

# Opinion

SUNDAY, JUNE 2, 2019

**AN OVERWHELMING MANDATE** is not always a blessing, a weakened Opposition makes governance more onerous and a successive second term deprives the rulers of any excuse. I am sure Prime Minister Narendra Modi is fully aware of the enormous expectations of the people and the huge burden placed on his Council of Ministers. Observing his first term, I am certain he will make every effort to rise to the challenge. There are two problems in the way. The first is the time-honoured way of doing things in India. The second is the competing claims of different sections of the people in which, invariably, the voices of the poorest, the weakest, the most deprived and the exploited are drowned. Our experience has been that at the end of the term (1) the time-honoured ways have only accumulated more time and honour and (2) the poorest, weakest, deprived and exploited remain poor, weak, deprived and exploited.

## Time-tested & Failed

In his second term, Mr Modi must start by dismantling the time-honoured ways. Mr Arvind Panagariya, a friend of Mr Modi, and Mr Venkatesh Kumar (a professor at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences) have described those ways as follows:

*'A key element in his (Mr Modi's) governance model was the appointment of a number of groups of secretaries with each group assigned the task of preparing presentations on projects, programmes and policies to be implemented the following year in key sectors of the economy... Once finalised, these presentations became the road maps of the following year for the major sectors.'*

Then, the authors caution: *'But when it comes to radical reforms, this approach has a downside. By nature, bureaucrats are cautious and lean heavily in favour of projects and programmes. Even when they propose policy changes, they are piecemeal and rarely go beyond tinkering.'*

I agree with them entirely. However, I do not agree with their alternative method. Examined closely, it is no different. In the alternative model, the Mission Head will replace the minister, the Adviser will replace the secretary and young professionals will replace the joint secretary and her team!

## Disruption is the Key

The results will be no different than the outcomes of Swachh Bharat and Ujjwala. In the case of Swachh Bharat, the bitter truth is no large state of India (except Gujarat) has been declared Open Defecation Free. What percentage of the toilets that were built are unused or unusable? In the case of Ujjwala, the proof of success or failure is the average number of replacement cylinders purchased by a beneficiary in a year: is it a disappointing 3 or an optimum 8? You know the answers as well as I do.

Radical reforms can be effected only through radical policies and disruption. In 1991-96, we made a bonfire of the Red Book and foreign trade was radically transformed. We threw away the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act and foreign exchange reserves soared. We scrapped industrial licensing and a new generation of entrepreneurs emerged. Mr Modi must try something like that

**ACROSS THE AISLE**  
**P Chidambaram**



# How it can be sabka vikas



Women carrying drinking water in vessels at a village in Palwal district, Haryana

BLOOMBERG

in education, healthcare, and rural roads and transport. In school education he could borrow from the Congress manifesto and transfer the subject to the State List, give money to the states and set them free to innovate and compete. The people will demand results from their state government and, in course of time, get results.

The key idea — and the one that will be most disruptive — is decentralisation. The short-term results may be unsatisfactory but in the medium to long term, better governed states will deliver better outcomes than at present and that will make the people demand better governance at the state level. Areas that will immensely benefit from decentralisation are primary and secondary healthcare, drinking water, sanitation, renewable energy, distribution of electricity, etc.

## Recall Dr Subramanian

The second formidable challenge is the 'poorest of the poor'. Since they are the poorest, they are also at the bottom of the ladder in literacy, health indicators, housing, sanitation, consumption of food and water, and access to public goods and services. In a village, you will find them on the edges of the village. In poorer states, you will find whole villages populated by them. Let's admit it, under successive governments, the development process has bypassed the poorest 20% of India. Ministers and officials who visit villages, and programmes, stop — or are stopped — at the main street. The only way to reach the poorest is help them help themselves: start the fire of aspiration, let it rage in their hearts and homes, let them break out of the grip of poverty and lift themselves up. PM-KISAN will not help them because very few own a

patch of land, most are agricultural labour or other labour, and a significant number lives in towns and cities. The disruptive policy change will be a basic income through direct transfer of money. Mr Modi can attribute the idea to Dr Arvind Subramanian and recall him to head a department to design and implement the scheme.

Not much will change if we trudge along at 6-7% rate of annual growth. Nothing will change if we tweak current policies or tinker with administrative systems. More damage will be done by vesting officials with extraordinary powers or threatening people with prosecution and imprisonment. The single most effective instrument of transformative change is empowering the people and placing faith in their wisdom, industry and capacity.



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**INSIDE TRACK**  
**COOMI KAPOOR**

## Advani syndrome

The importance of Amit Shah, not just in party affairs but also in government, was evident even before he was formally sworn in as a minister. Ever since the poll results, Shah has continuously been by Modi's side, whether in Delhi, Varanasi or Ahmedabad. Before the swearing-in, the PM and Shah spent marathon sessions confabulating over the names for the Cabinet. Shah wanted a Cabinet post to demonstrate his administrative capabilities. He wants to be perceived as not just a wizard organisation man, but as Modi's eventual successor. This is similar to the L K Advani syndrome, where for years Advani was the backroom boy and Atal Bihari Vajpayee the face of the BJP. Finally, Advani decided he wanted to share the glory of the centre stage. Despite being home minister, Shah is expected to continue to devote considerable time to party affairs, particularly with Maharashtra and Haryana Assembly elections due shortly.

## Financial asset

Nirmala Sitharaman was selected to head the Finance Ministry since, apart from some familiarity with the ministry, Modi wanted a person he considered not close to any business lobby. Earlier, Arun Jaitley, Sitharaman's mentor, was one of the few who fitted the bill. The ministry controls all the powerful economic regulatory bodies. A scholarly understanding of finance is not essential since, in the Modi regime, senior officials and technocrats, selected and vetted by the PMO, play an important role in key ministries.

## Peacock colours

At the 2014 swearing-in, Smriti Irani stood out in terms of sartorial style for her bright red, yellow and black sari emblazoned with huge lotuses. This time the male ministers stole the limelight. Many wore Modi jackets featuring all the colours of the rainbow, including jaundice yellow, shocking pink, sky blue and bottle green. A few like Modi, Shah and Rajnath Singh settled for more formal greys and browns. Women ministers Nirmala Sitharaman and Harsimrat Kaur Badal wore pastel pinks. Smriti was dressed in a smart and subdued orange ikkat silk.

