



# विकसित अभियान

1947 TO 2047



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# **FOREWORD**

#### **Namaste**

India is at a point in time where every minute and every Indian matters for India's future. We have an aspirational population with an average age below 30 years—what we have often referred to as a demographic dividend, but this is only a demographic opportunity. There are a lot of upsides to the India story, and at the same time, there are cliffs which we need to be careful about or else we may be in for a free fall.

We need to consider a few facts to understand the urgency behind the 'narrow window of opportunity' India has. The next 25 years will be the last opportunity for India to become a developed country. This project was conceptualized more than two decades ago, and this journey made me friends with Dr A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, the former President of India, who asked me to join his mission (Gupta R. P., Your Vote is Not Enough, 2019). Later I wrote extensively on defining the vision for India and about the path to make India a developed country in my two books Your Vote is Not Enough written in 2018 (Gupta R. P., Your Vote is Not Enough, 2019, p. 163), released in 2019, and *Tough* Choices & Hard Decisions: Rebuilding India—the Next 25 Years (Gupta R. P., Tough Choices & Hard Decisions: Rebuilding India the Next 25 Years, 2020) released on 7th May 2020, wherein the way forward for self-reliant India and developed India is mentioned. The book covered broader themes making a case for Viksit Bharat Abhiyan or Developed India Mission. Now the time has come to develop an action plan for achieving this time-critical goal.

Often, we take pride when people with Indian roots become heads of state or win a Nobel Prize or run trillion-dollar multinational companies, forgetting that they are no more Indians! India did not use their potential; it was recognized by other countries; Thus, we should stop celebrating the achievements of 'Indians' in a foreign land. Instead, we should focus on what people can become in this country based on merit. The last Nobel Prize an Indian won for science was more than 90 years ago by Sir C.V. Raman in 1930. An Indian has not won a single Nobel Prize in science or education after that!

This great country—Bharat, never had a long-term plan (25–50 years)! If we look at the United States, it commissioned a report 'Technology and the American Economy' and released it more than half a century ago in February 1966 (Gupta R. P., Your Degree is Not Enough: Education for GenNext, 2020). After half a century, India is waking up. How will it catch up without futuristic thinking and a long-term plan? Also, now India will undergo transformation every 10 years, and so we all must not just focus on the change but on the 'speed of change'.

During India's independence, China was behind India in terms of GDP. In 1987, the nominal GDP of India and China was similar even in PPP terms. In the 1990s, China was only slightly ahead, and now three decades later, China is 5.46 times ahead (2021) (Statistics Times, 2021). If we look at GDP comparisons today, India's GDP is \$3.17 trillion and China's GDP is \$17.73 trillion (World Bank, 2022). It's worth looking at the investments China has made in education and research and development (R&D), which is directly proportional to the economic growth it has witnessed.

As Indians, we are late risers, and we have gone ahead and done partnerships with the developed world and imported the failures of the west, ignoring our neighbourhood. Luckily, we have a great prime minister who faces a formidable challenge of changing the lives of 800 million Indians and turning them into middle class.

Earlier, being a *lakhpati* (having INR hundred thousand) was considered 'rich' Today, having a lakh rupees is Below Poverty Line (BPL). We have 800 million people who are given free ration by the government. Just imagine how the march of these 800 million people from poverty to prosperity shape the Indian dream! How big will be India's story? India can continue to grow at exponential rate for the next 20 or 30 years. We have to consider a plan which makes every Indian a *crorepati* (having INR hundred lakh) over the next decade. With 1.4 billion brains, nothing is difficult.

This calls for many systemic shifts and fundamental reforms to ensure exponential growth. Indians have the potential to transform India into a high-income country. We can be in the lower band of the high-income countries if we grow from the existing GNI per capita of USD 2000 to USD 23,000, and we could become a USD 37 trillion economy by 2047 if we grow at 10.50% per annum. However, if we want to be amongst the top rung of the high-income countries, we need to achieve a GNI per capita of USD 45,000, and we could become a USD 73 trillion-dollar economy by 2047 if we grow at 13.50% per annum. It is possible only if we plan carefully and apply both forecasting and back-casting techniques in our planning.

In the past five years, more than six lakh Indians have renounced their citizenship and moved offshores for a better life (The Hindu, 2021). If high net worth individuals (HNIs) keep moving out of the country, what will India be left with? So, it is high time that we give a detailed roadmap for India to encourage HNIs to stay back in India and participate in building the India we want. While many discussions are happening on what needs to be done to build 'New India', it will take more than an economic plan. So, economy is not the first block, it is an outcome of transformations needed in other areas. Therefore, we must address other pressing issues to make India a developed nation. Also, we need to clearly define a 'Developed Country.' We must become system-driven based on certain principles (psyche), or else the second law of thermodynamics will be at work, that is, in a system, things move from order to disorder!

Viksit Bharat Abhiyan is based on 10 pillars, and this report is a primer for debate and discussion.

This is a mission mode project, and it must become a ground-level movement. If every Indian gives time to this project, we could secure the future of our families—our nation. Let us not forget, if India has to become self-reliant (Aatmanirbhar), we, Indians, have to follow our conscience (Aatma) (अगर भारत को आत्मिर्भर बनाना है तो हर एक भारतीय को अपनी आत्मा पर निर्भर होना पड़ेगा), that's why I say, Viksit Bharat Abhiyan is a call of conscience for a call to action.

India will become a developed nation through our decisions and actions. Making India a developed nation by 2047 is our second freedom struggle, and we must unite and work hard to get freedom from being a lower-middle-income country to become a 'Viksit Bharat'.

