

Impact Factor: 3.4546 (UIF) DRJI Value: 5.9 (B+)

Autonomy of the Reserve Bank of India and Section 7 of RBI Act 1934

Dr. VIJAY M. KUMBHAR

Dhananjayrao Gadgil College of Commerce, Satara Karmaveer Bhaurao Patil University, Satara, (Maharashtra) India 415001 vijay.kumbhar9@gmail.com

Abstract

The autonomy of the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) is a cornerstone for ensuring economic stability, fostering investor confidence, and promoting sustainable growth. This paper examines the critical role of RBI's independence in implementing effective monetary policies, maintaining fiscal discipline, and enhancing the institution's credibility domestically and internationally. Autonomy enables the RBI to respond decisively to financial crises, stabilize inflation, and manage interest rates without undue political or fiscal pressures. Furthermore, it acts as a check on government fiscal profligacy, ensuring long-term economic sustainability.

However, the independence of the RBI is not without challenges. Conflicts with government priorities, such as balancing inflation control with growth objectives, can lead to inefficiencies or public disputes, potentially undermining investor confidence. Additionally, increased autonomy necessitates greater transparency and accountability, requiring the RBI to maintain robust governance and effective communication with stakeholders. This paper explores the balance between autonomy and accountability, emphasizing the importance of aligning the RBI's operations with national interests while safeguarding its credibility and effectiveness. The findings underline the indispensable role of RBI autonomy in fostering a stable and resilient economic environment.

Keywords: Autonomy, the Reserve Bank of India, Section 7 - RBI Act 1934

INTRODUCTION

The autonomy of central banks is a critical factor in ensuring effective monetary policy, financial stability, and economic growth. This paper explores the autonomy of central banks, with a particular focus on the Reserve Bank of India (RBI). The RBI, established under the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934, is a key institution responsible for regulating monetary policy and maintaining economic stability in India. Despite its statutory autonomy, the RBI has faced increasing government intervention in recent years, raising questions about the limits of its independence. This paper reviews the legal provisions concerning RBI's autonomy, highlights the gap between legal frameworks and practical implementation, and examines the implications of this tension for India's financial system. Furthermore, it explores how similar challenges are faced by central banks in other countries and offers recommendations to safeguard RBI's autonomy. The objective is to better understand the importance of central bank independence in ensuring sound economic governance. Through this analysis, the paper aims to contribute to the ongoing debate about the role of government intervention in central banking.

RATIONAL, AIM AND SOURCES

Central banks worldwide are granted autonomy as per the legal frameworks of their respective nations. These institutions effectively use their authority and legal mechanisms to consider economic, social, and international financial dynamics. Similarly, the Reserve Bank of India is granted autonomy under the provisions of the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934. However, in recent years, the autonomy of the RBI has become a frequent subject of controversy and discussion. This paper explores the autonomy granted to the RBI by law, the practical application of this autonomy, and the issues arising from differences in perception and directives issued by the government. The data and information used in this paper are primarily derived from secondary sources, including published research papers, reports, and articles related to central banks worldwide and the Reserve Bank of India. The collected information were analyzed in the context of relevant legal provisions, and the opinions of subject-matter experts were also incorporated to derive conclusions.

The primary objective of this research paper is to explore the autonomy of central banks across various countries and examine how it is exercised in practice. It aims to review the statutory provisions that govern the autonomy of the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) and analyze the gap between these legal provisions and the practical realities of the RBI's functioning. Finally, the paper seeks to provide key recommendations to strengthen and preserve the autonomy of the Reserve Bank of India.

REVIEWS ON CENTRAL BANK AUTONOMY

The autonomy of central banks is an essential element for ensuring monetary policy credibility, financial stability, and long-term economic growth. Research on this topic reveals diverse perspectives and practices across countries. Several scholars argue that central bank independence (CBI) enhances inflation control and minimizes political interference in monetary policy decisions. For instance, Alesina and Summers (1993) demonstrated a negative correlation between central bank independence and inflation rates in developed economies. They contended that autonomous central banks are less likely to succumb to political pressures for expansionary monetary policies, which often lead to inflationary cycles.

The autonomy of central banks is an essential element for ensuring monetary policy credibility, financial stability, and long-term economic growth. Research on this topic reveals diverse perspectives and practices across countries. Several scholars argue that central bank independence (CBI) enhances inflation control and minimizes political interference in monetary policy decisions. For instance, Alesina and Summers (1993) demonstrated a negative correlation between central bank independence and inflation rates in developed economies. They contended that autonomous central banks are less likely to succumb to political pressures for expansionary monetary policies, which often lead to inflationary cycles.