## Mamata's retreat

For three days after the election results, Mamata Banerjee remained shut at her Kalighat residence. She spent her time reading, playing

music on a keyboard and introspecting. A string of Trinamool members close to her, including Indranil Sen, Dola Sen and Indrani Halder, could not get an audience. Her nephew Abhishek Banerjee was one of the few permitted entry, but after 10 pm. By Monday though, Banerjee was back at office, intent to fight fiercely for her turf. Her strategy is focusing on Bengali pride and painting the BJP as outsiders. Party members are too timid to tell her that her habit of getting out of her car and screaming at bystanders shouting *Jai Shri Ram* lost her votes, since the videos went viral.

## Double trouble

The poll defeats have exacerbated trouble in both H D Deve Gowda and Lalu Prasad's families. Only Gowda's grandson Prajwal Revanna won, since he was gifted his grandfather's pocket borough of Hassan. Gowda himself and his other grandson, Nikhil Kumaraswamy, son of CM H D Kumaraswamy, lost. A Karnataka periodical claimed that a drunk Nikhil berated his 86-year-old grandfather charging that the family had let him down. The Karnataka Police registered an FIR against the periodical. Prajwal, meanwhile, offered to resign to accommodate his grandfather, but Gowda declined. In Bihar, many RJD leaders blame the feud between Lalu's sons Tej Pratap Yadav and Tejashwi Yadav for the party's disastrous showing. The RJD did not win a single seat. Even Pataliputra where Lalu's daughter Misa Bharti was the candidate and Saran, Lalu's old constituency, from where Tej Pratap's estranged father-in-law Chandrika Rai stood, were lost. Small wonder that Lalu conalescing in a Ranchi hospital refused to eat for two days after the results. Tej Pratap's post-defeat letter backing his brother for party leadership was too little too late.

## Master of game

No one can doubt Amit Shah's abilities as a master campaign strategist. Shah knew exactly which disgruntled elements from opposing camps to cultivate and which to ignore. For instance, Mukul Roy was propped up since Shah was aware that Roy had intimate knowledge of the Trinamool's organisation and its money and muscle power. In UP, through intermediaries he encouraged the Samajwadi Party's key organisation man, Shivpal Yadav, to float a separate party. Shivpal damaged the SP in half a dozen seats. Similarly, the Prakash Ambedkar and Asaduddin Owaisi alliance in Maharashtra lost the Congress-NCP several seats.

# Once upon a time in Ladakh

As far as bucket lists go, playing at the Fire and Fury GC is right up there

**OVER THE TOP**

**Meraj Shah**



**FOR THE LONGEST** time, it was the highest golf course in the world: The Fire and Fury GC, laid out on a sweeping tract of land that sloped down from the hills to the south of Leh town, was also as unique a golf course as has ever been built. Visitors flying in to Leh would see the course as the airplane began its descent, but probably didn't identify it as one: the Fire and Fury GC didn't really fit the bill. No verdant green spaces—the greens were made using compacted sand, and no visible hazards. And yet, stretching over 7031 yards from the tips, this obscure, unheralded, golf course had a superlative claim to fame: at 11,302 feet above sea level, it was, literally heads and shoulders above any other layout in the world.

That was before the calamitous flash floods hit Leh in 2010, and destroyed numerous settlements in proximity of the course, including the Tibetan settlement of Choglamsar. The massive relief efforts

by the military that followed faced a major challenge: setting up temporary encampments for survivors and people displaced by the catastrophe. The level fairways of Fire & Fury GC were perfect and were quickly repurposed to set up a relief camp. And so it came to pass, that 43 years after coming into existence, the course became unplayable. That year I wrote an epitaph to the course, that, for all practical purposes had ceased to exist.

Last week I got a call from a friend in Leh who happened to mention that he'd seen players pulling their golf bag trolleys on the brown fairways again and the erstwhile clubhouse, the only remnant of the course which the military had let stand for posterity's sake, appeared to have got a fresh coat of paint. It's a fair conjecture, he said, that the course has reopened for play.

I was immediately reminded of the last time I played there in 2008. For the highest GC in the world, conjuring up visions of precipitous slopes and undulating fairways, the Fire & Fury GC was surprisingly expansive and level. The 18 holes were spread in a vast basin area on the edge of Leh Town. The best view was from the airplane on the steep descent into Leh valley: it appeared as a faintly barricaded brown



The Fire and Fury golf course, laid out on a tract of land that slopes down from the hills to the south of Leh town

ST WANGDI

landscape punctuated by dark brown spots with the Stok Kangri Mountain looming in the distance; you would've missed it unless you were looking for it. One thing is certain: the Leh Golf Course was not pretty; no creeks or willows. But it was singular; high speed winds routinely lashed the basin in which the course had been built, the fairways were barren which meant your caddy had to lug a piece of Astro turf. The golfers I saw were using a

regular foot mat: pop the ball on the high tuft at the corner and sweep away. The greens, appropriately called 'browns,' were kept soft with used engine oil; there was no slope though, once you got a measure of the speed then putting was pretty much sorted out.

The board and plaque which stood in front of the clubhouse proclaimed that the course was established in 1967 as the 'Trishul Golf Course' (later rechristened

'Fire & Fury,' by the military). There were no trees or any hazards besides the odd bunker; the entire exercise of getting the ball to stop was challenge enough! The army had planted hundreds of poplar saplings; most would not make it through the harsh winter months but the few that did have added much needed foliage.

I recall playing with borrowed blades and making a complete mess of things but you wouldn't have thought that if you saw

the ball go. It rose, albeit a bit late, straight down tiger line before flying inordinate distances. The air is thin in Leh and that is most apparent when you gauge the added yardage to your clubs. It also negates sidespin which meant you could pretty much hit it straight most of the time; the check ball didn't exist here, you had to make sure you flopped it high so it landed softly on the heavily oiled browns. This was an optimist's course!

The Fire & Fury GC fit right into Leh's surreal landscape and melded in with the almost lunar topography. While it's pretty certain that this course never got golf tourists, there was a certain posterity value to playing at the highest golf course in the world. Not to mention the once in a lifetime pleasure of pasting a driver 400 yards!

If the course has indeed re-opened for play, then one would hope that the army lets people from the 'civvy street,' tee it up. The money could be used for upkeep of the course and perhaps even attract golf tourists to Leh. Pretty championship courses are a dime-a-dozen nowadays, but the bragging rights of playing at Leh's rugged layout are in a different league altogether. It may not be the highest golf course in the world anymore (that would be the Indian Army's layout at Kupup in Sikkim), but there are still no parallels to match this course against that I can think of.

