed the previous budget in the sense that capex of Rs 50,000 crores spent on account of Air India was not strictly for new capital creation.

Thus, the proportion of capex in this budget out of total expenditure is higher no matter what definitions and measures are chosen. Secondly, the quality and nature of government expenditure is as important as its quantum. This is important given the dual role of capex. In the short run it creates demand. In the long run it enhances productive capacity of the economy. It does so by increasing profitability of private investment, thus crowding in private investment which leads to income and employment growth. Rising tax

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revenues from this rising income pays for capex in the long run. An income tax cut/transfer payments or an increase in revenue expenditure may increase demand in the short run but the revenue foregone or the extra spending increases government debt which has to be paid off in the future. Indeed, a study by Sukanya Bose for NIPFP shows that for a developing country like India the former is clearly a more prudent option.

However, for increased capex to lead to the desired outcome, i.e. greater private investment, greater production of goods and services and greater employment, much more needs to be done. It must be kept in mind that actual economic activity is carried out in the States and therefore States must step up to establish an enabling environment where the regulatory framework as well as local infrastructure complements Central Government actions which draws in private investment. It is in this context that lower capex spending by most of the States (UP being a notable exception) in the current financial year is cause for concern. The combined capex of the States often exceeds that of the Central Government. It is likely

given fears of revenue shortfall, States may have deferred capex spending. There are two silver linings here: one that States tend to boost capex spending in the last quarter when there is greater clarity on tax revenues and the other, the aforementioned provision for a one lakh crore interest free loan payable over a period of 50 years which has been targeted by some critics.

But what is striking about this budget is that it is a template for the next 25 years that commences from this year ie *Azadi ka Amrut Mahotsav*. As the Economic Survey points out flexibility is a key ingredient to policy making in an environment in flux. Thus, we have seen the Government avoid the “Waterfall” approach where plans are made in detail and cast in stone in the last two years and choose the “Agile” approach where information about new developments are processed and if need be, acted upon. Thus, the initiation and

In a remarkable turnaround of events, banks have pared down their NPAs considerably just as corporate India has cleaned up its balance sheets. Thus, the ability for banks to lend and firms to borrow is higher than ever before. What is needed is action to boost the growing willingness of both bank and firms so that an investment cycle is initiated. In the same vein the Economic Survey talks about the dramatic rise and spread of start-ups in India. The next logical step would be the transformation of at least some of these start-ups into large-scale entities. However, for this to happen, the States have to move proactively on various the ease of doing business parameters be it facilitating land acquisition by entrepreneurs or the provision of infrastructural inputs like power and water.

subsequent additions to the Performance Linked Incentive (PLI) schemes to boost manufacturing in select sectors when the need arose and did not wait for the budget. Equally important many steps which are more in the nature of policy decisions rather than tax or expenditure proposals have found mention in the budget. The Budget's thrust on digital and financial inclusion cannot be overstated. This of course has met with disapproval in some quarters who have found the refrain of "digital" to be annoying and out of place in a developing economy. This is extremely surprising. **Our current digital architecture with Jan Dhan-Aadhaar-Mobile (JAM) trinity as one of its components enabled the government to transfer money to tens of millions of vulnerable families during COVID in a remarkable short period of time far more efficiently and quickly than any other country. Thus, the announcement in the budget about the bringing in of 1.5 lakh Post Offices in the banking system through the core banking system brings financial inclusion to entire rural India, can only be described as momentous as are the concurrent measures taken to spread of OFC to all villages bridges the digital divide.**

In a remarkable turnaround of events, banks have pared down their NPAs considerably just as corporate India has cleaned up its balance sheets. Thus, the ability for banks to lend and firms to borrow is higher than ever before. What is needed is action to boost the growing willingness of both bank and firms so that an investment cycle is initiated. In the same vein the Economic Survey talks about the dramatic rise and spread of start-ups in India. The next logical step would be the transformation of at least some of these start-ups into large-scale entities. However, for this to happen, the States have to move proactively on various the ease of doing business parameters be it facilitating land acquisition by entrepreneurs

or the provision of infrastructural inputs like power and water. It is only then that the triple requirement for investment i.e. access to credit on reasonable terms, convenient land and an efficient logistics system will be achieved. If India's start-up segment starts to take advantage of this trinity, India could potentially see not just a boom in investment, it will witness investment going into a host of sunrise industries where she is not dragged into a bruising battle fought on the basis of costs, but one where she caters to niche markets, commands a premium price and generates well paying jobs. For that skilling our workforce is important where the bulk of the responsibility lies with the States.

This budget is also remarkable in the sense that for the first time many commentators have expressed the view that the Government has considerably understated its projected revenues in the budget. The government has responded by saying that given quite a few imponderables i.e. geopolitical developments, oil price movements, potential COVID waves, it is better to err on the side of caution. Thus, one can be reasonably be sure that previous budgetary figures will hold out when the next budget is presented. India has been unique in the way it initiated measures for the post-COVID recovery. It preferred to rely more on supply side measures like credit extension than government expenditure thus conserving fiscal space for the future budgets. In using this fiscal space preference has been shown to creating an enabling environment conducive to investment and employment over populist handouts and tax breaks which goes to enhances the credibility of the budget presented. In a world still grappling with COVID this is truly remarkable.

(The author is Professor of Economics, University of Jammu and a well-known expert on public policy. The views expressed are his own)

HOLISTIC BORDER MANAGEMENT



Brig Anil Gupta

India enjoys a strategic location in Southern Part of the Asian continent. It is centrally located between the East and the West Asia. India is also strategically located at the center of the trans-Indian Ocean routes which connect the European countries in the West and the countries of East Asia. It is also considered a subcontinent because it covers an expansive land mass that includes the Himalayan region in the North, the vast Gangetic Plain, the coastal plateau and a large coastline. The various passes across the Himalayas acted as gateways in the past for exchange of ideas and commodities. The land and coastal borders were used by the Indian kings and rulers to extend India's cultural influence across its boundaries while the same were also used by the various invaders who ventured to conquer Indian territory and loot its wealth. Thus, borders have played important role in ensuring survival of the great Indian civilization, one of the two only surviving civilisations.

India's strategic location bestows it with many challenges as well. Large land and coastal border are one such challenge. India's coastline is 7,683 km long with an Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) measuring over 2 million square kilo meter in size. In this article the focus will be on management of land borders not because the coastal borders provide lesser challenge but because of the fact that post Mumbai terror attacks lot of impetus

has been accorded to coastal security including proposed Maritime Theatre Command and the Maritime Commission.