Dr Rajendra Pratap Gupta, PhD Founder Viksit Bharat Abhiyan (Developed India Mission)

## WHY INDIA DID NOT BECOME VIKSIT BHARAT (1947-2047)!

India gained Independence after nearly two centuries of British rule. This, along with the difficulties and the pain of partition, strained the country's resources, hence putting the focus on attending to the emergent situations. Ever since then, the country never had a long-term vision but a narrow and short-term approach. It has borrowed Planning from Russia, Bureaucratic System from Britain and the Aspirations have been American. The country laid a faulty foundation with misplaced priorities, the consequence of which is that India remains in the middle rung of the lower-middle-income countries even after 75 years of Independence.

# **Economic Drift: Short-Term Plans sans Vision**

Immediately after Independence, the country aimed at self-sufficiency and minimizing imports (Planning Commission, Government of India, 1951). It focused on agriculture over industries, there was a fall in prices, the cost of living improved, money supply in the economy increased, there was a surplus balance of trade, and the overall economic condition was better by the end of the first five-year plan (NITI Aayog, Government of India). However, the situation altered post the first five-year plan. Focus shifted more to industrialization, putting the agricultural sector in the back seat. Contribution of the agricultural sector to the GDP declined because of the rapid growth of the industry and service sector in the country (ICFA, 2016). The liberal import regime to spur the domestic economy clubbed with food insecurity<sup>2</sup> and oil crisis drained the foreign reserves, which led to the devaluation of the rupee<sup>3</sup> (Rastogi, 2007) and a trade deficit. The country failed to commit to import substitution and imported some of the basic raw materials such as iron and steel. There was a disconnect between 'targets and performance, requirements and resources' and between the goal of rapid industrialization and gradual pace of agrarian reforms (Rastogi, 2007).

# Long-Term Planning and Development

Countries, irrespective of their population size, with a well thought out long-term plan, have marched ahead on the road to development, leaving India much behind.

#### Singapore, Malaysia and China

Singapore and Malaysia, both democracies that gained Independence after India in the 1960s, are one of the world's advanced economies today utilizing their resources (both natural and human) optimally, thanks to their futuristic and long-term planning. The Government of Singapore focused on issues like unemployment, skill development, education and sectors in which the country was traditionally good. It globalized and became a manufacturing hub, invited MNCs, made the available labour skilled and gave them opportunities for employment (Zhou, 2021). On the other hand, Malaysia shifted its emphasis from primary production to manufacturing; importsubstitution to export-oriented industries; hasty industrialization to the harmonious expansion of industrial and agricultural sectors; and laissez-faire philosophy to mechanism of intervention and control (Economic Development of Malaysia: Pattern and Perspective). Both Singapore and Malaysia made long-term plans which provided a structure for the

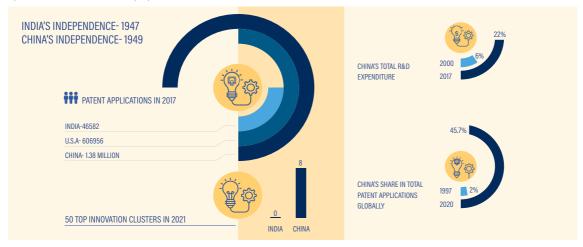
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> From more than 50% in 1947 (ICFA, 2016) to 20.2% in 2020–2021 (Delhi, 2021).

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  Owing to the 'twin drought' of 1965 and 1966 when the unprecedented food aid from the United States of America saved India from mass starvation (Aiyar, 2012).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> At the time of Independence, 1 USD = 3.30 INR, whereas by 1980, 1 USD = 7.86 INR (India).

development of both countries and ensured continuity.

China became independent two years after India in 1949 and was in a similar economic situation till the 1980s, and now, it is five times the size of the Indian economy. China's progress in academics and economy remains spectacular with similar population.



Source: (Gupta R. P., Teacher's Role in NEP Implementation, 2021).

China's investment in R&D has made it amongst the top innovators. A quick glance above at the number of patents filed by China and India will give us a sense of how China made the right investments and moved fast forward to become amongst the world's top innovators. We should not be surprised why China has surpassed India. China has 'China towns' in every major country. This does not reflect short-term planning; In fact, it is a result of long-term planning (Gupta R. P., Your Vote is Not Enough, 2019, p. 163).

When it comes to India, there is no granular vision, and our thinking is limited to five-year planning and is more election-oriented. India should have focused on three-phased planning consisting of short-term or annual plans, medium-term plans having provisions

of re-evaluation, as a part of the overall long-term plan of 25, 50 and 100 years. Planning in India is not comprehensive because of the lack of both economic integration and statistical data. It is faulty and focused just on matters that are urgent but not important. India focused on industrialization when it should have focused on health, education and R&D, and that would have led to making India an R&D-enabled manufacturing hub. We focused on the top floor without having a foundation!

Small and large countries starting with similar challenges like India, which were behind India decades ago, have put in long-term plans and moved decades ahead in terms of development. Now, it's time for India to think long-term.

# CONTROLS OVER ENABLEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OVER GOVERNANCE

Independence in 1947 was not followed by a desire to give the citizens of the country the best of the practices from around the world but to transition from imperial rule to an Indian Government.

The Constitution makers drew immensely from the Constitutions of several countries, and it was mainly prepared by western-educated lawyers who failed to encapsulate the problems of the 'real India', had a short-term view of several issues and left unto us the onus of dealing with the crisis of their faulty planning.

Immediately after independence, the leadership at that time perhaps was hungry for power and put a system in place that made way for controls and administration over being an enabler and participative governance. Entitlements and quid pro quo were promoted over meritocracy (Gupta P. R., India @ 75: A Hope for the World, 2021).

The country adopted centralization and government control of industries through license raj. It helped only a few big businesses in capturing wealth from sovereign assets but restrained the middle and smaller private sector enterprises from expanding and reduced employment opportunities and the scope for better quality products, leading to a decimating effect and slowing down the process of economic growth and development. Government controls and licenses which were imposed due to the lack of resources led to profit and wealth creation skewed in favour of those with political access. As a result, industries have been dominated by four or five families, which has had a long-term impact on India's growth story.

