



## Among members

Glaring bilateral and global issues were highlighted at the G-20 summit

As a forum, the G-20 is often watched more closely for the meetings the event affords on its side-lines, than for substantive outcomes. The countries that make up the G-20 (19 nations and the European Union) account for 85% of the world's nominal GDP, and each has pressing issues it wishes to discuss with other members on bilateral, plurilateral and multi-lateral levels. Prime Minister Narendra Modi used the occasion of the G-20 summit at Osaka for as many as 20 such meetings, including nine bilaterals, eight pull-aside engagements, and of the Russia-India-China, Japan-U.S.-India and Brazil-Russia-India-China-South Africa groupings. The most anticipated were President Donald Trump's meetings with his Chinese counterpart Xi Jinping and Mr. Modi, given the escalation in trade tensions. Both ended on a cordial note, but with no breakthrough or "big deals". The Indian and U.S. Commerce Ministers will sit down again, as they have on at least three occasions in the past year, to try to resolve the impasse over trade issues, and the U.S. and China have called a halt to raising tariffs until they resolve issues. Both come as a relief to India, given the impact of those tensions on the national and global economies. Mr. Modi raised several Indian concerns at the G-20 deliberations, including the need for cooperation on dealing with serious economic offenders and fugitives, as well as climate change funding. This found its way into the final declaration. India sent a tough message by refusing to attend the digital economy summit pushed by Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, as his plan for "data free flow with trust", included in the G-20 declaration, runs counter to the Reserve Bank of India's proposed data localisation guidelines. The U.S. wrote in a counter to the paragraph praising the Paris accord, while trade protectionism was not mentioned in the document. On issues such as ocean pollution management, gender equality and concerted efforts to fight corruption, the G-20 found consensus more easily.

With Saudi Arabia hosting the next G-20 in 2020, followed by Italy in 2021, all eyes will soon turn to the agenda India plans to highlight when it holds the G-20 summit in 2022. Many global challenges, such as climate change and its impact, the balance between the needs for speed and national security with 5G networks being introduced, as well as technology-driven terrorism, will become even more critical for the grouping, and the government must articulate its line. India should lead the exercise in making the G-20 more effective in dealing with some of the inequities in its system. The G-20 is an important platform to discuss pressing issues, and it must not be detracted from its original purpose of promoting sustainable growth and financial stability by grandstanding by one or two members.

## New framework

The SEBI regulations for mutual funds will help restore investor confidence

After introducing a new standard framework for credit rating agencies last month, the Securities and Exchange Board of India came up with more stringent regulations to govern the management of mutual funds. The mutual fund industry came under its scrutiny after some mutual funds in the last few months had to postpone redemption of their fixed maturity plans (FMPs). HDFC Mutual Fund and Kotak Mutual Fund came to grief and had to roll over or proportionately reduce redemption of their FMPs in April after some Essel group companies failed to redeem their non-convertible debentures where the funds had invested. According to the new SEBI regulations, liquid mutual fund schemes will have to invest at least 20% of their funds in liquid assets like government securities. They will be barred from investing more than 20% of their total assets in any one sector; the current cap is 25%. When it comes to sectors like housing finance, the limit is down to 10%. These measures are aimed to prevent situations such as the one being witnessed now. While the mandated investment in government securities will ensure a modicum of liquidity, the reduction in sectoral concentration will discipline funds and force them to diversify their risks. Some mutual funds entered into standstill agreements with companies in whose debt instruments the funds had invested. This is not a welcome practice and goes against the interests of investors in the mutual fund. SEBI has done the right thing by banning funds from entering into such standstill agreements. Further, SEBI has required that assets of mutual funds be valued on a mark-to-market basis in order to better reflect the value of their investments.

While SEBI's intent to deal with the risks within the financial system is commendable, there could be unintended consequences to the regulator's actions – which need watching. One of the new regulations introduced by SEBI is to increase the exit load on short-term investments in liquid mutual funds to discourage sudden demands for redemption. This could possibly hinder fund flow into the bond market, which in India is already quite undeveloped when compared to the rest of the world. While SEBI is doing a commendable job in disciplining the markets and intermediaries, the larger question is whether the regulator can really protect investors beyond a certain point. Market investments involve risk, and investors seeking high returns may in fact be willing to assume the increased risk that comes with such investment. That said, what the regulator is probably more concerned about is the ripple effect of defaults and roll-overs on the system. Investor confidence can be shaken by defaults and that will have consequences for the economy. Viewed from this perspective, the regulator's latest rules should be welcomed.