As far as land borders are concerned, India shares border with seven countries measuring more than 15,000 km. India's two neighbours namely India and China are hostile with unsettled and disputed borders. The border with other neighbours is porous which lends to cross-border migration because of its unparalleled rate of economic growth viz a viz the neighbours. Thus, India's national security is inextricably intertwined with holistic border management. Many experts term border management as the first line of defence. **Border management does not mean mere deployment of border guarding forces but has much wider scope to include border area development, communications, meeting aspirations of border dwellers, promotion of national interests and coordination with neighbouring states. The security of borders provides a secure environment for the economic developmental activities including domestic and foreign investment as well as commerce.**

By ignoring the development of the border areas, the previous regimes had made our national security very vulnerable leading to smuggling, narcotics trade, cross-border terror, narco-terrorism, counterfeit currency, salami-slicing of our territory in the border areas and Kargil like operations. It was the NDA government under Bharat Ratan Atal Bihari Vajpayee that ordered the setting up of the task force to review the border management system post Kargil War. As mentioned earlier, apart from the border guarding forces which require material and financial support from the government, there are other stakeholders as well,

hence border management needs holistic multi-stakeholder approach.

The present NDA government led by Prime Minister Narendra Modi is very conscious of the security and development of the border areas. It has not only taken steps to streamline the ongoing Border Area Development Programme (BADP) by issuing fresh revised guidelines to maximise the benefits and ensuring that priority is given to strategically important border villages/towns as identified by the border guarding forces. To ensure that the funds are utilized judiciously and for the desired purpose only a mechanism of Social Audit by Gram Sabhas or similar bodies in addition to the present mechanisms of the State/UT/Central Governments has been introduced. A system of appointing Prabhari officers for each district to provide independent feedback on the development works undertaken through a quarterly report has also been put in place. Moreover, all the projects are being geo-mapped and uploaded on the BADP Online Management System. The allocation of funds and funding pattern has also been streamlined to give additional weightage to hilly, desert and Rann areas due to difficult terrain, scarcity of resources and higher costs of construction. **The Programme presently covers 396 Blocks of 111 Districts in 16 States and 2 Union Territories. Additionally, the programme also covers census villages, semi-urban and urban areas located within 10 km distance from the first habitation from the International Border (IB). The government has also clarified that after 0-10 km area is saturated, the benefits of the program may cover 10-20/30/40/50 km area.** Only 10% of the allocated funds can be spent on assets created under Border Area Development Scheme (BADS) by the States/UTs.

Immediately, after coming to power in 2014, the Modi led government took a very

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major decision with regards to strategic roads and projects in the States bordering China which had fallen victim to the very stringent environmental and forest clearance rules made by the previous government. Convinced with the fact that strategic and defence projects should not be delayed or held up for procedural reasons and conscious of the rapid development of structure made by China across the border, it gave the 'general clearance' to allow diversion of forest land for constructing two-lane roads within 100 km of border in Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh. This led to completion of many stalled projects and improving connectivity and infrastructure along border with China. The effect of this was evident during the Doklam stand-off in 2017 and the ongoing standoff in Ladakh. In order to further speed up these projects, the government is now considering to have a separate protocol for defence projects and infrastructure as it would also help keep much-needed confidentiality.

Modi government is equally focused with the border with Pakistan. Aware of the fact that any

exodus from the border villages adversely affects national security, large number of schemes have been launched to improve the quality of life and provision of better facilities and amenities to the border dwellers. Maximum out-ward migration takes place from border villages for seeking jobs and livelihood. Continued cross-border shelling across the LOC and working boundary (as Pakistan refers to IB in the plains sector of J&K) by Pakistan also created sense of insecurity and panic among the border residents who demanded land in safer areas in the rear where they could settle. However, the government is not in favour of vacating border villages and hence gave a free hand to the border guarding forces and the army to retaliate to punish the enemy as and when it resorted to unprovoked cross-border firing. It had the desired impact and peace now prevails along the LoC and working boundary.

In a first of its kind, Modi government organized Frontier Area Development Festival in the Rann of Kutch in the winter of 2020. It was attended among others by the nation's Home Minister who made it abundantly clear that the government's aim was not just to develop the border areas but also stop border migration and increase national security. He also stated that notwithstanding the remoteness of border areas, the government is determined to provide them roads, gas, electricity, dwellings, electricity,

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health insurance and medical care. Many of these are also covered under the aspirational district scheme of the government.

The most recent initiative of the government is the announcement of Vibrant Village Programme in the budget 2022-23 by the Finance Minister Nirmala Sitharaman who had also donned the hat of Defence Minister earlier. The programme targets villages on the northern borders left out so far of development gains. The activities will include construction of village infrastructure, provision of decentralized renewable energy, road connectivity, access to Doordarshan, tourist spots, livelihood generation and healthcare. The government plans to provide additional funds for these activities as well as converge all existing schemes. This will be a real game changer and tit for tat to the belligerent Chinese who are developing new villages on the border. It would help stem the tide of out-migration from the border areas and hopefully reverse the trend in future as these villages become not only livable but also generate livelihood through Vocal for Local and promotion of border tourism. The infrastructure thus developed can be dual-purpose or dual-use and used by the army or the border defending forces for patrolling, surveillance and in case of active hostilities. The government is also keen to extend railways to these areas and is working towards that end.

As India continues to create its due place among comity of nations, it needs to evolve a robust and balanced border management policy rather than relying on convergence of different schemes and programmes.

(The author is a Jammu-based veteran who writes regularly on national security and strategic issues. The views expressed are his own.)

Jana Sangh and the Goa Liberation Movement



Dr Anirban Ganguly

In the middle of 1946, Mahatma Gandhi wrote to the Portuguese Governor General of Goa that ‘in free India Goa could not be allowed to exist as a separate entity in opposition to the laws of the free-state.’ In June 1946, Ram Manohar Lohia had offered Satyagraha in solidarity with the Goan freedom fighters. Lohia was incarcerated and it sent ripples across the country. The Goan National Congress was formed in 1928 by Tristao Braganza Cunha and in 1946 it launched a campaign to liberate Goa which the Portuguese colonisers suppressed ruthlessly. Cunha was imprisoned, 1,500 Goans were also arrested and tortured. In expressing his solidarity with the movement, Lohia entered Goa and courted arrest.

Post-independence, Congress under Nehru displayed an astonishing ambivalence on the Goan question. In fact, Nehru’s Goan policy aptly reflected his essentially procrastinating nature and his obsession with his international image. A Portuguese census of 1950 revealed that only 800 Europeans were living in Goa ‘who were transient Portuguese administrators and 316 people of mixed origin,’ the rest 6,50,000 were officially described as Indians. Yet Nehru did not think it prudent to exercise force to liberate this majority of Indians living under Portuguese occupation.

Sometime in 1954, The Guardian had also

noted that it was ‘impossible that a pocket of Portuguese territory should exist in the midst of India, bred in the spirit of nationalism.’ While Portugal’s totalitarian Prime Minister Antonio Salazar breathed fire and ordered firing and torture of Indian Satyagrahis, Nehru continued sticking to his ambivalence. Salazar had once famously declared ‘The truth is that I am profoundly anti parliamentary. I hate the speeches, the verbosity, the flowery, meaningless interpolations, the way we waste passion, not around any great idea, but just around futilities, nothingness from the point of view of the national good.’