# Sovereign Wealth to Corporate Wealth

The nexus between the businessmen-politicianbureaucrats added to the woes of the country. Businessmen used their money power to influence bureaucracy and politicians to frame favourable policies and use sovereign wealth to create corporate wealth. Whereas red-tapism, corruption and the attitude of superiority of the bureaucracy towards the citizens led to displeasure and distrust towards the bureaucratic system. Politicians joined hands with big businessmen for personal gains and forced the bureaucracy to give into their demands. If we look at corporate wealth, clearly, a handful of business houses have a monopoly on key sectors, and this has led to the concentration of wealth and power in a few hands. So, we don't need economic reforms, we need a new economic model (Gupta R. P., Your Vote is Not Enough, 2019, p. 120).

The Directive Principles of State Policy enunciated in Articles 36 to 51 of the Constitution make it clear that for the attainment of these ends, ownership and control of the material resources of the country should be so distributed as best to subserve the common good, and that the operation of the economic system should not result in the concentration of wealth and economic power in the hands of a few. It is in this larger perspective that the task of planning must be envisaged.

Despite this being clearly articulated by the founding fathers, India has moved far away from this economic vision. Now what we have is the accumulated growth model and whatwe need is a distributed growth model (Gupta R. P., Your Vote is Not Enough, 2019, p. 120).

#### **IMPORTED FAILURES OF THE WEST**

Political motives and desperation to come to power quided the economic decisions by appeasing the voters, diverting the government's focus from real issues. The political objective of Community Development Programs was to gain political support<sup>4</sup> and win elections. Similarly, instead of the real groundwork, only 'emphasis' was laid on rural development, electrification, infrastructure development, enhancing irrigation facilities and reducing the uncertainty for farmers by providing them with free power, subsidized fertilizers, new highyielding variety of seeds and waiving off their loans (popularly known as 'loan melas') for electoral gains (Rastogi, 2007). This accounted for an increase in public spending, thereby draining the government resources without finding a long-term solution to the issues; agriculture still faces perennial neglect from the government and election-oriented loan waivers continue to drain the treasury. The policies adopted were to have an episodic response to problems, once again highlighting the lack of a long-term plan. The leaders used challenges for electoral speeches but failed to eliminate the problems at an early stage. This can be seen from the state of rural development. Even today, girls in the villages do not go to schools because of the lack of proper washrooms; open defecation is still prevalent; it is said that rural electrification has been achieved, while the truth is that the entire village is considered to be electrified if even 10% of the households in a village (Power, 2006) are electrified. The desire to make a difference should be long-lasting and not limited to achieving electoral goals or changing the goalposts.

Over the past 75 years, India's longevity has more than doubled since Independence to about 70 years,

but along with this has risen the number of cases of diabetes and cardiovascular diseases; India became the fastest growing economy, but this came with an increased national debt of a whooping INR 91 lakh crore; Agricultural yield in India increased by five times of what it was during Independence, but farmers are forced to search alternative employment opportunities today; India created a few world-class billion dollar companies, but did not focus much on micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs) (Gupta P. R., India @ 75: A Hope for the World, 2021).

India imported the failures of the west and failed to evolve an indigenous administrative and socioeconomic model of its own. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister, once stated that 'Indian Civil Services was neither Indian nor Civil nor Service' (Gupta R. P., Kill Bureaucracy To Keep The Country Alive, 2016). Bureaucracy was laden with controls when what India really needed was a change. The leaders enjoyed control and power when they should have used it to bring about organizational change.

Be it the five-year plans, institutions, policies or even the liberalization of the 1990s, all had the stamp of foreign leanings, direction or pressure from the west. This clearly proves that the planning for the local needs were based on borrowed concepts from the west, ignoring our historical legacy and strengths. Leaders made lengthy speeches but never made plans and implemented them and fell for the western model ignoring our own rich heritage and science. Following is a fascinating quote from Jawaharlal Nehru's book, *The Discovery of India:* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> As said by Pandit Nehru, 'needs of the peasantry were important to meet because if they didn't fulfil them, somebody else would' (Nayar, 1960).

There is nothing that we know of in prehistoric Egypt or Mesopotamia or anywhere else in western Asia to compare with the well-built baths and commodious houses of the citizens of Mohenjo-daro. In these countries, much money and thought were lavished on the building of magnificent temples for the gods and on the palaces and tombs of kings, but the rest of the people seemingly had to content themselves with insignificant dwellings of mud. In the Indus Valley the picture is reversed and the finest structures are those erected for the convenience of the citizens. These public and private baths, as well as the excellent drainage system we find at Mohenio-daro. are the first of their kind yet discovered anywhere. There are also two-storied private houses, made of baked bricks, with bathrooms and a porter's lodge, as well as tenements. (Nehru, 1989)

However, the influence of the west on India was such that our heritage was thought less of and citizencentric infrastructure compromised, the result being westernization of thought and loss of originality.

# **Education: Research and Development**

India has side-lined R&D for a long time. The Gross Domestic Expenditure on Research has been stagnant at 0.7% of GDP for years. In 1990, the density of scientists engaged in R&D in the country per 10,000 of the labour force stood at 10, whereas

in 2018, it rose to a mere 11 (Rajwi, 2021). The relative figures in China, Japan and South Korea stand at 50, 130 and 180, respectively. R&D in the government sector has particularly seen a decline since 2015. The country spent a great deal on the development of nuclear plants and space stations but a minuscule amount on R&D which can be seen from the fact that it still imports 70% of active pharmaceutical ingredients for manufacturing medicines. Lack of R&D also promoted the import of several defence equipment, making us dependent on other countries and compromising the security of the nation. Learning from China's investment in education and science, it is clear that just the National Education Policy 2020 (NEP 2020) would not be enough. We need to revisit some aspects of NEP in light of COVID-19 and fasttrack its implementation by 2025.