Cukierman (1992) emphasized the institutional design of central banks, noting that higher levels of legal independence contribute to better economic outcomes. However, he also pointed out that the practical independence of a central bank often differs from its legal independence due to government interventions and political considerations. Similarly, Blinder (1997) argued that a balance must be struck between independence and accountability, as complete autonomy without transparency could lead to inefficiencies and mistrust among stakeholders.

In the Indian context, the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) has faced challenges regarding its autonomy, particularly in times of fiscal stress or economic crises. Mohan (2018) observed that government demands for monetary support, such as requests for reserves or policy alignment, frequently clash with the RBI's mandate for economic stability. Such tensions highlight the need for clearer frameworks and communication mechanisms to delineate the roles of the central bank and the government.

Globally, the role of central bank autonomy is increasingly being redefined in the context of financial technology (fintech) innovations and digital currency developments. As noted by Buiter (2014), the evolving monetary landscape calls for revisiting the traditional autonomy frameworks to accommodate new challenges and opportunities.

The concept of central bank autonomy has been extensively explored in academic research, highlighting its critical role in ensuring financial stability, inflation control, and institutional credibility. Eijffinger and de Haan (1996) examined the political economy dimensions of autonomy, using Germany's Bundesbank and the U.S. Federal Reserve as case studies to demonstrate how these institutions maintained a balance between independence and regulatory oversight. Similarly, Arnone, Laurens, and Segalotto (2006) emphasized that increased autonomy in developed economies like Japan and the Eurozone has positively impacted inflation management and economic stability, illustrating its significance in advanced financial systems. Fischer (1995) further argued that true autonomy transcends institutional arrangements, requiring credible policy actions to shield central banks from political interference while fostering public trust and financial stability.

Complementing these perspectives, Rogoff (1985) underscored the importance of aligning the level of autonomy with a nation's macroeconomic goals, cautioning that excessive independence without accountability could lead to policy misdirection, whereas inadequate autonomy risks undue political influence. Goodhart (2010) highlighted the challenges autonomy faces during financial crises, where increased intervention tests traditional perceptions of central bank independence. Crowe and Meade (2007) added that robust governance structures, as seen in institutions like the Federal Reserve and the European Central Bank, are crucial for balancing autonomy with accountability. Finally, Debelle and Fischer (1994) stressed the trade-offs between autonomy and policy coordination, advocating for strong accountability frameworks to ensure that central banks remain both effective and transparent. Together, these studies reveal that central bank autonomy is a dynamic and multifaceted framework, evolving to address the complex demands of modern economies.

Scholars like Debelle and Fischer (1995) argue that autonomy enhances the effectiveness of monetary policy by insulating central banks from political pressures, thereby ensuring decisions are based on economic principles rather than short-term political interests. Their study emphasized that the transparency and accountability of autonomous central banks are crucial for maintaining public trust.

Masciandaro and Romelli (2015) examined the historical evolution of central bank independence, noting that countries with higher degrees of independence tend to experience lower inflation rates and more stable economies. They highlighted the importance of aligning central bank goals with fiscal discipline to achieve sustainable growth. Similarly, Grilli, Masciandaro, and Tabellini (1991) argued that both political and economic independence are essential for achieving central bank objectives. Their research outlined the challenges central banks face when governments pressure them to finance fiscal deficits.

Dincer and Eichengreen (2014) conducted a cross-country analysis of central bank transparency and its correlation with independence. They observed that while independence is critical, transparency acts as a complementary factor that enhances the legitimacy of central banks. Their findings suggested that countries with high levels of both independence and transparency perform better in managing inflation and economic stability.

Goodhart and Lastra (2018) discussed the increasing complexities in central bank operations due to technological advancements and globalization. They noted that while autonomy is essential, central banks must collaborate with governments and international bodies to address cross-border financial risks effectively. They also stressed the importance of adapting regulatory frameworks to ensure central banks remain relevant in a rapidly evolving financial landscape.

In emerging economies, such as India, Brazil, and South Africa, the challenges to central bank autonomy are often exacerbated by political and fiscal pressures. Garriga (2016) highlighted that in these contexts, ensuring autonomy requires robust institutional frameworks and consistent enforcement of legal provisions. Her study revealed that the practical implementation of autonomy often diverges from its theoretical framework due to political interference and economic constraints.