When Salazar declared his imperial ambitions by saying that he would keep the Portuguese possession in India as ‘memorial of the Portuguese discoveries and a small hearth of the Western spirit in the East,’ Nehru stuck to his pontificating. ‘The policy we have so far pursued has been,’ Nehru said, ‘(i) that we may not abandon or permit any derogation of our identification with the cause of our compatriots under Portuguese rule, (ii) equally we may not adopt, advocate or deliberately bring about a situation of violence... It is not the intention of the Government of India to be provoked into thinking and acting in military terms.’

In 1948, when Portugal ‘actively helped in gun-running to Hyderabad menacing the security of the country,’ writes Amiya and BG Rao, one of the finest chronicler-duos of Nehru’s tenure, ‘Nehru would take no action.’ As Acharya JB Kripalani lamented, ‘We should have given the Portuguese authorities notice to quit these pockets which they have occupied for centuries, as soon as the British had left. We could at least have taken action when

they were gun-running to Hyderabad. To drive them away, as our military experts held, would have taken not more than a week or so. But we waited for years to drive them away, causing our people great hardship and suffering.' When the Indian military operation did take place, the Portuguese, having ruled for 450 years, collapsed in 26 hours. But Nehru had waited for 14 years for effectuating these 26 hours!

On August 15, 1955, when Satyagrahis crossed over into Goa, and the Portuguese police fired on them killing no less than 20 and injuring a large number, protests spread to a number of other cities. These protestors were also fired upon. Even after this, Nehru's stand continued to be confused and based on principles that had no application or relevance to the increasingly oppressive situation in Goa. Nehru reiterated that his 'Government cannot conceive of patronising Satyagraha. If we want a settlement of this question by peaceful methods, we should not do anything which, though peaceful in itself, leads to violent methods.'

According to Nehru, thus, peaceful Satyagrahis were to be blamed for provoking firing on them. To those who demanded that military action would alone lead to integration, Nehru articulated his 'principles,' 'There is nothing we can argue with any person who thinks that the methods employed in regard to Goa must be other than peaceful, because we rule out non-peaceful methods completely...Once we accept the position that we can use the army for the solution of our problems, we cannot deny the same right to other countries. It is a question of principle.'

It did not matter to Nehru that his principles were delaying India's integration. Homer A Jack (1916-1993) — an American clergyman, pacifist, founder of the Congress for Racial Equality and an author who had also written books on Gandhi

— was present in Goa on the day Portuguese killed unarmed and peaceful Satyagrahis. Jack was astounded by the crime and also by the silence of the US. In a letter to the New York Times, he wrote, 'Some of us who were inside Goa on August 15, when twenty unarmed Indians were killed by Portuguese soldiers in cold blood, and many hundreds wounded, wondered at that time why our American Government remained silent. And we were and have remained embarrassed by this silence.'

In its meet in Kolkata on August 28, 1955, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh condemned the 'inhuman slaughter of unarmed satyagrahis on August 15' and argued that it had 'given rise to so much public anger' which made it amply clear that 'on this national issue the whole country is united.' The Jana Sangh meet pointed out how, even after the slaughter of 15 August, 'thousands of Indians have volunteered to participate in the Satyagraha.' It proved that the 'people of India' were 'now determined to continue the liberation struggle for Goa.' The Jana Sangh attacked the Congress for always loudly talking about the 'nobility and utility of non-violent satyagraha' but failing to 'make its own contribution in this struggle.' The Congress, it advised, 'instead of preaching the utility of peaceful means should have cooperated with other parties on this national question.'

The Jana Sangh had always stressed that the Goa problem could not be 'solved merely by satyagraha.' The events of 15 August, it argued, had made it clear that the 'Portuguese administration would not be amenable to moral pressure only.' It vindicated its stand that the 'problem should be solved on the official level, including a police-action.' It called upon the Nehru government to 'determine a time-limit in which the Portuguese colonies [were] to be liberated by peaceful means or otherwise.'

The Jana Sangh had repeatedly and consistently called out Nehru's ambivalence. It carried a sustained movement across the country on the need to liberate Goa and on the need to support the Goan liberation movement. As early as August 1954, Jana Sangh spoke of the continuance of foreign pockets in India after the withdrawal of the British as having 'created a situation which is both a threat and challenge to the security and sovereignty of free India.' It spoke of how the 'inaction displayed by the Government of India regarding colonial outposts of Western imperialism' had 'encouraged Portugal to adopt a challenging attitude towards India and start a campaign of repression against the people who have been agitating for the merger of these territories with their motherland-India.'

The Jana Sangh argued that while Nehru denounced colonialism all across the world, he did little to adopt a firm stand against these vestiges of colonialism in India and that by

banning Indian citizens from entering these territories for liberation Nehru's government had affronted Indian public opinion. Terming Nehru's policy 'weak-kneed', the Jana Sangh warned that this would 'create further complications and make the liquidation of these pockets more difficult in future.' Calling upon 'all countrymen and its workers and sympathisers in particular to take up the cause of the liberation' of these foreign-held Indian territories, the Jana Sangh decided to hold a countrywide 'Goa Mukti Saptah' (Goa Liberation Week) from September 9 to September 16, 1954. A year later on June 13, 1955, the Jana Sangh's Central Working Committee resolved to send 'the first batch of 101 satyagrahis into Goa on June 23, the martyrdom day of Dr Mookerjee.' Jagannath Rao Joshi (1920-1991), then Secretary, All India Jana Sangh, was designated to lead this batch.

Lok Sabha discussed the situation in Goa on July 26, 1955. Participating in the discussion, JB Kripalani made some very perceptive interventions. 'It has been often said,' argued Kripalani, 'that the question of the independence of Goa or the Goan struggle is primarily the concern of the people of Goa. This may be true if the Goans wanted their independence apart from India as an isolated piece of territory. But what the Goans want is integration with India' and therefore, the Goan struggle was 'only the last stage in the national struggle for independence.' 'We fought for the freedom of the whole of India and not any part thereof'. Kripalani reminded Nehru 'we cannot allow any part of our territory to remain under foreign yoke, under colonial rule and think that we have attained complete freedom.'

It was a fact that no one could deny. Kripalani told the House that 'geographically, Goa is in India and our interests – political, social and economic – are identical; even our cultural interests are

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identical. How then can this portion of territory be allowed to remain outside India?’ he asked. To Nehru’s insistence on ‘non-violence’, Kripalani asked whether India as a nation was pledged to it, ‘is the Indian government as government pledged to non-violence? So far as I know, the Indian government maintains an army and it wants it to be more and more efficient...When occasion has arisen, we have used our armed forces as we did in Kashmir and in Hyderabad...Therefore, we cannot say that we as a nation are pledged to non-violence.’ On Nehru’s point that war solved no problem, Kripalani mounted a sharp and cogent counter calling for a ‘limited war with orthodox [conventional] weapons – it will be just as in Hyderabad – or you have satyagraha.’ He saw no third way. A limited war was, to him, as near satyagraha as possible. Gandhiji, Kripalani argued, ‘considered legitimate violent resistance as near to satyagraha as possible.’