#### **Misaligned Goals and Focus**

Misaligned goals and focus led us to creating institutions but not creating an atmosphere where the workforce could leverage its full potential.

India overlooked the foundations of education and focused on higher education. It swayed from its rich educational structure and continued the British legacy of the education system. It focused on rote learning and classroom teaching instead of clearing the basic concepts. It failed to build upon primary and secondary education and instead created world-class Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs), Indian Institutes of Management (IIMs) along with Industrial Training Institutes (ITIs) to train the workforce, but the country failed to provide world-class opportunities for retaining them. The country has not been able to provide the trained workforce with an ecosystem

to realize their talent. This has led to the brain drain and India becoming a *Nation of Migrants* supporting the superstructures of the first world. The problem is prevalent even today despite the increasing share of the service sector in the GDP. Every year, India continues to lose HNIs who move abroad in search of greener pastures. In the year 2021, 1,63,370 Indians renounced their citizenship, which is almost double the number of Indians who gave up their citizenship in 2020 (Live Mint, 2022).

#### Health

1951 Census details the overall life expectancy at the time to be 32 years; infant mortality rate (IMR) to be 145.6 per 1000 live births, while the maternal mortality ratio in the 1940s was 2000 per100,000 live births; There were only 50,000 doctors across the country and only 725 primary healthcare centres. India invested a little more than 1.0 % of its GDP on health for a very long time (Bureau, 2019). It was marked as a global disease burden leader, with the share of noncommunicable diseases doubled since the 1990s. The infrastructure of health in India lagged in several areas such as hospitals, doctors, nurses, health knowledge, sanitation, clean drinking water, water supply and the like. Health is still a state subject which undermines uniformity in health care facilities across the nation. It is one of the core areas that would solve many problems and fast-track the journey towards Developed India. The first National Health Policy came in as late as 1983 to boost public healthcare and its objective of attaining 'Health for all by 2000 A.D.', but still health for all remains to be achieved. Even today, the IMR in some Indian states is higher than in a few Sub-Saharan African countries;17% of the global maternal

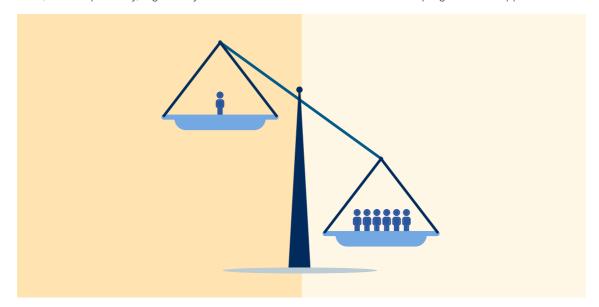
deaths and 21% of deaths among children below five years are reported from India. The country has failed to establish a well-funded public health service and given way to a commercialized health sector, thereby making health a luxury (India: Extreme Inequality in Numbers). Of late, India has marched on a journey towards Universal Healthcare for the poor through Ayushman Bharat Scheme but what is worrying is while 800 million get free food, only 550 million get free healthcare!

'It is unreasonable for experts and policy-makers to dream of providing the quality of healthcare delivery services like that of USA, the coverage that of NHS (UK) and healthy life indicators like that of France with investments less than sub-Saharan countries' (Gupta R. P., Healthcare Reforms in India: Making up for the Lost Decades, 2016). We need to rethink our healthcare paradigm. Also, on the other hand, while longevity has improved, we are living longer popping pills and being in and out of hospitals. It is time that India takes care of its people with an overarching goal of ensuring 'Poor stand on their feet and the Old walk on their feet' (Gupta P. R., With Two Successive Years of Covid, India Hits A 'Hard-Reset Button', 2021).

We need to rethink our goal because health is an enabler for developed India.

## **RISING INEQUALITY**

It is observed that the income of the 50% of population grew at a static rate of 2.2% per year between 1951 and 1981 (Chishti, 2021). We must create a new economic model where wealth creation and distribution go hand in hand, most importantly, it goes beyond economic indicators to reflect societal progress and happiness.



#### **LACK OF AN INDIGENOUS MODEL OF DEVELOPMENT**

The development model that India tread upon was lopsided. Nationalization of certain services like banks<sup>5</sup> and aviation<sup>6</sup> gave way to centralization, hence flipping the market-state approach and giving more economic power to the state. As opposed to the 20th century, today, the country is privatizing most of its services.

Lack of controls post-1947 led to inflation, raising the prices by 30%, hence putting pressure on the already

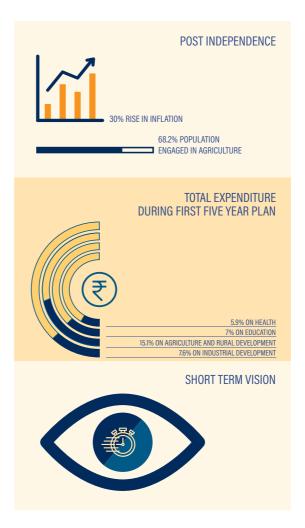
poor population of the country (Planning Commission, Government of India, 1951). A total of 68.2% of the population was engaged in agriculture in 1948 (GOI, 1951). Yet the percentage of expenditure incurred on agriculture and rural development by the government during the first five-year plan stood merely at 15.1%, whereas on industrial development, it spent nearly 7.6% of the total outlay (NITI Aayog, Government of India).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Banks were nationalized in 1969 and 1980 with the idea to energize priority sectors, like rural areas and small-scale borrowers, at a time when large businesses dominated credit profiles (loans to such businesses having been doubled between 1951 and 1968) (Online, 2019).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Eight privately owned airlines were merged into two government owned entities, namely Indian Airlines and Air India (Sandesh, 2017)

Under industrial development too, the focus was more on the development of large-scale industries than on cottage and small-scale industries<sup>7</sup>. The major outlay in transport and communication was laid on railways<sup>8</sup> when the focus should have been on the development of roads and enhancement of rural connectivity and development. Health and education are two core areas that are needed for the reconstruction of the country. Despite acknowledging this, of the plan outlay, only 5.9% on health and 7% on education were allotted during the first five-year plan (NITI Aayog, Government of India). Expenditure on these two heads would have addressed many underlying problems such as population explosion, poverty, sanitation, life expectancy, ignorance and the likes. However, the focus of the initial national plans was on strengthening the economic base and then utilizing the increasing proportion of resources for the development of social services<sup>9</sup> (GOI, 1951).