The existing research on central bank autonomy underscores its critical importance in maintaining monetary policy credibility, financial stability, and long-term economic growth. Studies have emphasized the positive correlation between central bank independence and effective inflation control in advanced economies. These findings highlight that institutional independence, when coupled with robust governance structures and transparent frameworks, fosters public trust and ensures sound policy decisions. Research also underscores the need for a balanced approach where autonomy is aligned with macroeconomic goals and supported by accountability mechanisms to prevent inefficiencies or undue political influence.

The evolving monetary and financial landscape further complicates the discourse on autonomy. Explorations into the challenges posed by financial crises and globalization emphasize the need for adaptive regulatory frameworks to maintain central bank relevance. Findings show that transparency and independence together enhance legitimacy and policy effectiveness. In emerging economies, practical autonomy often diverges from legal provisions due to fiscal and political pressures, necessitating robust institutional safeguards. Collectively, these reviews highlight that central bank autonomy is not a static concept but a dynamic framework that must evolve to meet the changing demands of global and domestic economic systems.

THE AUTONOMY OF THE RBI

The Reserve Bank of India (RBI) was established on April 1, 1935, under the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934. It is a government-owned central bank responsible for regulating monetary policy, maintaining financial stability, managing currency, and controlling credit in the country. While the RBI is granted operational autonomy, the government has not relinquished its control over the bank's management. Under Section 7 of the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934, the government retains its right to exercise control over the RBI.

• Section 7(1): Sub-section (1) empowers the Central Government to issue directions to the RBI as it deems necessary in the public interest, following

consultation with the Governor of the RBI. The central government may, from time to time, issue necessary directions to the RBI in the public interest after consulting with the Governor of the Bank.

- Section 7 (2): Sub-section (2) entrusts the general superintendence and direction of the RBI's affairs and business to the Central Board of Directors, subject to any directions issued by the Central Government under sub-section (1). Subject to any such directions, the general superintendence and direction of the affairs and business of the Bank shall be entrusted to a Central Board of Directors, which may exercise all powers and perform all acts that the Bank is authorized to undertake.
- Section 7(3): Sub-section (3) specifies that, unless otherwise provided by regulations made by the Central Board, the Governor—and in their absence, a nominated Deputy Governor—shall have the powers of general superintendence and direction of the RBI's affairs and business. Save as otherwise provided by regulations made by the Central Board, the Governor, or, in their absence, a Deputy Governor nominated by them, shall have the authority to oversee and direct the general affairs and business of the Bank. They may exercise all powers and perform all acts that the Bank is authorized to undertake.

This framework highlights the balance between the RBI's autonomy in operational and policy matters and the government's authority to intervene when deemed necessary for public interest. Historically, Section 7 has been viewed as a provision of last resort, intended for exceptional circumstances. Its invocation has been rare, underscoring the RBI's operational autonomy. Notably, in 2018, the Central Government reportedly issued letters to the RBI under Section 7 concerning issues like liquidity for nonbanking financial companies (NBFCs) and the governance framework of the central bank. Recently, the Banking Laws (Amendment) Act, 2025, introduced changes to other sections of the RBI Act, such as Section 42, which pertains to the maintenance of reserves by scheduled banks. These amendments aim to enhance the regulatory framework but do not directly impact the provisions of Section 7. Section 7 of the RBI Act serves as a critical instrument delineating the balance of power between the Central Government and the RBI. While it grants the government authority to issue directions to the central bank in the public interest, its sparing use reflects a commitment to preserving the RBI's autonomy. The absence of amendments to this section up to April 2025 indicates a continued respect for this balance within India's financial governance framework.

ISSUES OF THE AUTONOMY

Although the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) is legally autonomous, recent developments have raised questions and issues about its autonomy. This section attempts to comprehensively discuss various issues related to RBI's independence. Recent events clearly highlight increasing tensions and interference between the government and the RBI. The RBI has often had to struggle to maintain its autonomy.