To Nehru’s contention that it was not consistent with India’s dignity to ‘crush a fly like Portugal’, Kripalani countered, ‘But this fly is a very poisonous fly; it attacks innocent people.’ In one year, he told the House that ‘they have imprisoned 2,500 people and 110 people have been awarded punishments of 900 years’ imprisonment – the maximum punishment being 38 years. There is no end to lathi charges and there is no end to the woes of our people; even women have been molested.’

AK Gopalan (AKG) of the CPI, in his intervention, described the barbarous attacks on satyagrahis. ‘When they fall down, soldiers with nails on their shoes jump on them; they shave their eye-brows and also their heads...One would be surprised to see that in 1955 such things are happening and such is the treatment meted out to satyagrahis.’ Kripalani called upon the Nehru government to make up its mind, and whatever it did, ‘whether it is a limited war or whether it

is a police action, whether it is satyagraha – I can assure them that the country will be with them. The country cannot be with them if no action is taken and they rely merely upon diplomacy.’

Jana Sangh’s UM Trivedi, an erstwhile associate of Syama Prasad Mookerjee, spoke of drawing the red line, ‘we should at some stage say thus far and no further...we cannot go on waiting till eternity. And, certainly not when we have got the power to do a particular thing. When we have got the power to wrest the particular possessions which still remain in the hands of the Portuguese, there is no ‘reason why we should not exercise that power.’ Trivedi called for ‘police action.’

Jana Sangh organised a massive demonstration outside the Parliament during the monsoon session of 1955. A huge procession led by Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya, Atal Bihari Vajpayee and others proceeded towards Parliament House and demanded police action in Goa. A large public meeting was held outside the Parliament, the legendary poet and cultural personality, Harindranath Chattopadhyay (1898-1990) — Sarojini Naidu’s younger brother and Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay’s husband, then an independent CPI supported Lok Sabha member from Vijayawada — ‘recited a relevant poem on the occasion.’ There was a wide unanimity and synergy on Goa and yet Nehru refused to budge, missed the opportunity and procrastinated for another six years.

The Jana Sangh presented a detailed memorandum to ‘all ministers, deputy ministers and members of Parliament’, describing the situation in Goa. Describing the Satyagraha, the memorandum spoke of how the agitation had grown ‘into a mighty force’ and also described the excesses of the Portuguese authorities which had no ‘parallel in annals of barbarism in the world.’ As leader of the first batch of satyagrahis,

Jagannath Rao Joshi suffered dire consequences. His torture was excruciating. We get a mind-numbing glimpse in the pages of the Jana Sangh's memorandum, 'Shri Jagannath Rao Joshi has been severely beaten on his back and arms. His entire back has turned black and blue, as a result of which he could not even sleep for the first eight days. He has been kicked in his face with jackboots. His left eyes have become swollen; the fingers of his right hand have been crushed, with the third finger too swollen as it has been broken. He has not been administered any medicine except a dose of iodine. He has not been given even a mattress to lie down on, not even a fresh dhoti or pant. He is still wearing those very clothes he was wearing when he left (for satyagraha). He is being kept 24 hours in confinement in a very small cell, which is filthy and has no light at all. No one is allowed to even see or talk to him.' Even these could not move Nehru enough, he could not identify with such torture, since he did not have to face them in British jails.

On August 16, Sri Gururji Golwalkar issued a statement condemning the Nehru government's 'do-nothing policy and its short-sightedness in abusing the freedom struggle through repeated declarations about not backing it.' Sri Gururji declared that this was the 'time to pay back with interest the atrocities perpetrated on our citizens and liberate the part of the motherland degrading in slavery.' He pointed out that 'no better opportunity can present itself to the government to get rid of the false ideas of international prestige and take steps in the right direction. A successful culmination of this struggle through police or other similar action without a moment's delay will rather enhance our international prestige.' Sri Gururji cautioned that the government 'must bear in mind that it must do its duty; otherwise, the people will develop feelings of contempt with regard to the courage, patriotism and worth

of those in power.' Nehru would only act in December 1961, especially after he had started realising his growing isolation on the issue. But throughout these years, the Jana Sangh did let its guard down. It kept up a relentless pressure and led a sustained countrywide movement on the Goa liberation issue.

In a paper on 'Goa and the end of Colonialism in India', historian DP Singhal writes how Gandhi's acolyte, a friend of India and the legendary editor of the *New Statesman*, Kingsley Martin (1897-1969), argued that Gandhi who was an uncompromising adversary of oppression 'would assuredly have blamed Nehru for waiting for 14 years before completing India's independence.'

When he recently referred in the Parliament to how Nehru had delayed liberating Goa and thus delayed completion of India's independence, Prime Minister Narendra Modi was in fact reflecting this perception, that of Nehru waiting for 14 years to complete India's independence. Belonging to a political lineage and himself the finest the product of that political movement – which began with the founding of Jana Sangh – which saw its workers and leaders plunge fearlessly into the struggle for liberating Goa, Modi has a legitimate right to speak on this. But on the other hand, on this issue, as on a number of other issues, the Congress, especially Nehru's heirs, ought to keep silent and introspect. Nehru had forsaken, abandoned, opposed, and obstructed Goa Satyagrahis, allowing many of them to die and to be maimed. For him, his confused and inflated prestige came before India's integrity and prestige. For Modi, it is the other way round, India's prestige and integrity always comes first. He brooks no opposition to these.

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ग्रामीण विकास को गति देने वाला बजट



सतीश सिंह

दे श में खेती-किसानी के साथ-साथ सम्बद्ध क्षेत्रों जैसे, पशुपालन, बागवानी, मुर्गी पालन, मछली पालन, वानिकी, रेशम कीट पालन, कुक्कुट पालन व बत्तख पालन आदि का ग्रामीण अर्थव्यवस्था को मजबूत करने में अहम योगदान है। इसके अलावा, ग्रामीण अर्थव्यवस्था को मजबूत करने का काम सुक्ष्म, लघु व मझौले उद्योग और सेवा क्षेत्र भी कर रहे हैं। एक अनुमान के अनुसार ग्रामीण अर्थव्यवस्था में कृषि और संबद्ध क्षेत्र की हिस्सेदारी 50 प्रतिशत है और बचे हुए 50 प्रतिशत में उद्योगों और सेवा क्षेत्र की भागीदारी है।

वित्त वर्ष 2022-23 के बजट के प्रावधानों के तहत भारतीय रेलवे छोटे किसानों और मीडियम इंटरप्राइजेज को माल ढुलाई की सेवा देने के लिए नये उत्पादों और ढुलाई सेवा का विकास करेगा, ताकि कृषि से जुड़े उत्पादों को एक जगह से दूसरी जगह ले जाने में आसानी हो और किसानों को अपने उत्पादों की वाजिब कीमत मिल सके।