# A thumbs down to unilateralism

The U.S. is acting in defiance of agreed rules to target India's WTO-consistent policies



BISWAJIT DHAR

Economic relations between India and the United States are on a knife-edge after the U.S. took a series of unilateral actions against India's exports, that began in 2018, followed by India's recently announced retaliatory move of increasing tariffs on 28 products imported from its largest trade partner. As a result of these developments, India has become the Trump administration's most significant target after China.

No one could have summed up the essence of the U.S.'s unhappiness over India's policies as well as U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo in his recent statement in New Delhi. He said, "The United States has been clear we seek greater market access and the removal of trade barriers in our economic relationship." Soon after, U.S. President Donald Trump sought withdrawal of tariff increases effected recently by India, saying that for years, India has "put very high tariffs against the United States". What needs to be noted is while similar complaints have been made by successive U.S. administrations over the past few decades, the tone and tenor of the Trump administration has distinctly upped the ante.

### Some background

Let us recall some of the major instances where the U.S. has questioned India's trade and other related economic policies. In the past, U.S. agencies – in particular, the Office of the United States Trade Representative (USTR) and the United States International Trade Commission (USITC) – have

"investigated" India's trade policies, the conclusions of which have been used by the administration to demand changes in policies that would benefit American businesses. The latest demands stem from two extensive USITC investigations which were conducted between 2013 and 2015 on India's trade, investment, and industrial policies.

These investigations were carried out at the request of the U.S. House Committee on Ways and Means and the U.S. Senate Committee on Finance "under section 332(g) of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1332(g)) regarding Indian industrial policies that discriminate against U.S. imports and investment for the sake of supporting Indian domestic industries, and the effect that those barriers have on the U.S. economy and U.S. jobs". The first of these investigations, the report of which was submitted towards the end of 2014, covered only the opening months of the first Narendra Modi government, following which a second request was made by the two Congressional Committees to investigate the performance of the government in its first year in office. This report was submitted in September 2015.

### Propriety and procedures

The main message that was conveyed by these investigations was that American businesses strong disapproved several of India's key policies on trade and investment and that these policies had to be amended. Although in 2014, the USITC seemed to support the direction of the Modi government's economic policies in its first few months, in the second report, which covered the government's first year in office, the familiar tone of disagreement over India's trade and investment policies appeared once again. The investigations conducted by the U.S. agencies raise several issues of



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propriety, procedures and substance. These three dimensions need to be understood well for this is the only way in which the Government of India can prepare appropriate responses to the persistent questioning by the U.S. administration of its trade and investment policies.

The first is the issue of propriety. It is important to mention here that all of India's trade-related policies (which include intellectual property rights that were investigated and questioned in the two USITC reports were done under the cover of the U.S.'s domestic laws. This is tantamount to unilateralism, the response to which should be an unequivocal "no" in this age of multilateralism, where differences on policy issues between sovereign countries must be resolved in the appropriate multilateral forums. The possibilities of a stronger power using unilateral means should be eliminated. It is in this spirit that the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was established as an integral part of the post-war global economic governance. GATT was replaced by the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995.

The areas that were investigated by the USITC during the two investigations were also those that are covered by the WTO. Therefore, propriety and global trade rules demanded that the concerns of

American businesses about India's policies had to be addressed within the WTO through consultations among the members. The main purpose of the GATT/WTO is to provide a forum for the resolution of disputes by following multilaterally agreed rules. The global community agrees that this would be the best way of preventing countries from getting into trade wars, which had pushed the global economy into the depression of the 1930s. The only country disagreeing with this position is the U.S.; it seems intent on pushing its trade partners into trade wars.

### Flawed step

Now to the procedure of conducting the investigations. This was deeply flawed for it provided a platform for vested interests in the U.S. to make common cause against India's policies. What is more, in these investigations, U.S. government agencies have been not only acting as the judge and the jury but also actively engaged in getting the findings of the investigations implemented.

As mentioned earlier, the substance of the investigations touched trade-related issues that are covered by the WTO agreements. Since the establishment of the WTO, India's policies have mostly been consistent with its commitments; where they have not been, other WTO members, including the U.S., have approached the dispute settlement body of the organisation to make India fall in line.