*A golfer, Meraj Shah also writes about the game*



# Idea Exchange

SUNDAY, JUNE 2, 2019

“We travelled across Bengal, both clockwise and anti-clockwise. So we were able to take two rounds of a district in one cycle in two months. This led to large-scale mobilisation, workers gained confidence”

**LIZ MATHEW:** What were some of the challenges that you faced in Bengal?  
After three decades of Left rule, Mamata Banerjee rose to power in Bengal after a big struggle. People expected things to change, they wanted democracy to be reinstated, they wanted an end to dictatorship and violence, they wanted peace and development... Unfortunately, nothing changed. An era of atrocities and murders began. At first, Congress workers were killed, then BJP and CPM workers. In the last four-and-a-half years that I have been the BJP in-charge of the state, 103 BJP workers have been killed, including a few after the election results were announced.

There is ‘syndicate raj’ in the state. While the government runs the state, syndicates control the districts. People affiliated to the ruling party in the state are part of this syndicate. One cannot even build a house in Bengal without the involvement of the syndicate.

There was an apprehension among people about which way to go, especially since the Congress doesn’t have any presence there and the Left is almost over. When I was made in-charge, our party president Amit Shahji told me that two states, Kerala and West Bengal, were tough to win and that I should take charge of West Bengal. When I first went to Bengal, I thought it would take us at least 15 years to be in a position to challenge the ruling party. After doing a tour of the state twice, I met the party president again. He said, ‘I have sent you for five years, not 15. I am standing behind you, just tell me what you need.’ Then, I got a flat in Bengal and began to visit districts to understand the problems of the people. I, along with Suresh Pujari, a party worker from Odisha, and Shiv Prakashji, our national *sangathan* mantri, travelled across the length and breadth of the state, both clockwise and anti-clockwise. By doing so, we were able to take two rounds of a district in one cycle within two- to two-and-a-half months. This led to large-scale mobilisation and our party workers gained confidence.

Subsequently, attacks on our workers also increased. No one was spared. Even the Trinamool and the syndicate in the state have two-three different groups. They fought amongst themselves, and in the last three years of Mamataji’s tenure, 65 Trinamool workers have been murdered by fellow workers. I think West Bengal is the only state where workers of the ruling party kill each other, and then blame the Opposition. More than 150 BJP workers, who haven’t even killed a mosquito, have been booked under Section 302 (murder).

Amid all these atrocities by the ruling party, it was an uphill task to strengthen our party base in the state. I think it is because of the leadership of the Prime Minister, political strategies of our party chief, and our efforts on the ground that we have been able to build and strengthen our network in every district of Bengal. We kept a low profile, didn’t do any publicity and just worked to strengthen the organisation.

Everyone thought since we had two (Lok Sabha) seats in Bengal, we would probably get four to six seats this time. I had set a target of 25 seats. People would laugh at it. But I told everyone it will be an astonishing result. We would have won 25 seats had there not been violence during the elections, because of which many people did not step out to vote. But even then, the people helped us win 18 seats.

**LIZ MATHEW:** Why were you chosen to handle the elections in Bengal?

You should ask Amit Shahji that (*laughs*). I think I have the most amount of experience among all party general secretaries. I have been a councillor, a mayor and an MLA for six terms. Besides, I have seen violence very closely. In the ’80s and ’90s, Indore had many textile mills and trade unions. My father was a mill worker there. I lived in the *maz-door basti* (workers’ colony). I have seen fights closely... In those days firearms or explosives were not as common, it was mostly swords and sticks. Amitbhai knew all about me and so he probably thought I could work in Bengal as I have seen it all.

**RAVISH TIWARI:** Your opponents say communal politics has helped your performance in Bengal.

We are not responsible for the situation in Bengal; Mamataji is. When I went to Kolkata for the first time, I saw big hoardings of people offering *namaaz* in



## WHY KAILASH VIJAYVARGIYA

**SINCE WINNING TWO** seats in West Bengal in the 2014 Lok Sabha polls, the BJP has been working to increase its footprint in the state. Kailash Vijayvargiya was appointed the party’s state in-charge four years ago and has since been travelling across Bengal to strengthen the BJP’s organisation on the ground. In the general elections this year,

the BJP emerged as the main challenger to the Trinamool, and won 18 of the state’s 42 seats. The party’s vote share also increased to 40.25% from 16.8% in 2014. Vijayvargiya, who was appointed national general secretary in 2015, was also in charge of Haryana polls, and has served as a minister in the Madhya Pradesh government



“If there is a BJP government in Bengal, we will conduct the NRC drive. Over a crore intruders will be identified. These people are taking away the resources and jobs of Bengal’s people”

# Shattered belief that TMC can’t be defeated... When we create that mood in Kerala, BJP will win

BJP’s general secretary in charge of West Bengal, Kailash Vijayvargiya, says Bengal’s vote for the party was a ‘reaction’ to the violence in the state, claims BJP got not just Left’s, but also TMC and Congress’ votes, and talks about ‘change of demography’ in Bengal districts



BJP’s national general secretary Kailash Vijayvargiya with Associate Editor Liz Mathew in *The Indian Express* newsroom

ABHINAV SAHA

the Salt Lake area. When I looked closely, I realised that the hoardings had Mamataji’s face on them. I was told that she often visited the area and offered *namaaz*. I have never seen a Hindu leader offer *namaaz* like this anywhere in the country. There is always a reaction when things are stretched too far.

Durga Puja is the biggest festival in Bengal. When a Durga *visarjan* procession is stopped because of Muharram, it will evoke a reaction. People had to go to the court and get permission for the procession. This also led to more than 10,000 people assembling at Durga Puja pandals, which otherwise would not have had more than a thousand people. That reaction was not ours, it was the people’s reaction.

(In 2016), the police station in Kaliachak area of Malda district was torched. Most of the Hindu families there were thrown out of the area. None of the media houses initially reported the incident, till a senior reporter from a big television channel went to cover the incident. That story showed how AK-47 rifles were used in the violence, and how so many people had to leave.