बजट में केन-बेतवा नदी को आपस में जोड़ने के लिए 44,000 करोड़ रुपए की परियोजना की घोषणा की गई है, जिससे लगभग 9 लाख हेक्टेयर भूमि की सिंचाई की जा सकेगी और 62 लाख लोगों को पीने का पानी मिल सकेगा। साथ ही, 103 मेगावाट हाइड्रो पावर और 27 मेगावाट सोलर पावर का उत्पादन किया जा सकेगा। न्यूनतम

वित्त वर्ष 2022-23 के बजट के प्रावधानों के तहत भारतीय रेलवे छोटे किसानों और मीडियम इंटरप्राइजेज को माल ढुलाई की सेवा देने के लिए नये उत्पादों और ढुलाई सेवा का विकास करेगा, ताकि कृषि से जुड़े उत्पादों को एक जगह से दूसरी जगह ले जाने में आसानी हो और किसानों को अपने उत्पादों की वाजिब कीमत मिल सके।

समर्थन मूल्य यानी एमएसपी की राशि अब सीधे किसानों के खाते में जमा की जायेगी, जिससे किसानों को बिचौलियों को लेवी नहीं देना होगा। ग्रामीण क्षेत्र में 100 गति शक्ति कार्गो टर्मिनल बनाये जायेंगे। साथ ही, पीएम गति शक्ति योजना के तहत ग्रामीण इलाकों में भी सड़क, परिवहन, लॉजिस्टिक अवसंरचना का विस्तार किया जायेगा।

बजट में शहरी और ग्रामीण लोगों के लिए 80 लाख घर बनाने का प्रस्ताव है, जिससे ग्रामीण क्षेत्र में मांग और आपूर्ति में तेजी आने और रोजगार सृजन को बल मिलने की संभावना है।

गंगा के किनारे 5 किमी चौड़े गलियारों में किसानों की जमीन पर जैविक खेती की जायेगी। सरकारी मदद मिलने से रसायन मुक्त फसलों के उत्पादन में बढ़ोतरी होने का अनुमान है। इसे प्रोत्साहित करने के लिए सरकार पीपीपी मॉडल अपनायेगी। केंद्र सरकार पर्याप्त पैदावार को सुनिश्चित करने हेतु नई तकनीकों को अपनाने के लिए किसानों को प्रोत्साहित करेगी और फसल, फल और सब्जियों की उन्नत क्रिस्मों को किसानों तक पहुँचाने का काम करेगी।

फसलों की बुआई, उनके स्वास्थ्य का आकलन, भूमि रिकॉर्ड का डिजिटलीकरण, खेतों में कीटनाशकों और पोषक तत्वों के छिड़काव के लिए सरकार ड्रोन के इस्तेमाल को प्रोत्साहन देगी, क्योंकि जनसंख्या के लिहाज से भारत दुनिया का दूसरा सबसे बड़ा देश है और क्षेत्रफल के हिसाब से सातवां बड़ा देश। ऐसे में इतनी बड़ी आबादी को अन्न सुरक्षा देना बेहद चुनौतीपूर्ण कार्य है। इसलिए, जरूरी है कि पारंपरिक खेती की बजाय आधुनिक तकनीक की मदद से खेती-किसानी की जाये।

खेती की बढ़ती लागत और प्राकृतिक आपदाओं के कारण भी किसानों को नुकसान उठाना पड़ रहा है। ऐसे में ड्रोन तकनीक के इस्तेमाल से किसान लागत और समय की बचत कर अपनी आमदनी बढ़ा सकते हैं। पारंपरिक तरीके से कीटनाशकों का छिड़काव करने से किसानों के स्वास्थ्य पर भी प्रतिकूल प्रभाव पड़ता है। आज अमेरिका, ऑस्ट्रेलिया, इजराइल समेत कई देशों में खेती के लिए ड्रोन का इस्तेमाल किया जा रहा है। ड्रोन में आर्टिफिशियल इंटेलिजेंस तकनीक का भी इस्तेमाल किया जाता है। इससे फसल की गुणवत्ता की देखरेख और फसल उत्पादन का आकलन किया जा सकेगा।

भारत में विगत 1 साल के अन्दर ड्रोन की मांग में 15 गुना का इजाफा हुआ है। ड्रोन इंडस्ट्री अभी करीब 5,000 करोड़ रुपए की है। सरकार का अनुमान है कि यह 5 वर्षों में 15 से 20 हजार करोड़

की इंडस्ट्री होगी। सरकार इसके इस्तेमाल को बढ़ावा देने के लिए लगातार नियमों को आसान बना रही है, जिससे रोजगार बढ़ने की संभावना है। एक अनुमान के अनुसार इस क्षेत्र में 3 साल के अन्दर लगभग 10,000 नई नौकरियां पैदा हो सकती हैं।

बजट में सह-निवेश मॉडल के तहत नाबार्ड के माध्यम से किसानों का वित्त पोषण करने का प्रस्ताव है। इसका प्रयोग उन स्टार्टअप को वित्तीय सहायता उपलब्ध कराने में किया जायेगा, जो खेती और ग्रामीण विकास के लिए काम करेंगे। वैसे, स्टार्टअप के जरिये अभी भी एफपीओ की सहायता की जा रही है, छोटे किसानों को कृषि उपकरण उपलब्ध कराये जा रहे हैं और कृषकों को आईटी आधारित सेवाएँ उपलब्ध कराई जा रही हैं। हालांकि, ऐसे स्टार्टअप की संख्या अभी कम है।

किसानों के लिए आज पराली एक बड़ी समस्या बन गई है। इसलिए, थर्मल पावर प्लांट में कुल प्रयोग होने वाले ईंधन में से 5 से 7 प्रतिशत कृषि अवशेषों का उपयोग किया जायेगा। इससे फसल अवशेष जलाने की घटनाओं में कमी आयेगी। वर्ष 2023 को पोषक अनाज वर्ष घोषित किया गया है। देश में मोटे अनाज की पैदावार को बढ़ावा देने के लिए केंद्र सरकार कटाई उपरांत उसके भंडारण व खपत को बढ़ाने के लिए सहायता करेगी। साथ ही, सरकार मोटे अनाज से बने उत्पादों की राष्ट्रीय और अंतर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर ब्रांडिंग करेगी।

केंद्र सरकार, राज्य सरकारों को अपने कृषि विश्व विद्यालयों में बदलाव करने के लिए भी प्रोत्साहित करेगी, ताकि छात्रों और किसानों को जीरो बजट व जैविक खेती, आधुनिक कृषि व मूल्य संवर्धन और कृषि प्रबंधन के लिए प्रशिक्षित किया जा सके। कृषि वानिकी और निजी वानिकी को बढ़ावा देने के लिए सरकार योजनाएँ बनायेगी और इसे अपनाने के लिए अनुसूचित जाति और जनजाति के किसानों को आर्थिक सहायता उपलब्ध करायेगी।