The fact that the U.S. is not approaching the WTO to challenge India's trade and investment policies that American businesses find detrimental to their interests implies the following: India's largest trade partner is acting in defiance of agreed rules to target India's WTO-consistent policies. Take, for instance, India's high tariffs which have left Mr. Trump greatly per-

turbed. These tariffs were agreed to in the Uruguay Round negotiations in consultation with all members of the organisation. Moreover, in the period since, India has lowered tariffs on many agricultural and industrial products. Contrast this with the U.S.'s position wherein it continues to defend its high levels of agricultural subsidies which are used for lowering commodity prices to levels at which no other country can have access to its domestic market. Thus, the U.S. does not need tariffs to protect its agriculture; it uses subsidies, instead. The WTO also informs us that the U.S. also uses very high tariffs on tobacco (350%), peanut (164%) and some dairy products (118%).

### What is at the core

The India-U.S. discord over trade stems from a deep-seated desire of U.S. businesses to have a bigger footprint in the Indian economy, and to achieve this goal, the administration is stepping beyond legitimate means. This discord defies Mr. Pompeo's simplistic formulation that "great friends are bound to have disagreements". In fact, the basis of the discord lies in the way the U.S. has been targeting India's policies, disregarding the rule of law. Early resolution of this discord seems difficult as the U.S. has decided to undermine the WTO's dispute settlement mechanism and walk down the path of unilateralism instead. Under these circumstances, the Government of India would have focus on two fronts: to remain engaged with its largest trade partner and to also engage actively with the global community to make the U.S. understand the imperatives of a rules-based trading system.

Biswajit Dhar is Professor, Centre for Economic Studies and Planning, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi

# Adding value to a third innings

Finland wants to strengthen the European Union's global leadership in climate action



ERIK AF HÄLLSTRÖM

Good governance, clean nature, a silent people, midnight sun, frosty winters, heavy metal and saunas are some of the features commonly associated with Finland and Finns. As Finland's Presidency of the Council of the European Union (EU) begins from July 1, the country has an opportunity to bring forth and present the values it believes in. Openness, transparency and equality are not just words for Finns; they are in Finland's DNA.

Seeing these values increasingly emerge in cooperation between India and the European Union is great news. Finland wants to strengthen the EU as a global actor and sees India as a key partner in tackling global challenges. India

and the EU share the same values of democracy, tolerance and a strong rules-based international order.

The union was formed to ensure peace and prosperity in Europe after the Second World War. It began as purely economic cooperation between the six founding member states. Today the EU is an organisation with common laws and regulations which span policy areas from climate, environment and health issues to external relations, justice and migration.

This is Finland's third engagement with the EU Council Presidency. In 1999, its slogan was "Europe into the new Millennium". In 2006 the integration of 10 new EU member states was a cross-cutting theme. The Presidency rotates between the member states, and the Finnish Presidency is preceded by the Romanian Presidency and succeeded by the Croatian Presidency. The three countries form a troika, agreeing on certain principles together. While the Lisbon Treaty (2009) reduced the



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role of the Presidency, it is still important in trade, development cooperation, enlargement, legal and consular affairs. The task of the Presidency is to bring forward the EU agenda.

### The buzzword

Sustainability runs through the identity of Finland's Presidency. Delegates attending meetings in Helsinki will be served organic, and locally produced Finnish food; the emphasis will be on vegetarian fare, with the use of plastic reduced. Finland wants to lay stress on the importance of a circular economy by replacing the use of paper and plastic material with digital applications and Fin-

nish innovations. During Finland's six-month tenure, there will be six informal ministerial meetings in the country.

The implementation of the EU-India Strategy is close to Finland's heart. The EU Council adopted the strategy in November 2018. As an ambitious document, it spells out clear priorities to develop further already excellent EU-India relations in sectors such as trade, terrorism, defence, science and global affairs. In New Delhi, the EU delegation and member states will implement the strategy together. It goes without saying that Finland hopes for a breakthrough in free trade negotiations and a resumption of the dialogue on human rights.

The EU is complex by nature. The responsibilities of the EU institutions and the member states need to be explained repeatedly and this applies to Finland and India. However, for Finns it is easy to speak about the EU in positive terms. Finland's membership is a value-based choice because it has

anchored the country permanently to the West. The support for the EU is at a record high in Finland. Its currency is the Euro. Further, most Finns consider themselves both Finnish and European. The EU is a unique economic and political union that binds 28 countries together.

After the European parliamentary elections that were held in May 2019 in all 28 countries, a new leadership and a new Commission will be appointed. In addition, there will be challenging issues brought to the table during the six months Finland holds the Council Presidency. These include the multi-annual budget, migration and Brexit, the process of the United Kingdom's departure from the EU. Finland wants to deepen security cooperation in the EU. If at the end of December, Finland has contributed to this agenda having been brought forward, then there will be reason to be content.