Therefore, despite the fact that we did not have workers to assist us in the election process, people still voted for us. This shows their sentiment towards the ruling party. In villages, despite bomb blasts at night, women gathered to vote in the morning. They called police and voted under their protection. It was all a reaction. Not a single BJP worker was involved in any of it (the violence). So, when they say that we did it (communal politics)... we did not. We might have benefited from it, but we are not responsible for it. The responsibility lies with the state government.

**LIZ MATHEW:** You say that there is fear among the people in the state. In that case, why didn’t all the Hindu votes come to your party?

That is why I am saying that the allegation that there was polarisation is baseless. Had that been the case, we would have got all the Hindu votes. We did not polarise. We put forward Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s face and spoke about jobs for the youth, women empowerment, quality education and health-care services... That is why we did not get 100% of the Hindu votes.

**ABANTIKA GHOSH:** Did the Vidyasagar College incident harm the BJP in the seventh phase of the polls?

It is a matter of research for us. There were nine Lok Sabha seats (in the phase) and they were all very difficult for us. The Trinamool has more influence in the region, and above that, there was *gundagardi* (hooliganism).

**RAVISH TIWARI:** In the Lok Sabha elections, you sought votes in Narendra Modi’s name. The BJP does not have a face in Bengal. Will that affect the results in the state polls?

Before the Assembly election, there is the local body election. We might only get 10% of the votes in the local body election. It is not an election. The state election commissioner, the police, the Trinamool and its goons, together fight the local body elections. You must have seen the last panchayat elections. The situation there is very bad. The demographic of eight districts has changed entirely. When we visited some villages in these parts, it appeared that we were not in our country. To save Bengal, it is necessary to stop the entry of infiltrators and illegal operations.

**KRISHN KAUSHIK:** You claim that you don’t polarise, but then you say that certain areas in Bengal don’t look like our country. Your party didn’t give tickets to Muslims, you don’t talk about Muslim voters...

We had Muslim candidates. Our candidate came second in Murshidabad. We have also received Muslim votes. I never said that we didn’t receive Muslim votes. We have got Muslim votes, though less in numbers, but we have got them.

**ABANTIKA GHOSH:** In its campaign, the BJP spoke out against dynasts. But now you have Arjun Singh and his son, Mukul Roy and his son, in the party.



We had no other option. We had no candidate from Arjun Singh’s constituency (Barrackpore). I am not ashamed to say that Arjun Singh is very powerful there and our party didn’t have a *sangathan* in the region. We made our party’s office in his area, but his men captured it. We still had the office but with their party flag. (Arjun Singh defected from the Trinamool to the BJP in March.) In a democracy, the end result of an election is not a gold, silver or bronze medal. You either win or lose. In order to win, you need a good candidate.

**LIZ MATHEW:** Did you get all the CPM cadre votes in Bengal?

Remember the slogan Prime Minister Narendra Modi gave: ‘*Chup chap, kamal chaap*’ (Quietly vote for the lotus). It is interesting to see how intelligent the voters have become. In villages, people knew they wouldn’t be allowed to vote if they said they wanted to vote for the BJP. So they put on the Trinamool’s tag and went to vote. But, at the polling booth, they secretly pressed the lotus button (the BJP’s party symbol). The political violence and undemocratic activities are causing problems for the Trinamool in the state. We have got the Trinamool’s votes. We have also received the Congress’ and the CPM’s votes.

**RAVISH TIWARI:** On one hand you say that Muslims voted for you, on the other you claim that in certain parts of the state, which have a larger Muslim population, it doesn’t feel like your own country. These are contrary viewpoints.

When we talked to the people there, it felt like this was not a part of our country. Their behaviour, mannerisms, implied that they are not a part of this country.

No BJP worker was involved in it (violence). When they say that we did it (communal politics)... we did not. We might have benefited from it, but we are not responsible for it. The responsibility lies with the state government

**VANDITA MISHRA:** What kind of behaviour?

If you go to any part of the country, people have a welcoming attitude. In any village, if you ask people for directions, they will first ask you if you have had any food or water. This is the culture of our country, *atithi devo bhava* (the guest is god). But when we went to some of the places in Bengal, it felt like we were a burden on them. It’s a mindset. I go to a lot of Muslim areas where I get a lot of love from the people. I attend many Muslim events in Indore. I have also got Muslim votes in Indore. It’s not like we don’t go to Muslim areas, but in that particular area, we felt unwelcome.

**RAVISH TIWARI:** You have worked in Madhya Pradesh, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and now West Bengal for the BJP. The political violence aside, what difference do you see in the politics of these states?

In Uttar Pradesh, there is a politician in every second house. If you talk to a Jat in UP, he will tell you the entire history of the community. A Yadav will tell you how they have been oppressed for ages. The voter in UP is very politically aware. Haryana’s voters are the most honest. I went to Haryana for an event of transporters. They gave me buttermilk and looked after me well. When I asked them whether they will vote for the BJP, they said we are Chautala’s men (*laughs*). I have never met such honest people anywhere else in the country. In West Bengal, people read a lot of newspapers. They read and they think. It is tough to talk to a Bengali because they don’t open up easily. They are very proud of their culture and language and are very emotional. Women in West Bengal are very concerned about their children’s education and how the quality of education is falling.

**RAVISH TIWARI:** Why did the BJP lose the Madhya Pradesh polls?

There are two reasons. Firstly, we were in power in the state for 15 years. In this time period, we built roads and infrastructure. We had nothing new to show this time. Someone who was four-five years old when we started in Madhya Pradesh, could now vote. He didn’t know what the BJP had done in these 15 years. Rahul Gandhi said he will waive off farm loans in eight days, but nothing happened. He said he will give pension to the unemployed. No money was given. The Lok Sabha results were an

answer to this politics of cheating.

**ABANTIKA GHOSH:** Ram Navami celebrations are now held with much more fervour in Bengal. Some Bengalis have stopped eating non-vegetarian food on Tuesdays because they worship Hanuman. People from West Bengal have always been Durga worshippers. How did this happen and how did it affect the voting?

Every action has a reaction. Ram Navami and Hanuman Jayanti were not celebrated in West Bengal till four years ago. The celebrations were curbed. Children who wore Hanuman costumes and went around with *gadas* (maces) were slapped with cases under the Arms Act. People holding Ram Navami processions without permission were thrown into jails. So there was a reaction from society. If people said *Jai Shri Ram*, they were slapped and arrested. (In these elections), a whole village voted while chanting *Jai Shri Ram*. This is Newton’s law, every action has an equal and opposite reaction.