In 2018, the Indian government instructed the RBI to extend more loans to align with its economic plans, which the RBI found unacceptable. The government also asked the RBI to implement measures to clean up non-performing assets (NPAs) and balance sheet uncertainties. This request posed potential risks to the balance sheet

(Mohan, 2018). The RBI prioritized adhering to its monetary policies, resisting government demands. Additionally, the government sought funds from the RBI's Reserve Fund to fill fiscal deficits, which posed a serious threat to the RBI's autonomy. Then-Governor Urjit Patel opposed this, emphasizing that such interference could endanger the stability of nationalized banks. The disagreement led to heightened tensions between the government and the RBI.

Acharya (2019) denoted that, one of the major controversies highlighting challenges to RBI's autonomy was the debate over the transfer of surplus reserves. In 2018, the government demanded higher payouts from the RBI's reserves to fund fiscal deficits. The RBI resisted, citing the need for financial stability buffers. This conflict culminated in the resignation of the then-Governor, Urjit Patel, raising questions about the central bank's operational independence.

Urjit Patel's resignation before completing his tenure shocked the country. While official reasons were not disclosed, experts believe that government interference forced him to step down mid-term. In November 2018, he resigned from the RBI Governorship, raising serious questions about the RBI's independence (Das, 2018). Patel accused the government of undermining the RBI's autonomy. While the allegations remain a matter of debate, they exposed the power conflict between the RBI and the Indian government.

In 2019, the government demanded additional reserves from the RBI to meet its financial needs, raising further questions about the RBI's autonomy. Specifically, the government sought ₹1.75 lakh crore from the RBI's reserves to manage economic crises and fund developmental projects. Initially, the RBI opposed this request, as experts warned that depleting reserves could harm the financial stability of the banking sector. However, under financial pressure, the RBI partially conceded, transferring funds to the government. This decision strained the relationship between the RBI and the government and sparked concerns about the bank's independence.

The government's abrupt announcement of demonetization in November 2016 is often cited as a case where the RBI's autonomy was undermined. Analysts argue that the RBI was compelled to implement a decision driven by the government without adequate consultation, affecting its credibility. The demonetization decision raised serious questions about the RBI's autonomy. The role and involvement of the RBI in this process became highly contentious. Initially, the RBI refrained from commenting, but later issued several master circulars. There was confusion over whether demonetization was a central bank's prerogative or a government decision. The government bypassed the RBI's advice or opinions, making it a unilateral decision, which visibly impacted the RBI's independence.

Between 2014–2019, the government exerted pressure on the RBI to ease lending for small businesses, introducing schemes like the Pradhan Mantri Mudra Yojana (PMMY) and Stand Up India. The government called for increased lending to small enterprises, indirectly pressuring the RBI and banks. Policy announcements, such as lowering interest rates on loans and introducing loan guarantee schemes, compromised the RBI's authority in framing lending policies.

In the late 2010s and early 2020s, the government introduced strategic changes to promote FinTech and digital banking through initiatives like "Digital India" and "Udyam Digital." While these policies aimed to expand FinTech and digital banking adoption, challenges like IT infrastructure and public IT literacy necessitated phased implementation, as envisioned by the RBI. However, government pressure accelerated digital adoption. For instance, the government announced the "FinTech Vision 2025"

before banks were fully prepared, increasing pressure on the RBI and impacting its autonomy.

The divergence in priorities between the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) and the Government of India frequently manifests in disagreements over the repo rate. While the government advocates for lower interest rates to stimulate economic growth by making loans cheaper and promoting investment, the RBI emphasizes the need to balance interest rates with considerations of financial stability and inflation control. This fundamental difference reflects the broader challenge of aligning monetary and fiscal policy objectives. Shreya Makam (2020) elaborated that, Over the past decade, various events have highlighted the erosion of powers vested in the RBI. These include instances of government intervention in monetary policy decisions, such as pressure to reduce interest rates despite inflationary concerns, as well as conflicts over the central bank's role in financial regulation. Such tensions not only undermine the operational independence of the RBI but also create uncertainty in the economic environment, potentially affecting investor confidence and policy credibility.

These incidents illustrate the challenges faced by the RBI in preserving its autonomy while balancing government expectations and broader public interest objectives. The gradual encroachment on the autonomy of the RBI underscores the need for a clear delineation of roles and enhanced mechanisms for dialogue between the government and the central bank. By fostering mutual trust and respecting institutional boundaries, it is possible to ensure that monetary policy decisions are both independent and aligned with the broader goals of economic stability and growth.