ग्रामीण अर्थव्यवस्था को मजबूत करने के लिए सरकार निरंतर

किसानों के लिए आज पराली एक बड़ी समस्या बन गई है। इसलिए, थर्मल पावर प्लांट में कुल प्रयोग होने वाले ईंधन में से 5 से 7 प्रतिशत कृषि अवशेषों का उपयोग किया जायेगा। इससे फसल अवशेष जलाने की घटनाओं में कमी आयेगी। वर्ष 2023 को पोषक अनाज वर्ष घोषित किया गया है। देश में मोटे अनाज की पैदावार को बढ़ावा देने के लिए केंद्र सरकार कटाई उपरांत उसके भंडारण व खपत को बढ़ाने के लिए सहायता करेगी। साथ ही, सरकार मोटे अनाज से बने उत्पादों की राष्ट्रीय और अंतर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर ब्रांडिंग करेगी।

फसलों की बुआई, उनके स्वास्थ्य का आकलन, भूमि रिकॉर्ड का डिजिटलीकरण, खेतों में कीटनाशकों और पोषक तत्वों के छिड़काव के लिए सरकार ड्रोन के इस्तेमाल को प्रोत्साहन देगी, क्योंकि जनसंख्या के लिहाज से भारत दुनिया का दूसरा सबसे बड़ा देश है और क्षेत्रफल के हिसाब से सातवां बड़ा देश। ऐसे में इतनी बड़ी आबादी को अन्न सुरक्षा देना बेहद चुनौतीपूर्ण कार्य है। इसलिए, जरूरी है कि पारंपरिक खेती की बजाय आधुनिक तकनीक की मदद से खेती-किसानी की जाये।

कार्य कर रही है। प्रोडक्शन लिंकड इंसेंटिव (पीएलआई) योजना की मदद से 14 महत्वपूर्ण क्षेत्रों में सरकार पहले से ही निवेश करने का काम कर रही है। आपातकालीन क्रेडिट लाइन गारंटी योजना (ईसीएलजीएस) को मार्च 2023 तक बढ़ाने की घोषणा की गई है।

बजट प्रावधानों के अनुसार ईसीएलजीएस गारंटी कवर को 5 लाख करोड़ रुपये कर दिया गया है, जिसमें से 50,000 करोड़ रुपये का प्रावधान आतिथ्य क्षेत्र के लिए किया गया है। वित्त मंत्री के अनुसार ईसीएलजीएस के जरिये 130 लाख से अधिक एमएसएमई को ऋण कोरोना काल में दिया गया है, जिससे महामारी के दौरान इन्हें अपने अस्तित्व को बचाने में मदद मिली है। ईसीएलजीएस योजना को लागू करने की वजह से 13.5 लाख एमएसएमई खाते एनपीए होने से बच गए हैं। अगर ये खाते एनपीए होते तो 1.5 करोड़ लोगों की नौकरियां चली जाती और लगभग 6 करोड़ लोगों की जीविका भी प्रभावित होती।

बजट में क्रेडिट गारंटी ट्रस्ट फॉर माइक्रो एंड स्माल इंटरप्राइजेज (सीजीटीएमएसइ) योजना को पुनर्जीवित करने की बात भी कही गई है। इससे सूक्ष्म और लघु उद्यमों को 2 लाख करोड़ रुपये का अतिरिक्त ऋण एमएसएमई क्षेत्र को मिल सकेगा, जिससे रोजगार सृजन में तेजी आयेगी। वित्त मंत्री ने बजट में 6,000 करोड़ रुपए खर्च करने की घोषणा की है, जिससे एमएसएमई क्षेत्र को ज्यादा लचीला, प्रतिस्पर्धी और दक्ष बनने में मदद मिलेगी।

कहा जा सकता है कि भले ही ताजा बजट प्रस्तावों से तत्काल में आम लोगों को लाभ मिलता नजर नहीं आ रहा है, लेकिन आगामी महीनों या सालों में इनके फायदे ग्रामीण क्षेत्र में निश्चित रूप से दृष्टिगोचर होंगे।

(लेखक भारतीय स्टेट बैंक के कॉर्पोरेट केंद्र मुंबई के आर्थिक अनुसंधान विभाग में कार्यरत हैं। आर्थिक मामलों के जानकार हैं। प्रस्तुत विचार उनके निजी हैं।)

पूंजी निवेश को बढ़ाकर रोजगार निर्मित करने वाला बजट



प्रहलाद सबनानी

कें

द्रीय वित्त मंत्री निर्मला सीतारमण द्वारा दिनांक 1 फरवरी 2022 को देश की संसद में प्रस्तुत किए गए आम बजट में केंद्र सरकार द्वारा वित्तीय वर्ष 2022-23 में किए जाने वाले पूंजीगत खर्चों में अधिकतम 35.4 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि की घोषणा सबसे आकर्षक घोषणा एवं धरातल पर उठाया गया ठोस कदम कहा जा सकता है।

केंद्र सरकार ने वित्तीय वर्ष 2022-23 के लिए 7.50 लाख करोड़ रुपए का प्रावधान पूंजीगत खर्चों के लिए किया है जबकि वित्तीय वर्ष 2021-22 में 5.54 लाख करोड़ रुपए के पूंजीगत खर्चों का प्रावधान किया गया था। यह निर्णय इस दृष्टि से भी महत्वपूर्ण है कि कोरोना महामारी के बाद से भारतीय अर्थव्यवस्था पर आए दबाव के चलते देश में अभी भी निजी क्षेत्र से पूंजी निवेश बढ़ नहीं पा रहा है।

अतः केंद्र सरकार आम नागरिकों को राहत प्रदान करने के उद्देश्य से एवं देश की अर्थव्यवस्था को गति प्रदान करने के उद्देश्य से अपने पूंजीगत खर्चों को लगातार बढ़ा रही है। इससे देश में रोजगार के नए अवसर अच्छी तादाद में निर्मित हो रहे हैं, यही समय की मांग भी है।

सबसे महत्वपूर्ण तथ्य यह भी उभरकर सामने आया है कि उक्त पूंजीगत खर्चों में 35.4 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि के बावजूद वित्तीय संतुलन

केंद्र सरकार ने वित्तीय वर्ष 2022-23 के लिए 7.50 लाख करोड़ रुपए का प्रावधान पूंजीगत खर्चों के लिए किया है जबकि वित्तीय वर्ष 2021-22 में 5.54 लाख करोड़ रुपए के पूंजीगत खर्चों का प्रावधान किया गया था। यह निर्णय इस दृष्टि से भी महत्वपूर्ण है कि कोरोना महामारी के बाद से भारतीय अर्थव्यवस्था पर आए दबाव के चलते देश में अभी भी निजी क्षेत्र से पूंजी निवेश बढ़ नहीं पा रहा है।

बनाए रखने का भरपूर प्रयास किया गया है। देश में कोरोना महामारी के कारण वित्तीय वर्ष 2021-22 में वित्तीय घाटा बढ़कर सकल घरेलू उत्पाद का 6.9 प्रतिशत के उच्चतम स्तर पर पहुंच गया था जिसे वित्तीय वर्ष 2022-23 में 6.5 प्रतिशत के स्तर पर लाया जा रहा है एवं वित्तीय वर्ष 2025-26 तक 4.5 प्रतिशत के स्तर तक नीचे ले आया जाएगा।