**ANANT GOENKA:** How do you think the social fabric of Bengal will change in the next 10 years?

If there is a BJP government, we will conduct the National Register of Citizens drive. Over a crore intruders will be identified. These people are taking away the resources and jobs of Bengal’s people. Strict action will be taken against them.

**ANANT GOENKA:** And if Mamata Banerjee continues to be CM, how will the Centre-state relations play out?

The Prime Minister recently said that we are with the people who trusted us, and those who didn’t, we will strive to win their trust. We go by his motto of ‘*Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas, Sabka Vishwas*’. The PM called Mamataji after the cyclone, she didn’t pick up his call and then said that she doesn’t consider him the Prime Minister. That’s her prerogative. The PM did his duty.

**KRISHN KAUSHIK:** Why didn’t the BJP perform well in Kerala?

We have shattered the belief that the Trinamool cannot be defeated. Once that happens in Kerala, when people start believing that the BJP can win, we will get their votes. We haven’t been able to create that environment in the state yet. The day it is created, the BJP will win in Kerala too.





# मोदी सरकार 2.0 की चुनौतियां उठाने होंगे कई मजबूत कदम

पहले कार्यकाल के दौरान प्रधानमंत्री नरेंद्र मोदी के खाते में कल्याण योजनाओं से लेकर राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा एवं संरचनागत परिवर्तन तक कई उपलब्धियाँ हैं, परंतु इस बार उनकी चुनावी जीत जितनी भारी है, दूसरे कार्यकाल में उनकी सरकार के सामने चुनौतियों का दबाव भी उतना ही बढ़ा है। कृषि संकट के निवारण और ग्रामीण आर्थिकी को गति देने की दिशा में बहुत कुछ अपेक्षित है। घरेलू और अंतरराष्ट्रीय कारणों से अर्थव्यवस्था में नमी आयी है। कच्चे तेल के दाम में उतार-चढ़ाव और व्यापार घाटे के बढ़ने से वित्तीय घाटे एवं मुद्रास्फीति की आशंका बढ़ गयी है। अमेरिका, चीन, रूस, जापान और यूरोपीय देशों से हमारे संबंध बेहतर की ओर बढ़े तो हैं, पर कुछ महत्वपूर्ण देशों से संरक्षणवादी और विस्तारवादी रवैये ने हमारे लिए गंभीर चुनौती पैदा कर दी है। आतंकवाद, अलगाववाद और उग्रवाद तथा पाकिस्तान के खतरनाक रवैये से निबटने के लिए सुदृढ़ सुरक्षा नीति बनाने की आवश्यकता भी है। बहुत बड़ी युवा आबादी के लिए शिक्षा एवं रोजगार की व्यवस्था करना और करोड़ों गरीबों व कम आमदनी वाले लोगों को स्वास्थ्य सेवा मुहैया कराने संबंधी कार्यक्रमों को बढ़ावा देना आसान नहीं हैं। मोदी सरकार के समक्ष उपस्थित कुछ महत्वपूर्ण चुनौतियों के विश्लेषण के साथ प्रस्तुत है आज का इन दिनों...



## बढ़ते श्रमबल के लिए रोजगार सृजन

भा रत की 136 करोड़ की अनुमानित आबादी में 67 प्रतिशत लोग 15 से 64 वर्ष के हैं. इस लिहाज से तकरीबन 91 करोड़ लोगों को नौकरी/रोजगार चाहिए. इतने लोगों के लिए रोजगार की व्यवस्था करना कोई खेल नहीं है. दो करोड़ प्रतिवर्ष रोजगार सृजन के वादे के साथ 2014 में मोदी सरकार आयी थी, लेकिन ऐसा हुआ नहीं. बीते जनवरी, सेंटर फॉर मॉनिटरिंग इंडियन इकोनॉमी (सीएमआईई) की जारी रिपोर्ट के मुताबिक, नोटबंदी और जीएसटी के कारण वर्ष 2018 में 1.1 करोड़ लोगों को अपनी नौकरी से हाथ धोना पड़ा था. वहीं, एपीएफओ के अनुसार, अक्टूबर 2018 से अप्रैल अंत तक औसत मासिक नौकरी सृजन में 26 फीसदी की गिरावट दर्ज हुई थी. इतना ही नहीं, नौकरियों के सृजन की गति भी काफी धीमी है. हाल में मीडिया में लोक एनएसएसओ की पीरियॉडिक लेबर फोर्स सर्वे (पीएलएफएस) रिपोर्ट में कहा गया था कि वर्ष 2017-18 में औसत बेरोजगारी दर 6.1 फीसदी तक पहुंच गयी, जो 45 साल में सबसे ज्यादा है. हालांकि, अब सरकार ने भी इस आंकड़े के सही होने की पुष्टि कर दी है. सीएमआईई के आंकड़ों की मानें, तो इस वर्ष फरवरी में देश में बेरोजगारी दर 7.2 प्रतिशत थी, जबकि एक वर्ष पहले यह 5.9 प्रतिशत थी. सीएमआईई के अनुसार, इस वर्ष फरवरी में हमारे देश में करीब 3.12 लोग रोजगार की तलाश कर रहे थे, जबकि 2018 जुलाई में इनकी संख्या 1.4 करोड़ थी. वहीं, कई रिपोर्ट में भी बता रहे हैं कि बीते कई महीनों



से साप्ताहिक और मासिक बेरोजगारी दर सात प्रतिशत के आसपास बनी हुई है, जबकि इंडियासमेंड का विश्लेषण कहता है कि प्रतिवर्ष 1.2 करोड़ लोग नौकरी के बाजार में प्रवेश कर रहे हैं, जिनमें से केवल 47.5 प्रतिशत लोग ही श्रमबल का हिस्सा बन पाते हैं। बाकी बचे लोग या तो बेरोजगार रहते हैं या फिर बेहद कम पैसों पर काम करने को मजबूर होते हैं। विश्व बैंक के अनुसार, भारत में प्रतिवर्ष 81 लाख नयी नौकरियों की जरूरत है, इतने बड़े पैमाने पर नयी नौकरियों का सृजन नयी सरकार के लिए अप्रतिबन्ध नहीं होगा।