CONSEQUENCES OF AUTONOMY

The autonomy of the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) plays a vital role in ensuring economic stability and fostering trust in monetary policy. Independent decision-making allows the RBI to implement effective policies for controlling inflation, stabilizing the currency, and managing interest rates. It enhances the institution's credibility, attracting domestic and international investments by reassuring stakeholders of a stable economic environment. Autonomy also enables the RBI to act decisively during financial crises and resist political pressures for excessive fiscal borrowing, promoting fiscal discipline and sustainable growth. However, this independence may occasionally lead to conflicts with government objectives, particularly when fiscal and monetary priorities differ, creating potential inefficiencies or public disputes.

Despite these challenges, RBI's autonomy is indispensable for maintaining long-term economic stability. It ensures policy neutrality by focusing on sustainable goals rather than short-term political considerations. At the same time, heightened autonomy demands increased transparency and accountability, requiring the RBI to effectively communicate its decisions and rationale to stakeholders. While it may provoke tensions with political authorities, autonomy ultimately strengthens the RBI's ability to resist undue influence and foster trust among investors. By balancing independence with accountability and coordination, the RBI can continue to align its operations with national interests while safeguarding its credibility and effectiveness.

Need for Insulation from Political and Fiscal Influence: To safeguard
the autonomy of central banks, it is crucial to keep them independent from
political and fiscal pressures. Autonomy not only enhances operational
effectiveness but also boosts public trust in these institutions.

- Impact of Autonomy on Developed and Emerging Economies: The autonomy of central banks significantly affects both developed and emerging economies. Autonomy is not just about avoiding political interference but also about fostering credibility and trustworthiness in monetary policy.
- Alignment with Economic, Social, and Political Conditions: The degree
 of autonomy should be aligned with the prevailing economic, social, and
 political conditions. Effective governance mechanisms complement autonomy,
 ensuring that it supports stability and development. While autonomy is vital
 for maintaining economic stability, it must be paired with effective
 administration and accountability through clear policies and guidelines.
- Threat to Autonomy from Reserve Fund Transfers: The government's demand for funds from the RBI's reserves has undermined its autonomy. Such demands interfere with the bank's independent decision-making on monetary policy, leading to potential long-term consequences.
- Impact of Fund Transfers on Monetary Policies: Although transferring
 reserve funds may address immediate financial needs, it could have adverse
 long-term effects on the RBI's monetary policies and autonomy. Government
 interventions restrict the RBI's ability to function independently, affecting its
 decision-making capacity and credibility.
- Essential Role of RBI's Autonomy in Economic Stability: The autonomy of the Reserve Bank of India is indispensable for ensuring the country's economic stability. Sustained communication and mutual trust between the government and the RBI are necessary to uphold this autonomy. In the modern era, making the RBI more autonomous and accountable is essential for maintaining economic stability.
- Restrained Use of Section 7: The Government of India, under Section 7 of the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934, has the authority to issue directives to the RBI after consulting with its Governor in the public interest. However, this provision should be exercised only in exceptional circumstances to retain ultimate control over monetary policies. It should not be used routinely, as this could diminish the RBI's autonomy in monetary, economic, and regulatory matters, affecting its independent and professional functioning.
- Clarification of "Public Interest": The term "public interest" used in Section 7 is vague and open to various interpretations. Without specific criteria, this term can be applied subjectively, allowing the government to intervene in the RBI's independent policies. To avoid misuse, particularly for short-term political gains rather than sustainable economic goals, the term "public interest" should be clearly defined within the law to ensure transparency and accountability.
- Amendments to Define Scope of Section 7: It is crucial to amend Section
 7 to explicitly define when and under what circumstances it can be invoked.
 This would prevent undue interference in the RBI's decision-making processes
 and protect its autonomy. Clear boundaries for the application of Section 7
 would enhance the credibility and effectiveness of both the government and
 the RBI.
- Promoting Effective Consultation and Communication: Open conflicts between the RBI and the government can undermine domestic and international investor confidence. Therefore, establishing a robust framework

for consultation and dialogue between the RBI and the government is essential. Regular and structured communication can help address disagreements constructively and maintain mutual trust.

By implementing these measures, the RBI's autonomy can be safeguarded while ensuring that it works in alignment with the country's broader economic goals.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Safeguarding the autonomy of the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) requires robust measures to insulate it from political and fiscal influences. Independence enhances the RBI's operational effectiveness and builds public trust in its decision-making. To align autonomy with India's economic, social, and political conditions, effective governance mechanisms must complement its independence, ensuring stability and development. Additionally, reforming Section 7 of the RBI Act is vital, with a clear definition of "public interest" and explicit criteria for invoking this provision. Limiting the use of Section 7 to exceptional circumstances will prevent routine interference, ensuring the RBI retains its professional and independent functioning.