The short-term vision of the country has let the country down. India keeps changing its model without understanding the long-term needs required for holistic development. It is high time we have a long-term and inter-generational goal with an over-arching vision and develop our own economic model suited to our local needs and not solely dependent on the western concepts of economic growth. *We need to build an Indian Model of Development.* 



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>6.3% of expenditure outlay being used for large-scale industries and 1.3% kept for cottage and small-scale industries (NITI Aayog, Government of India).

<sup>8 11.4%</sup> of the total outlay was allocated for railways, whereas a mere 5.5% was reserved to be spent on roadways (NITI Aayog, Government of India)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The Centre at the time was willing to accept only a 'limited obligation in the field of education' (GOI, 1951).

## **NEW ECONOMIC (DEVELOPMENT) MODEL**

The increased public expenditure owing to modernization, technological development, inflation, rise in oil prices, fiscal deficit, adverse balance of payments, and low gold reserves in the later part of the 1980s forced the government to adopt directions from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1991. Through the policy, IMF granted India loans in exchange for bringing about structural reforms in the economy, delicensing, deregulating, privatizing, disinvesting, decentralizing and globalizing. As a consequence, the big MNCs were allowed to set up business in India and they cleverly took over the

Indian market by creating companies in the *not-so-strategic sectors* such as basic consumables, thereby *enslaving India economically*. It is observed that post the economic reforms, only the top 1% of the population has profited, whereas the growth among the low- and middle-income groups has been relatively slow, and poverty has persisted (Chishti, 2021). It is time to develop an indigenous development model, which is not economic development at the cost of social development but a holistic development model which goes beyond economy, i.e. economic, social and spiritual development.

#### **CITIZENS' PARTICIPATION**

The Fundamental Rights<sup>10</sup> and Directive Principles of State Policy<sup>11</sup> were focused upon and discussed in great detail during the making of the Constitution. However, Fundamental Duties were left out of scope; they were only added to the Constitution of India in 1976 through the 42nd Amendment Act after almost three decades. The policy-makers failed to realize that both rights and duties go hand in hand and that, along with rights, duties are also integral in making the citizens responsible and changing their ageold psychology. Citizens' participation (duties) was not given the seriousness it deserved and without it holistic development was not achievable.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> During the Constituent Assembly Debates<sup>,</sup> these were discussed for 16 days and 14% of the total clause by clause discussion was dedicated to Fundamental Rights (PRS<sup>,</sup> 2019)<sup>,</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Directive Principles of State Policy were discussed for six days during Constituent Assembly Debates and 4% of the clause by clause discussion was dedicated to them (PRS, 2019).

#### **CULTURE**

India has been a multicultural society with diverse people, cultures and languages. It is world's biggest democracy having a strategic role to play in the emerging geo-political scenario post-COVID and post-Ukraine.

India has laid too much emphasis on the English language, compromising the country's unique identity, education and fundamental research. As of vet, India's official languages has not been recognized by the United Nations (UN), although efforts are now underway at the UN to recognize Indian languages. The country has also not been successful in promoting its heritage and preserving its culture. Even after 75 years of Independence, it has failed to draft a Culture Policy to protect and promote the richness of India. It has failed to exploit its tourism potential, which would open the gates of economic growth and development. Indian culture has the widest bouquet of offerings for diplomacy, and India has the largest diaspora at 30 million to exercise its soft power. Moreover, cultural and creative industries create the highest number of jobs within the age group of 15-29 years (Gupta R. P., Your Vote is Not Enough, 2019, p. 162).

With over 500,000 culture and heritage sites, India is still 6th on the UNESCO World Heritage list with just 40 sites when it should be the Culture Capital of the world (Gupta R. P., Draft Culture Policy of India, 2021).

It is high time we embed culture in the Viksit Bharat Abhiyan and aspire to become the World's Cultural Capital.



# NEED FOR VIKSIT BHARAT ABHIYAN (DEVELOPED INDIA MISSION)

Sardar Patel dreamed of an India where:

'No one would die of starvation; grain would not be exported; cloth would not be imported; leaders would neither use a foreign language nor rule from a remote place 7000 feet above sea level; military expenditure would not be heavy; army would not subjugate its own people or other lands; the best-paid officials would not earn a great deal more than its lowest-paid servant; and finding justice would be neither costly nor difficult.' (Patel)

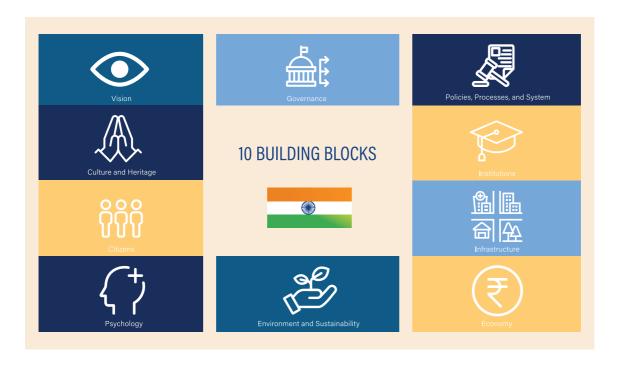
This is an unfinished dream to fulfil for which a Viksit Bharat Abhiyan (Developed India Mission) is needed.