## स्वास्थ्य क्षेत्र को दुरुस्त करने की दरकार

भारत की विशाल आबादी को बीमारियों की दोहरे मार से गुजरना पड़ रहा है। हमारे देश में संक्रामक और गैर-संक्रामक (जीवनशैली के कारण होनेवाली बीमारियाँ) रोगों में वृद्धि हो रही है। वर्ष 2015 में होनेवाली पचास प्रतिशत मौतों की वजह संक्रामक और गैर-संक्रामक रोग थे, जबकि वर्ष 2001-03 के बीच इन रोगों से 42 प्रतिशत लोगों की मृत्यु हुई थी। विश्व के कुल टीबी रोगी का 26 प्रतिशत भारत में है, जो वैश्विक स्तर पर सावधिक संख्या है। हालांकि टीबी उन्मूलन के लिए हमारे न सावर्भौमिक टकाकारण कार्यक्रम में नये टीके लगाने की शुरुआत भी की है। वैश्विक टीबी उन्मूलन की समय सीमा 2030 रखी गयी है, लेकिन मोदी सरकार ने इसे 2025 ही रखा है। भारत उष्णकटिबंधीय बीमारियों (मलेरिया, हैजा, डेंगू) का भी घर है। हर वर्ष हजारों लोगों की जान इन्हीं रोगों के कारण जाती है। मोदी सरकार द्वारा जोर-शोर से चलाये गये स्वच्छता अभियान के बावजूद इन रोगों में खास कमि नहीं आयी है। मलेरिया हमारे यहां आज भी जलवायु बना हुआ है, लेकिन ओईडिशा में इस मामले में कमी आने से वैश्विक स्तर पर भारत की स्थिति सुधरी है। विश्व स्वास्थ्य संगठन ने इसके लिए भारत की प्रशंसा की है। वायु



प्रदूषण में हमारे कई शहर वैश्विक स्तर पर शीर्ष पर हैं। अक्टूबर, 2018 में आयी विश्व स्वास्थ्य संगठन की रिपोर्ट के अनुसार, पाँच वर्ष से कम उम्र के कम-से-कम 60,987 भारतीय बच्चों की मौत का कारण पीएम 2.5 था, जल प्रदूषण के कारण भी। सैकड़ों लोग हर वर्ष अपंगता के शिकार हो रहे हैं। वर्षों, 130 मरुतु दर (एमएमआर) 22 प्रतिशत घट कर 130 (प्रति एक लाख जीवित शिशु पर) हो गयी है। सतत विकास लक्ष्य का उद्देश्य 2030 तक इस संख्या को घटा कर 70 करना है, जबकि भारत इसे 2022 तक ही प्राप्त करना चाहता है। स्वास्थ्य के कई मानकों पर भारत बेहद पिछड़ा है। इस स्थिति

में सुधार के लिए सरकार द्वारा स्वास्थ्य के क्षेत्र में कुछ महत्वपूर्ण कदम उठाये गये हैं। आयुष्मान भारत योजना के तहत सरकार 10 करोड़ गरीब परिवारों को सालाना पांच लाख रुपये का बीमा कवर दे रही है। अनुमान है कि इससे तकरीबन 50 करोड़ लोग स्वास्थ्य सुविधाओं का लाभ ले पायेंगे। अपनी एक योजना के तहत सरकार ने 1.5 लाख हेक्टेयर और वेलेनस स्टेप स्टॉरिज करने की घोषणा भी की थी। वहीं, मोदी सरकार की योजना नये स्वास्थ्य केंद्र और देश भर के 5,000 जन औषधि केंद्रों में स्थैलांजी लैब खोलने की है। हालांकि, इसके लिए पैसे कहाँ से आयेंगे, यह एक बड़ी चुनौती है। वर्तमान में हमारे देश में बजट का केवल 2.2 प्रतिशत व जीडीपी का महज 1.5 प्रतिशत ही स्वास्थ्य पर खर्च किया जाता है। सरकार ने स्वास्थ्य बजट बढ़ाने का बात कही है। एक और बड़ी चुनौती सरकारी नीतियों के सही कार्यान्वयन और प्रबंधन की भी है। इस और ध्यान देने की बहुत ज्यादा जरूरत है।

## कृषि संकट से निबटना होगा

वर्ष 2004-05 में जोड़ीपी में कृषि (कृषि, वानिकी और मत्स्य पालन) का हिस्सा 21 प्रतिशत था, जो बीते पंद्रह वर्षों में गिर कर 13 प्रतिशत पर आ गया है, जबकि इसकी तुलना में इस क्षेत्र में कार्यबल की संख्या में कोई काम नहीं आया है। देश में लगभग 55 प्रतिशत श्रमबल कृषि क्षेत्र में कार्यरत हैं। अनुमानतः 26 करोड़ लोग इस क्षेत्र में काम कर रहे हैं। इस कारण देश की करीबन 55 से 57 प्रतिशत आबादी कृषि पर निर्भर है, लेकिन सरकारी उपेक्षा के कारण इसकी स्थिति दयनीय बनी हुई है। वर्तमान में इनकी पैशाना का कारण खाद्य कीमतों में गिरावट है, जिससे उत्पादन का लागत नहीं निकल पाता और किसान कर्ज में डूबते चले जाते हैं। अंततः वे खेती से पलायन करने या आत्महत्या करने को विवश हो जाते हैं। मोदी सरकार के बावजूद किसानों को फायदा नहीं मिल पा रहा है। इसी वर्ष सरकार ने यह है, जिसके तहत किसानों को प्रतिवर्ष 6,000 रुपये की दरियों में देने का प्राव मिलेगी। इतना ही नहीं, मोदी सरकार की नयी नीति के अनुसार, 60 वर्ष के बा



A photograph showing a person's hands planting a rice seedling into a muddy field. The person is wearing a white shirt and yellow pants. The field is filled with green rice plants, and the water is muddy brown.