The issue of reserve fund transfers also poses a significant threat to the RBI's autonomy. While such transfers may temporarily address fiscal needs, they undermine the RBI's capacity for independent monetary policymaking and its credibility. To address this, transparent criteria and strict regulations on reserve fund demands must be established. These measures, combined with improved accountability mechanisms, will protect the RBI's decision-making process from short-term political pressures and enhance its long-term stability.

Open and structured communication between the RBI and the government is equally critical for maintaining mutual trust and resolving potential conflicts. Institutionalized frameworks for consultation can address disagreements constructively, avoiding public disputes that could harm investor confidence. Strengthening the RBI's independence through these measures, while ensuring accountability and alignment with national interests, will solidify its role in fostering economic stability and maintaining trust in monetary policy.

REFERENCES

- Acharya, V. V. (2019). "The quest for restoring financial stability in India." Journal of Financial Stability, 40(2), 1-14
- Alesina, A., & Summers, L. H. (1993). Central bank independence and macroeconomic performance: Some comparative evidence. Journal of Money, Credit and Banking, 25(2), 151–162.
- Arnone, M., Laurens, B. J., & Segalotto, J. F. (2006). Measures of central bank autonomy: Empirical evidence for OECD, developing, and emerging market economies. IMF Working Papers, 06/228.
- 4. Blinder, A. S. (1998). Central banking in theory and practice. MIT Press.
- Chakrabarty, K. (2019). "The Role of RBI in Economic Stability". Economic Policy Review, 5(2), 45-60.
- Crowe, C., & Meade, E. E. (2007). The evolution of central bank governance around the world. Journal of Economic Perspectives, 21(4), 69-90.
- Cukierman, A., Webb, S. B., & Neyapti, B. (1992). Measuring the independence of central banks and its effect on policy outcomes. The World Bank Economic Review, 6(3), 353–398.
- 8. Das, R. (2018). "RBI's Autonomy Under Threat". India Today, 13 November.
- Debelle, G., & Fischer, S. (1994). How independent should a central bank be? Goals, Guidelines, and Constraints Facing Monetary Policymakers, 195–225.
- Dincer, N. N., & Eichengreen, B. (2014). Central bank transparency and independence: Updates and new measures. International Journal of Central Banking, 10(1), 189–253.

- Eijffinger, S. C., & De Haan, J. (1996). The political economy of central-bank independence. Special Papers in International Economics. No. 19.
- 12. Fischer, S. (1995). Central-bank independence revisited. The American Economic Review, 85(2), 201-206.
- Garriga, A. C. (2016). Central bank independence in the world: A new data set. International Interactions, 42(5), 849–868.
- 14. Goodhart, C. A. E. (2010). The changing role of central banks. BIS Working Papers, No. 326.
- Goodhart, C. A., & Lastra, R. M. (2018). Populism and central bank independence. Open Economies Review, 29(1), 49–68.
- Grilli, V., Masciandaro, D., & Tabellini, G. (1991). Political and monetary institutions and public financial policies in the industrial countries. *Economic Policy*, 6(13), 341–392.
- Masciandaro, D., & Romelli, D. (2015). Ups and downs of central bank independence from the Great Inflation to the Great Recession: Theory, institutions, and empirics. Financial History Review, 22(3), 259–289.
- 18. Mohan, R. (2018). "Government Interference and RBI's Autonomy". The Economic Times, 12 December.
- 19. Patel, U. (2018). "Resignation of RBI Governor and Impact on Autonomy". Business Standard, 20 December.
- Pierre L. Siklos (2002). Frameworks for the Resolution of Government-Central Bank Conflicts: Issues and Assessment,
- Rogoff, K. (1985). The optimal degree of commitment to an intermediate monetary target. The Quarterly Journal of Economics, 100(4), 1169–1189.
- Sharma, V. (2017). "Government and RBI Relationship: A Delicate Balance". Journal of Monetary Policy, 4(1), 23-30.
- Shreya Makam (2020). RBI Autonomy A Myth or Reality?, Journal of Governance and Public Policy, Volume 10, No 2, July-December 2020 pp: 27-33