India has failed to realize that **short-term solutions of today become long-term problems of tomorrow**. India has adopted a flawed model of development, which has become a challenge for the country in the 21st century. **It must, therefore, now make intergenerational plans and develop them in a systematic manner. And therefore there is a need for a 'Viksit Bharat Abhiyan'.** 



#### **VIKSIT BHARAT ABHIYAN—10 BUILDING BLOCKS**

Viksit Bharat Abhiyan or Developed India Mission cannot be just an economic, military or political plan. It needs to create conscious and engaged citizens, a grassroot movement driven on opportunities and not just solving the current problems. It has dimensions which people have not ever thought about. Every building block is integral to Viksit Bharat Abhiyan.



#### **VISION**

Planning for the next 25 years to make India a developed nation by 2047 requires a vision which can galvanize all the forces, every citizen into a ground-up movement. We have abundant opportunities before us to capitalize on our strengths. The 21st century mandates that India formulates a vision for the nation's future, one that addresses problems of the present and opportunities of the future.

Vision for a better future for this country cannot simply be an idea for us to mull over but rather should invoke in us all a sense of responsibility as to how our individual and collective decisions can turn this dream into a reality. What must those in power do to build a nation that is both prosperous and happy, and empathetic to the needs of its less privileged, what must those running businesses do to not just

make profits for their shareholders but also enrich communities around them and what we must as citizens of this country do to build a more responsible nation wherein there exists no class or caste, where ideas flow freely and its citizens enjoy social and political freedom.

India of 2047 should lead by example, a land of abundance, a happy nation where ideas take birth, where its citizens enjoy a life of purpose and contentment, a society based upon the principles of egalitarianism, education that promotes public discourse, healthcare that covers all, a nation that is responsible towards its people and its neighbours, and an environment built upon the principles of peace, prosperity and sustainability.



Cultural heritage can be leveraged for sustainable economic development, diplomacy and unity. The possibilities of generating income from cultural assets are immense as they can create employment, reduce poverty, stimulate the minds of entrepreneurs and attract private investment. The quantifiable economic impacts of heritage include tourism, cultural industries and small artisans and traders. However, due to lack of sufficient data, the economic impact of the heritage sector has been underestimated and goes unnoticed.

The most discernible aspect of the contribution of culture to economic development is the relationship between culture and tourism: 37% of global tourism has a cultural motivation. People who visit with the purpose of enjoying culture and heritage

stay longer where they visit and spend two-and-a-half times more than other visitors. In various cities and countries, cultural heritage tourism is the most vital economic contributor. The surge in tourism due to the culture and heritage of that place also leads to thriving hotel, transport and catering businesses (Baycan & Girard, 2011). India allocated only 3,009 crores from the total budget of 3,944,908.67 crores for the Ministry of Culture in the year 2022–2023 (Ministry of Finance, 2022).

India's culture and heritage have so much to offer to the world, yet, so far, there has been no substantial effort on the part of the Government of India to promote and popularize India's culture as part of its political or economic identity. What is necessary is to have a rejuvenated plan of action in this regard. A dialogue between India's ancient culture and today's dominant western culture is essential. India can provide the spiritual wisdom to carry science and technology to a higher level. The western world must recognize India's value as a cultural force and learn to listen to an Indian point of view on humanity and the nature of the society as a whole. India perhaps has the widest bouquet of offerings based on culture to leverage as soft-power diplomacy tools. Also, India needs to leverage its tangible and intangible cultural heritage to become the world's culture capital by 2047.

#### ที่ที่ที่ CITIZENS

A country's citizens are its very foundation and essence. They are the blood that pumps through the veins of hope, success and fortune – The 'Pulse of the Nation'. For a country to become magnificent

and a land of abundance, happiness and enormous opportunities, its people should become the core of every development effort. The rising sun of the East shines over India and its people. The potential of Bharat is known for its greatest resource, i.e., Indians.

Real power lies in the hands of people—the citizens. Around the world, change starts either from a belief, idea or movement. The base of such change is always the will of an individual or a group. For centuries, every facet of a nation, namely governance, institution, infrastructure, economy, culture, to name a few, serves to meet the end goal of alleviating the misery of citizens and improving their lives. However, such a process has become lopsided. Change has become the exclusive domain of a few, those seating in the chambers of power-the highest institutions of this country. The wave of change has to be reversed from top-to-bottom to bottom-to-top. Progressing towards the future, in the next 25 years, every citizen should start believing in the power of change, the power of self and the power to become a changemaker. A changemaker does not have to fight for elections, pass the most coveted exam in the country or hold a powerful position. The idea starts with the simple task of 'Inquiry and Action'. People have to start questioning their surroundings and things that affect their lives. Thereafter, they should start acting on those issues which are critical for prosperity and happiness. We must learn from the great institution builder Dr Vikram Ambalal Sarabhai, an individual who was the brain behind many institutions which made India future-ready. He founded ISRO and many other institutions, which are a national pride and a great contributor to India's progress.

Some of the most well-known institutions established by Dr Sarabhai are the following (ISRO, 2020):

- Physical Research Laboratory (PRL), Ahmedabad
- 2. Indian Institute of Management (IIM), Ahmedabad
- 3. Community Science Centre, Ahmedabad
- 4. Darpana Academy of Performing Arts, Ahmedabad (along with his wife)
- 5. Vikram Sarabhai Space Centre, Thiruvananthapuram
- 6. Space Applications Centre, Ahmedabad (This institution came into existence after merging six institutions/centres established by Dr.Sarabhai)
- 7. Fast Breeder Test Reactor (FBTR), Kalpakkam
- 8. Variable Energy Cyclotron Project, Calcutta
- 9. Electronics Corporation of India Limited (ECIL), Hyderabad
- 10. Uranium Corporation of India Limited (UCIL), Jaduquda, Bihar
- 11. Operations Research Group (ORG)

Thus, the citizens would be the key driving force for the India@100.