भी कम जिम्मेदार नहीं है। इसी वर्ष मार्च से मई के दौरान प्री-मॉन्सून बारिश में 22 प्रतिशत की कमी आयी है। इस कमी से गन्ना, सब्जी, फल कागज जैसे फसलों के उत्पादन पर बुरा प्रभाव पड़ सकता है। आइए आइए गंभीरानर के अर्ली मॉन्सून सिस्टम द्वारा जारी चेतावनी के अनुसार, देश के 40 प्रतिशत से ज्यादा हिस्से में इस वर्ष सूखा पड़ने की आशंका है और करीब छिटके आगे हिस्से में गंभीर या असाधारण सूखा पड़ सकता है। मॉन्सून के सामान्य से बहुत कम रहने की संभावना भी जतायी जा रही है। नतीजा, फसलों की खेती अर्ली की लागत बढ़ जायेगी, साथ ही उनका उत्पादन भी कम होगा। ऐसी स्थिति में किसानों की आर्थिक स्थिति तो प्रभावित होगी ही अनाज, सब्जी की आपूर्ति कम होने और महंगा बढ़ने से मुद्रा स्मृति भी बदेगी। यानी महंगाई का बढ़ना यावत है।

## शिक्षा तंत्र में बदलाव की जरूरत

अगले साल भारतीय जनसंख्या की औसत आयु 25 साल होने का अनुमान है। ऐसे में रोजगार के समुचित अवसर पैदा करने के लिए सरकार के सामने शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में ठोस पहल करने की चुनौती है। शिक्षा का सीधा संबंध 25 फीसदी आबादी और अर्थव्यवस्था से है। विभिन्न रिपोर्टों ने रेखांकित किया है कि बड़ी संख्या में पेशेवर और उच्च शिक्षा पाये लोग वास्तव में रोजगार के लायक ही नहीं हैं तथा उनकी उत्पादकता असंतोषजनक है। इस स्थिति को बेहतर के लिए प्राथमिक स्तर से ही शिक्षा प्रणाली में आमूल-चूल बदलाव की दरकार है। जाणकारों की मानें, तो इसके लिए सार्वजनिक निवेश को बढ़ाना होगा। भारत अभी अपने सकल घरेलू उत्पादन का मात्र 2.7 फीसदी शिक्षा के मद में खर्च करता है। इसे छह फीसदी करने की मांग लंबे समय से उठती रही है। सरकारों स्कूलों में प्राथमिक और माध्यमिक स्तर पर दशकों से चली आ रही शिक्षा की बदहाली अब बेहद चिंताजनक स्तर पर पहुंच चुकी है। इस क्षेत्र में निजी क्षेत्र की आमद मददगार हो सकती है, पर सरकारी स्कूलों को दुरुस्त किये बिना ठोस समाधान की स्मृद नहीं है। देशभर में 25 करोड़ से अधिक छात्र लगभग 14 लाख स्कूलों में शिक्षा प्राप्त कर रहे हैं। इनमें से 75 फीसदी सरकार द्वारा संचालित हैं। शिक्षक-प्रशिक्षण का स्तरहीन होना और आवश्यक संसाधनों का अभाव हमारी शिक्षा व्यवस्था की बड़ी खामियों में से है। नियमित रूप से संशोधित नहीं होने के कारण पाठ्यक्रम बदलते समय के लिए उपयोगी नहीं रह जाते हैं। उन्हें अद्यतन करने के साथ



के अनुपूरक, को भी जोड़ना चाहिए। शोध, परिणाम एवं देश-विदेश की संस्थाओं से जुड़ाव जैसे पहलुओं के हिसाब से उच्च शिक्षा संस्थानों की समीक्षा करने की आवश्यकता है। उच्च एवं पेशेवर शिक्षा की संस्थाओं के नियमन का प्रश्न भी मानव संसाधन मंत्रालय के समक्ष होगा। राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा नीति के प्रारूप पर संसद और संसद के बाहर उचित चर्चा व सहमति से इसे लागू कराना भी सरकार के लिए आसान नहीं होगा।

# सुरक्षा पर समुचित ध्यान

सरकार को मिले प्रचंड जनादेश का एक प्रमुख आधार राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा का प्रश्न था . पहले चरण में इस मसले पर मोदी सरकार की उपलब्धियाँ उल्लेखनीय रही हैं , पर उसे घरेलू अतिवाद और आतंकवाद , सेना के आधुनिकीकरण तथा चीन एवं पाकिस्तान से संभावित खतरों से निबटने जैसे मामलों से लगातार जुझना पड़ा था . हालांकि नक्सलियों पर अंकुश लगाने में बहुत कामयाबी मिली है , पर कश्मीर में आतंकवाद और अवसरवाद



की चुनौती बेहद गंभीर है। पिछली सरकार के कार्यकाल के पूरा होते रक्षा बजट सकल घरेलू उत्पाद का सिर्फ 1.5 फीसदी रह गया है। इससे सेना के आधुनिकीकरण और जरूरी साजो-सामान की खरीद पर अवरण पड़ा है। इस कमी को पूरा करने के लिए जुलाई में पेश होनेवाले बजट में रक्षा मंत्रि मंत्र खर्च को बढ़ाने की जरूरत है। सेना के तीनों अंगों में प्रशासनिक और पेशेवर सुधारों के साथ सरकार के सामने ठोस व संतुलित राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा रणनीति को तैयार करने की चुनौती भी है।

आतंक और बाढ़ पुरखा को सुदृढ़ करने के लिए हथियारों और अन्य जरूरी उपकरणों की खरीद हमारे देशों से करनी पड़ती है। इस मामले में भारत दुनिया का सबसे बड़ा आयातक है। इससे भारी धन तो खर्च हो रहा है, सामानों को पाने और सेना को सीपे जान में भी बेमतलब देती होती है। इस समस्या से कुछ राहत पाने के लिए बहुत अरसे से रक्षा अनुसंधान और उत्पादन बढ़ाने पर ध्यान देने की मांग उठाने की है, पर इस दिशा में हमारी प्रगति निराशाजनक रही है। वैश्वक जलनीति और रणनीति के क्षेत्र में उपलब्ध-कल माहौल में हथियारों के आयात पर पूरी तरह निर्भर रहना परेशानी का कारण बन सकता है। घरेलू रक्षा उत्पादन से न सिर्फ सैन्य शक्ति को समृद्ध करने में बड़ी मदद मिलेगी, बल्कि इससे अर्थव्यवस्था को भी मजबूती प्राप्त होगी।

## अंतरराष्ट्रीय राजनीति के पेच

विदेश मंत्री एस जयशंकर को पहले दिन से ही अमेरिका-चीन व्यापार युद्ध और ईरान पर अमेरिकी प्रतिबंध के माहौल में भारत के आर्थिक और रणनीतिक हितों को साधने की चुनौती है। चीन के साथ संबंधों को बेहतर करना भी एजेंडे में ऊपर है। अनुभवी कूटनीतिज्ञ होने से तथा मोदी सरकार के पहले कार्यकाल की उपलब्धियों के कारण विदेश नीति के मोर्चे पर जयशंकर को कुछ आसानी रहेगी, परंतु अंतरराष्ट्रीय राजनीति और आर्थिकी का वर्तमान अस्थिरताओं से भरा है। महत्वपूर्ण देशों की ओर से दबाव का सामना करना