जबकि वित्तीय वर्ष 2021-22 के आम बजट में किए गए कुल खर्चों 34.83 लाख करोड़ रुपए के प्रावधान के बाद अब वित्तीय वर्ष 2022-23 के बजट में कुल खर्चों को बढ़ाकर 39.45 लाख करोड़ रुपए का प्रावधान किया गया है।

इसके बावजूद भी वित्तीय घाटे को न केवल नियंत्रित किया गया है बल्कि इसे कम भी किया जा रहा है। वित्तीय घाटे को कम रखने से देश में ब्याज की दरों पर दबाव कम होता है एवं मुद्रा स्फीति की दर भी नियंत्रण में रहती है।

वित्तीय वर्ष 2022-23 के आम बजट में कृषि एवं ग्रामीण क्षेत्र पर विशेष ध्यान दिया गया है। इस आम बजट में दरअसल कृषि एवं ग्रामीण क्षेत्र से लेकर उच्च तकनीक एवं पर्यावरण के क्षेत्रों तक में कई महत्वपूर्ण निर्णय लिए गए हैं। ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में निवासरत लोगों के भूमि सम्बंधी रिकार्ड का डिजिटलीकरण पूरे देश में किया जा रहा है।

जीरो बजट खेती, रासायनिक खाद का उपयोग कम कर देशी खाद के उपयोग को बढ़ावा, खाद्य तेल के आयात को कम करने के उद्देश्य से तिलहन की खेती को बढ़ावा, देश में अतिरिक्त कृषि विश्व विद्यालयों को खोलना एवं ग्रामीणों को फल एवं सब्जियों की खेती करने की ओर आकर्षित करने के विशेष प्रयास किए जाने की बात भी इस बजट में की गई है। न्यूनतम समर्थन मूल्य पर कृषि उत्पादों की खरीदी की राशि को वित्तीय वर्ष 2021-22 के 2.37 लाख करोड़ रुपए से बढ़ाकर वित्तीय वर्ष 2022-23 में 2.70 लाख करोड़ रुपए किया गया है।

अब कृषि कार्यों की देखरेख ड्रोन के माध्यम से भी की जाएगी। एक जिला एक उत्पाद की अवधारणा को अमली जामा पहनाने की बात भी इस बजट में की गई है, इससे भी ग्रामीण इलाकों में रोजगार के लाखों नए अवसर निर्मित होंगे। छोटे किसानों द्वारा उत्पादित वस्तुओं के लिए ग्रामीण इलाकों तक रेल्वे का नेटवर्क विकसित किए जाने के प्रयास भी किए जाएंगे।

ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में महिलाओं को कई किलोमीटर तक पैदल चलकर पीने का पानी लाना होता है, केंद्र सरकार द्वारा प्रारम्भ की गई नल से जल योजना के अंतर्गत गांव के प्रत्येक परिवार तक नल का कनेक्शन उपलब्ध कराने के उद्देश्य से इस बजट में 60,000 करोड़ रुपए खर्च करने का प्रावधान किया गया है। प्रधानमंत्री ग्रामीण एवं शहरी आवास योजना के अंतर्गत 80 लाख नए मकान बनाए जाएंगे एवं इसके लिए 48,000 करोड़ रुपए का प्रावधान इस बजट में किया गया है। इससे गरीब वर्ग के परिवारों को अपनी छत नसीब होगी।

कोरोना महामारी के दौरान लागू किए देशव्यापी लॉकडाउन के चलते बहुत विपरीत रूप से प्रभावित हुए व्यापारियों एवं लघु उद्योग को बचाने के लिए केंद्र सरकार ने आपात ऋण गारंटी योजना लागू की थी। छोटे व्यापारियों एवं सूक्ष्म तथा लघु उद्यमियों को इस योजना का बहुत अधिक लाभ मिला है। ऋण के रूप में प्रदान की गई अतिरिक्त सहायता की राशि से इन उद्यमों को तबाह होने से बचा लिया गया है। इस योजना की अवधि 31 मार्च 2022 को समाप्त होने जा रही है परंतु अब इस बजट के माध्यम से इस योजना की अवधि को 31 मार्च 2023 तक के लिए बढ़ा दिया गया है। इससे छोटे व्यापारियों एवं सूक्ष्म एवं लघु उद्यमियों को बैंकों से अतिरिक्त सहायता की राशि उपलब्ध होती रहेगी।

भारत सरकार द्वारा लागू की गई उत्पादन आधारित प्रोत्साहन योजना का लाभ अब स्पष्ट तौर पर दिखाई देने लगा है। इस योजना के लागू किए जाने से आगे आने वाले 5 वर्षों के दौरान देश में 13

लाख करोड़ रुपए के विभिन्न उत्पादों का अतिरिक्त उत्पादन किया जा सकेगा एवं रोजगार के 60 लाख नए अवसर निर्मित होंगे। उत्पादन आधारित प्रोत्साहन योजना के दायरे में बेटरी एवं पेनल सोलर, 5जी उपकरणों के निर्माण आदि उत्पादों एवं उद्योगों को शामिल कर इसका विस्तार भी किया जा रहा है। इससे भारत के कुछ ही वर्षों में 5 लाख करोड़ अमेरिकी डॉलर की अर्थव्यवस्था बनने में मदद मिलेगी।

डीजल एवं पेट्रोल का देश में सबसे अधिक आयात होता है इसे कम करने एवं पर्यावरण के स्तर को सुधारने के उद्देश्य से शहरों में पब्लिक वाहनों के उपयोग, इलेक्ट्रिक वाहनों के उपयोग एवं सौर ऊर्जा के उपयोग को बढ़ावा दिए जाने के प्रयास की बात इस बजट में की गई है ताकि देश में पेट्रोल एवं डीजल की खपत को कम किया जा सके। देश में 400 नई वंदे भारत रेलगाड़ियां चलायी जाएंगी एवं देश में हाईवे के विस्तार के लिए 20,000 करोड़ रुपए का प्रावधान इस बजट में किया गया है।

कुछ समय पूर्व तक भारत सुरक्षा उत्पादों का लगभग 100 प्रतिशत आयात करता था परंतु अब कई सुरक्षा उत्पादों का भारत में ही निर्माण किया जाने लगा है। इस वर्ष के बजट में यह प्रावधान किया गया है कि सुरक्षा उत्पादों की कुल जरूरत का 68 प्रतिशत भाग देश में ही निर्मित सुरक्षा उत्पादों को खरीदा जाय। इससे देश में नए नए उद्योगों को स्थापित करने में मदद मिलेगी, रोजगार के लाखों नए अवसर निर्मित होंगे एवं विदेशी मुद्रा की बचत भी की जा सकेगी। इस प्रकार भारत सुरक्षा उत्पादों में शीघ्र ही आत्म निर्भरता हासिल कर लेगा।