2047 call for action is realizing the Power of 'I' in 'Indian'.

## 

It is easier to change systems and difficult to change culture and mindsets (Gupta R. P., Your Vote is Not Enough, 2019, p. 154). Thus, if we do not work towards changing the 'psyche' of the common man, any change in the system can be circumvented and defeated. Some people feel happy when others fall or fail and enjoy pulling others down; for a country to progress, this must change to feeling happy when others grow. We need to understand that when a country grows, its people grow and vice versa. For India to realize its vision for 2047, we need to put forth public role models who can drive the common man to stick to certain beliefs and principles in their attitude, day-to-day living and decisions. This is the toughest ask from any citizen. This needs a deep dive into our ancient texts and an understanding that despite thousand years of subjugation, we have continued to be a vibrant civilization. It is time we understand that the role of 'right psyche' will be crucial in succeeding in the rest of the nine pillars of 'India in 2047'. The goal is big enough to be achieved by ordinary effort, and the biggest obstacle would be changing our thinking about who we are and what we can achieve once we decide.

Certain principles every Indian must have as a part of psyche are as follows:

- Personal excellence aligned with national interest- Nationalism
- 2. Minimalism and essentialism—To rationalize consumption and avoid wastage
- 3. Ceremonial to functional—Real work
- 4. Symbolism to substance—Real change
- 5. Problem centric to opportunity centric-

#### **Exponential growth**

- Apna Aadmi to Kabil Admi (Yes Man to the most competent person)—Without fear or favour
- 7. Self-service to selfless service—Nation first
- From pulling down others to helping others— It is in giving that we receive
- 9. Reactive to proactive—Responsive
- 10. India is ours, and we are for India—Ownership and belongingness

## **GOVERNANCE**

Governance is widely defined as the 'exercise of authority or power in order to manage an organization's economic, political and administrative affairs' (UNESCO). It refers to a structure whereby all the stakeholders such as public institutions, private institutions, non-governmental organizations, civil society organizations, media and citizens interact among themselves and participate in the affairs of the organization. Transparency, accountability, active communication arrangements and more vibrant relationships have been seen as the essence of governance. Under the governance model, the role of those leading the organizations changed from being a 'doer' to that of a 'facilitator' who acted as a catalyst to lead to the enablement and empowerment of all.

There is a need to understand the three concepts, i.e., management, administration and governance. Management refers to 'getting things done' and involves a set of activities to achieve the objective of an organization. It is associated with policy execution. Administration, on the other hand, refers to an organized

activity pursued to attain a pre-defined goal. It lays down the objectives for which the organization and the management strive. Administration is associated with policy formulation. Administration is derived from two Latin words, 'ad' and 'ministiare', which means 'to serve'. It is characterized as a conscious group activity which is organized, has some pre-established goals and follows the principles of accountability and responsibility, communication, specialization or division of labour, authority, supervision, monitoring and control, among others.

With 25 years short of marking the 100th anniversary of India's Independence, it is high time we formulate a New Governance Model which would be customized to suit the country's needs and aid in making a 'Viksit Bharat'. The New Governance Model shall address the issues of governance prevalent in India and, at the same time, ideate new philosophies to make the system more efficient. It should seek to redefine governance and establish its objectives and principles—common to both public and private organizations.

# ENVIRONMENT AND SUSTAINABILITY

Earth is running on an ecological deficit; humanity's demand is getting exhausted before the planet can even regenerate. In 2021, Earth Overshoot Day fell on July 29th (Global Footprint Network). Early in the COVID-19 pandemic, India witnessed clear sky and clean air after a nationwide lockdown that made people realize how they were damaging the environmental ecosystem, which provides us resources to survive. India's vision 2047 for environment and sustainability

must compel India to make its priorities clear.

During 1901–2018, the average temperature of India had risen by around 0.7°C (Ministry of Earth Sciences, Government of India, 2020) resulting in raging storms, frequent forest fires, floods, extreme weather conditions, deforestation, rising sea levels and water scarcity.

With the positive economic growth by 2047, the expected increase in population and income can lead to an increase in consumption and energy use which is directly proportional to an increase in emissions. Human interference in nature has caused domino effects ranging from health to economy.

To reverse climate change, we have a long way to go. Temperature rise will be different across the world (Ministry of Earth Sciences, Government of India, 2020). So, it is time we create a comprehensive plan and ensure that we responsibly interact with nature and do not jeopardize the healthy future for generations to come.

#### The Role of Education System

Schools can set a great example for the generation of *green thinking*. This is the place where innovative ideas emerge, where students learn and develop and take those learnings and ideas further.

#### The Role of Individuals

The ever-growing population has become a threat to all the resources available on the planet. Everyone should realize their responsibility towards the environment and have a willingness to change things for a liveable planet. Our individual efforts will play a

decisive role in the future of this habitable planet.

The vision: a *greener lifestyle* should be part of everyone's life.

#### The Role of Business

India needs to have a vision of a green economy which encompasses every sector, from circular economy to green politics. Companies and businesses also bear the responsibility to promote and contribute to sustainable consumption. Moreover, Corporates need to pursue environment-friendly practices rather than just focusing on profits. To accomplish this vision by 2047, we need to have market reforms and transform the business models altogether from focusing on products that are easy to recycle, use of biodegradable materials, low-emissions products and services, products made from renewable materials, no excessive packaging to producing products that do not contain ozone-depleting substances. Businesses must target to become 'Responsible'.

#### The Role of the Government

It is time that now the government takes 'the responsibility of the country's well-being with giving priority to environmental sustainability along with support to build a vibrant MSME Ecosystem'. One of the current major issues is the migration of people from rural to urban areas because of economic prosperity and technological advancement, which puts pressure on cities' resources.