## अर्थव्यवस्था की सुस्ती

भारत विश्व की तेजी से विकसित होती अर्थव्यवस्था है. विश्व मुद्रा कोष के मुताबिक, वर्ष 2018 में भारत के अर्थव्यवस्था की अनुमानित वृद्धि दर 7.1 प्रतिशत थी, लेकिन बीते कुछ महीनों से इसने गति देने वाले संकेतक गंभीर समस्या से गुजर रहे हैं, जिससे वृद्धि के वृद्धि दर सुस्त हो गयी है. इस कारण वित्त वर्ष 2018-19 में जीडीपी वृद्धि दर सिर्फ 6.98 प्रतिशत रहने का अनुमान लगाया गया था, जबकि इसके पिछले वित्त वर्ष में जीडीपी



वृद्धि दर 7.2 प्रतिशत थी. वहीं, बीते मार्च में समाप्त चौथी तिमाही में जीडीपी वृद्धि दर गिर कर 5.8 प्रतिशत पर आ गयी। अर्थव्यवस्था की इस सुस्ती का एक प्रमुख कारण औद्योगिक उत्पादन में गिरावट है। विनिर्माण क्षेत्र में सुस्ती बने रहने से इस वर्ष मार्च में देश के औद्योगिक उत्पादन (आइआइपी) में पिछले वर्ष इसी अवधि की तुलना में 0.1 प्रतिशत की गिरावट आयी है। सरकार की आंकड़ों के मुताबिक 21 मार्च में औद्योगिक उत्पादन का यह सबसे

कमजोर प्रदर्शन है. वित्त वर्ष 2018-19 की पूरी अवधि में औद्योगिक वृद्धि दर 3.6 प्रतिशत रही है, जो पिछले 3 वर्षों में सबसे कम है. औद्योगिक उत्पादन में गिरावट का मतलब उत्पादक के लिए मामला 3 कमी है. उद्योग अर्थव्यवस्था का सबसे महत्वपूर्ण पहलू माना जाता है. क्योंकि यह बड़ी मात्रा में रोजगार सृजन का कारक होता है, इसमें कमी का मतलब रोजगार का घटना. आंकड़े बताते हैं कि कार की बिक्री वित्त वर्ष 2017 के सालाना 9.2 प्रतिशत और 2018 के 7.9 की तुलना में 2019 में महज 6.3 प्रतिशत रही है. मांग में कमी की वजह से ही अदलत में कारों की बिक्री में करीब 17 फीसदी की कमी आई है, जो आठ साल की सबसे बड़ी कमी है. कार के अलावा, दोपहिया वाहन-ऑन ट्रेक्टर की बिक्री भी घटी है. इनका भी गैर-टेल, गैर-सिमा, गैर-चांदी और कम कीमती लो-अड्स कीमती पथरों के इस्तेमाल में भी बीते चार महीने में कमी दर्ज हुई है. जीडीपी की निशान्ति में हिस्सेदारी भी वित्त वर्ष 2014 के 25.4 की तुलना में 2019 में 19.7 पर पहुंच गयी है. वहीं, वित्त वर्ष 2019 में रासायनिक घाटा 7.04 लाख करोड़ रुपये रहने का अनुमान है, जो जीडीपी का 3.4 प्रतिशत है. अर्थव्यवस्था की सुसुरती को दूर करने के लिए सरकार को न सिर्फ रोजगार का सृजन करना होगा, बल्कि लोगों की कृषि क्षमता बढ़ाने के उपाय भी करने होंगे।

## तलाशना होगा बैंकिंग संकट का समाधान

नयी सरकार के सामने एक बड़ी चुनौती बैंड लोन से निबटने व वित्तीय सेक्टर में बने नकदी संकट को दूर करने की होगी। दिवालिया कानून (आइबीसी) के जरिये एनडीए प्रथम सरकार ने इससे निबटने का कदम उठाया था. इसका लक्ष्य 10 लाख करोड़ रुपये से ज्यादा के बैंड लोन का समाधान निकालना था. हालांकि, अब भी बैंकों पर बैंड लोन का बोझ बहुत ज्यादा है. वहीं, दिसंबर 2018 तक सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के बैंकों की गैर -निष्पादित परिसंपत्तियां आठ ट्रिलियन रुपये से अधिक थीं. लैंकन अब वित्तीय क्षेत्र में नकदी का संकट खड़ा हो गया है, जिसका समाधान निकालना होगा.

पिछले साल सितंबर में आइएल एंड एफएस के कर्ज डिफॉल्ट शुरू करने के बाद यह संकट बना है. उसके ऊपर करीब 90 हजार करोड़ रुपये का कर्ज है. इसकी वजह से बहुत-सी गैर बैंकिंग वित्तीय कंपनियां कर्ज देने में आनाकानी करने लगी हैं. व्यापार घाटा बढ़ता जा रहा है. अप्रैल 2019 तक भारत का व्यापार घाटा रिकॉर्ड 15.3 बिलियन डॉलर पर पहुंच गया, जबकि माघ में यह 10.9 बिलियन डॉलर था. वहीं, प्रत्यक्ष विदेशी निवेश में भी कमी आई है. वाणिज्य और उद्योग मंत्रालय के आंकड़े के अनुसार, वित्त वर्ष 2019 के अप्रैल-दिसंबर माह के बीच व्यापार घाटा सात प्रतिशत की गिरावट के साथ 33.49 बिलियन डॉलर पर पहुंच गया, जबकि 2017-18 के इसी अवधि में यह 35.94 बिलियन डॉलर था. बीते कुछ समय से एफडीआई में भी कमी आयी है. इस कमी के कारण देश के भुगतान संतुलन पर दबाव पड़ सकता है. नतीजा रुपये के मूल्य में गिरावट आ सकती है. ये कजहें हैं जबकि बढ़ते में सहायक होती हैं. नयी वित्त मंत्री के लिए वित्त क्षेत्र का इन समस्याओं से निबटना आसान नहीं होगा.