इस वर्ष के बजट में यह भी घोषणा की गई है कि भारतीय रिजर्व बैंक द्वारा भारत के लिए शीघ्र ही अपनी डिजिटल करेंसी जारी की जाएगी। इस आकार की अर्थव्यवस्था वाला देश, अपनी डिजिटल करेंसी जारी करने वाला भारत सम्भवतः दुनिया में पहला विकासशील देश बनने जा रहा है।

कोरोना महामारी के दो दौर के बाद देश की अर्थव्यवस्था में तेजी से सुधार हो रहा है यह देश में चलाए गए विश्व के सबसे बड़े टीकाकरण कार्यक्रम की सफलता के चलते एवं केंद्र सरकार द्वारा सही समय पर लिए गए सही निर्णयों के कारण सम्भव हो सका है।

वित्तीय वर्ष 2021-22 में भारत का सकल घरेलू उत्पाद 9.2 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि दर हासिल करने की ओर अग्रसर है एवं वित्तीय वर्ष 2022-23 में 8.5 प्रतिशत के वृद्धि दर हासिल करने की सम्भावना व्यक्त की गई है। इस प्रकार भारत विश्व में सबसे तेज गति से विकास करने वाली अर्थव्यवस्थाओं की सूची में बना रहेगा।

(लेखक बैंकिंग क्षेत्र से सेवानिवृत्त हैं। आर्थिक विषयों के जानकार हैं। प्रस्तुत विचार उनके निजी हैं।)

वित्तीय वर्ष 2022-23 के आम बजट में कृषि एवं ग्रामीण क्षेत्र पर विशेष ध्यान दिया गया है। इस आम बजट में दरअसल कृषि एवं ग्रामीण क्षेत्र से लेकर उच्च तकनीक एवं पर्यावरण के क्षेत्रों तक में कई महत्वपूर्ण निर्णय लिए गए हैं। ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में निवासरत लोगों के भूमि सम्बंधी रिकार्ड का डिजिटलीकरण पूरे देश में किया जा रहा है। जीरो बजट खेती, रासायनिक खाद का उपयोग कम कर देशी खाद के उपयोग को बढ़ावा, खाद्य तेल के आयात को कम करने के उद्देश्य से तिलहन की खेती को बढ़ावा, देश में अतिरिक्त कृषि विश्व विद्यालयों को खोलना एवं ग्रामीणों को फल एवं सब्जियों की खेती करने की ओर आकर्षित करने के विशेष प्रयास किए जाने की बात भी इस बजट में की गई है। न्यूनतम समर्थन मूल्य पर कृषि उत्पादों की खरीदी की राशि को वित्तीय वर्ष 2021-22 के 2.37 लाख करोड़ रुपए से बढ़ाकर वित्तीय वर्ष 2022-23 में 2.70 लाख करोड़ रुपए किया गया है।

Discussion on #ShivajiMaharaj & #ShivajiUtsav in #Bengal & release of a special booklet: #Shivaji, Shivajir Kirti Ebong Shivaji Utsav” (Shivaji, Shivaji’s achievements & Shivaji Utsav) at Kolkata, West Bengal on 19 Feb 2022



Discussion on “New Uttar Pradesh, New Vision : New India” on 12 Feb 2022



Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee Research Foundation

Speakers:

Anant Vijay
Sr. Columnist & Author :
Marxvad Ka Ardhsatya

Anurag Sharma
Member of Parliament,
Lok Sabha, Jhansi

K K Upadhyay
Senior Journalist

**New Uttar Pradesh
New Vision : New India**

Dr. Anirban Ganguly
Hony. Director SPMRF,
Member NEC, BJP

Dr. Binay Kumar Singh
Author & Columnist, Author:
Bleeding India: Four Aggressors,
Thousand Cuts

Discussion on “Budget for AmritKaal” on 08 Feb 2022



Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee Research Foundation

Speakers:

Harshvardhan Tripathi
Public Policy Expert, Thinker, Commentator

Pratim Ranjan Bose
Senior Journalist, Columnist, Public Policy Expert

Prof. P. Kanagasabathay
Author, Economist, Vice President BJP, Tamil Nadu

Dr. Anirban Ganguly
Hony. Director SPMRF, Member NEC, BJP

Sudipta Guha
Economist, Public Policy Expert,
Spokesperson BJP, West Bengal

**Discussion on
Budget
for AmritKaal**

Discussion on “Politics of Radicalism & the Rise of Extremism in Kerala” on 22 Jan 2022



Discussion on “Marichjhapi Massacre Crime By Comunists” on 31 Jan 2022



Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee
Research Foundation

Discussion on

Marichjhapi Massacre

Crime By Comunists

Speakers:

Dr Binay Kumar Singh
Author & Columnist, Author:
Bleeding India: Four Aggressors,
Thousand Cuts

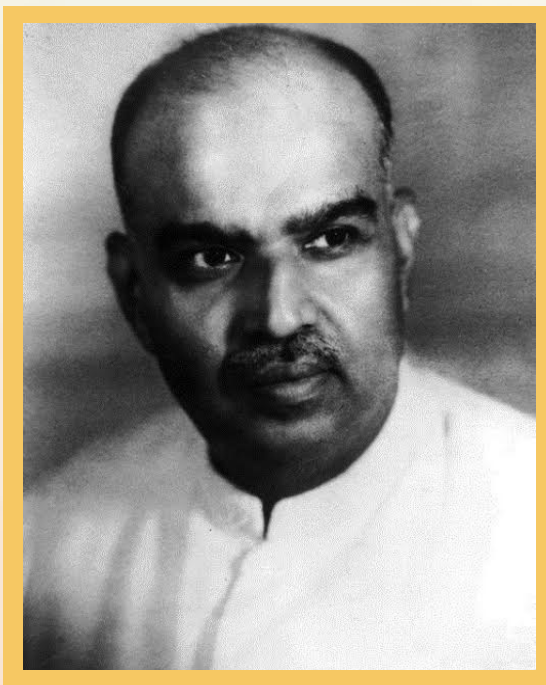
Dr Anirban Ganguly
Hony. Director SPMRF,
Member BJP, NEC

Shri Anant Vijay
Sr. Columnist & Author :
Marxvad Ka Ardhsatya

Shri Deep Halder
Author : Blood Island

Noida Dialogue 2.0: Discussion on “Transformed UP: propelling India’s Growth” at Noida, Uttar Pradesh #NewUPConclave Outreach on 04 Jan 2022





“Freedom consists not only in the absence of restraint but also in the presence of opportunity. Liberty is not a single and simple conception. It has four elements – national, political, personal and economic. The man who is fully free is one who lives in a country which is independent; in a state which is democratic; in a society where laws are equal and restrictions at a minimum; in an economic system in which national interests are protected and the citizen has the scope of secure livelihood, an assured comfort and full opportunity to rise by merit.

-Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee
Patna University Convocation
27th November 1937

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