Government should incorporate sustainability in every sector while maintaining balance. Social sustainability is the approach that must be inculcated in every policymaking.

There is a need for centre-state and inter-state cooperation and coordination on environmental issues. Further, a more transparent collaboration between the public and private sectors for long-term investments in sustainable energy is also required.

The government, corporates and citizens of the country, together, should lead India to a climate-safe pathway. It is time that we responsibly manage the environment and protect our natural resources through sustainable uses and practices for future use.

# POLICIES, PROCESSES, AND SYSTEM

India should be based on policies with continuity and processes which are transparent, unambiguous and leave no scope for interpretation. We need to move toward a system-driven approach which is backed by technology. There is no reason for a citizen in the 21st century to go to a government office for approval or requests. It should be driven by a technologybased system, which should be proactive. There are learnings from countries like Singapore, Estonia, USA and others. India has a huge government expenditure, and this needs to be brought down to lower single digits. Furthermore, bureaucracy is the single biggest bottleneck for India to unleash its full potential. If we need to move fast forward, we need to do away with legacy-based systems over the next five to seven years, and this will bring down the high trust deficit between the citizens and the government-a key requirement for India's transformation from a thirdworld country to a first-world country.

## **PINSTITUTIONS**

The building blocks of any country are the existence of institutions or institutional structures (Executive, Legislature, Judiciary, Regulators, Media & Press, Finance, Security, Education, Health, Industries, etc.). Development of a country is in direct proportion to the strength of the institutions which govern the country. Developed countries have high growth and capital due to the existence of strong institutional support. In developing and under-developed countries, the situation is different due to weak institutional structures.

Considering the need for making India a developed country by 2047, we will have to create strong institutions with a futuristic vision and agile structures. The institutions should also lead to an increase in the standard of living of people and encourage them to avail economic opportunities. The right kind of institutions or growth-promoting institutions are a prerequisite for the rapid development of a country.

There should be continuity in the working of the institutions. The rules and regulations governing the institutions might change with time, but the working of the institutions should be in a continuum. It is important that there are no overlapping and redundancies in institutions. The institutions that are redundant must be re-oriented as per the prevailing situation in the country.

Every institution should have a long-term vision of enhancing the development of the country. The institutional framework of the country should be characterized by institutions that are futuristic, agile and accountable. They should have long-term goals and objectives to cater to the growing needs of the population. The institutional structure should be driven by Data & Science (Evidence), and Technology.

# INFRASTRUCTURE

India is the land of diversity, culture and huge market potential and has a land size of 3.287 million km<sup>2</sup>, three sides covered with huge water bodies and coastlines, the great chain of Himalayas on the top which provide protection naturally. It has great potential for growth with raw materials, minerals, land resources and counting on. The vision for 2047 is to protect these extravagant resources and utilize them sustainably.

With more than 1.61 billion expected population by 2047, the process of 'consolidated growth' would be crucial for the government. This huge population will require sustainable land to live on, food to eat and jobs to survive.

Indian infrastructure is the key driver of the Indian economy, so there is a need to look into infrastructure needs from a larger intergenerational vision.

Hundred years is not even a ripple in the flow of history, but to generations, it means long-drawn-out years of hope, desire, retreat, advances, gains and pains. 2047 CE is not about watershed history, but it will signify the end of a century of independent India and the beginning of a new one with people's desire to view an opportunistic trajectory through innovation in infrastructure—a dream of a surreal world.

### **ECONOMY**

Over time, India has been run by noted economists, yet it is nowhere close to its potential. A country—big or small cannot be run on or by numbers alone. Also, the economy is an outcome of multiple dimensions. Like poverty is multi-dimensional, so is the economy. A vast, diverse and ancient country like India cannot be run on western concepts, and it has to develop its indigenous model of development. Also, India cannot be run on a single model; maybe every state or region will require to develop its own model of development based on the level of socio-economic development. Kerala will not work on the model for Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh cannot work on the model for Haryana, and that's the beauty of this ancient land. Also, we must factor automation and urbanization into our long-term planning. We are not a small country with a few million population; we will have about 1.6 billion population by 2047. Thus, we need to find work for every hand and work on the concept of 'cost of job creation' and the sectors which will have a cascading impact on job creation and boosting local economies (Gupta R. P., Your Vote is Not Enough, 2019, p. 28). India has a unique opportunity of not getting lost in the ideas of the western world or the ideas floated by the 'Big Four'. India's model of development should lead the way for the world to follow.

Economy is an outcome and can never be a goal, so we need to work on nine blocks to achieve the tenth block - economy



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# **ABOUT VIKSIT BHARAT ABHIYAN**





As India turns 75, we have come a long way since 1947 but we still have a long way to go, and that too, fast forward with a carefully drafted plan with strategic priorities. For India, 2047 is not just another milestone, it is a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for Indians.

The Viksit Bharat Abhiyan (Developed India Mission) was ideated by a revered policymaker, Dr. Rajendra Pratap Gupta in the book 'Tough Choices & Hard Decisions: Rebuilding India - the Next 25 Years'.

This is based on his analysis of our demographic opportunity, which India is experiencing with the average age of Indians below 29 years. This demographic opportunity will peak in 2047, post that, the once-in-a-lifetime chance to transform India into a developed country will begin to decline.

So, with an overarching theme and a well-defined action plan, we need to galvanise all resources and stakeholders with the goal of a "Developed India by 2047," when India celebrates its 100 years of independence. This is a now-or-never moment in Indian history, and we will have to achieve this goal in order to fulfil the dreams of 1.4 billion Indians.

Viksit Bharat Abhiyan is drafting a detailed plan for all sectors in order to guide various stakeholders and to prepare Indians for making India at 100: A Land of Abundance, Opportunity, Spirituality, and Technology with Happy Citizens.

## Viksit Bharat Abhiyan Developed India Mission

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