Erik af Hällström is Deputy Head of Mission, Embassy of Finland, New Delhi

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Letters emailed to letters@thehindu.co.in must carry the full postal address and the full name or the name with initials.

### A truce

The truce in the trade war between the U.S. and China which was arrived at on the sidelines of the G20 summit in Japan is a significant development that the world has been anxiously waiting for (Page 1, "Trump, Xi seal trade war truce", June 30). The Trump administration's aggressive trade policies have the potential to result in unwarranted economic consequences at a time when the world economy is already sluggish. Short-sighted moves to protect existing jobs may result in a failure to create new jobs.

N. SADHASIVA REDDY,  
Bengaluru

### On the RBI

That the Reserve Bank of India is under compulsions, in terms of directives issued by the government under provisions of the RBI Act, to maintain inflation at 4% (-/2) for a five-year period (2016-2021) and is accountable for any breach on this count needs to be appreciated before putting it in the dock for its obsession with inflation targeting (Editorial page,

"Even central banks need 'capital' infusion, June 29). The ball is in the government's court. A similar obligation is cast by the FRBM Act on the government to have the fiscal deficit in check. Both prescriptions are essentially political with ideological underpinnings. At the present juncture, when there is a need to accelerate growth and employment, a strong case exists to recast the straightjacket approach. However, it would be unrealistic to expect such a move from a dispensation which is preoccupied with GDP growth, ease of doing business and looking to the West for policy prescriptions.

MANOHAR ALEMBATH,  
Kannur, Kerala

### Negligence

It is unacceptable that a fundamental procedure of infusing the same type of blood, for which the patient was tested, was grossly overlooked at the Anantapur Government General Hospital in Andhra Pradesh ("Transfusion of wrong blood type kills woman", June 30). How do

patients repose their confidence in our medical services? Many readers will not forget the incident where a woman was administered HIV-infected blood, again due to sheer medical negligence.

D. SETHURAMAN,  
Chennai

### Demolition drive

The move by the Andhra Pradesh government to bring down a structure, Praja Vedika, built by TDP leader N. Chandrababu Naidu, seems to be one taken in haste ("Hall built by Naidu demolished", June 27). Chief Minister Y.S. Jagan Mohan Reddy could have used the facility for an indoor sports centre, a library or leased it to a private party. It is all about the wastage of public money. Mr. Jagan Reddy's party has been given a massive mandate but along with this should be a demonstration of good sense.

G. VENKATAKUPPUSWAMY,  
Bengaluru

■ It may be true that the structure built under the Naidu regime flouted norms.

But what is important too is who will reimburse the taxpayer's money and who decides that demolition is the only way out. The structure could have been used in a better way – a home for destitutes or the disabled, as an orphanage, as an old age home or even as a rehabilitation centre. The haste with which the decision was made raises questions.

SHRIKANTH KOLATHAYA,  
Puttur, Karnataka

■ Perhaps rules do not insist on fixing accountability and punishing the culprits for causing a loss to the exchequer. If, according to the explanation now, the sprawling hall is one among various structures that violated the River Conservancy Act and orders from the National Green Tribunal, the wrong-doings by the previous government should be subject to legal scrutiny. People have a right to know who authorised the constructions and under what circumstances. There are hundreds of unauthorised structures across India that are examples of the flouting of

various rules. If one or more structures can be saved without a major setback to the ecology, a substantial loss can be eliminated. Prima facie the demolitions seem more political than ecological.

P.R.V. RAJA,  
Pandalam, Kerala

### Retired life

Retirement should at best be a comma and never a full stop (Open Page, "Post-retirement blues, paths", June 30). While ageing is a continuous process, it is the state of the mind that really matters; one should be able to relish one's retirement years with as much joy as one did the first flush of youth and middle age. The secret of true bliss post-retirement is to avoid an idle mind. There are several avenues in today's world for those who have retired. In

### CORRECTIONS & CLARIFICATIONS:

In the report, "Afraid of BJP's 'New India': Ghulam Nabi Azad" (June 25, 2019), *Ranjan Daimary* was referred to as a Rajya Sabha MP from Bodoland People Front. It is *Biswajit Daimary*.

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# It's time to act, not do more research

The resources spent in drafting educational policies should instead be spent in implementing solutions



PHILIP G. ALTBACH  
& ELDHO MATHEUS

In its first 100 days, Prime Minister Narendra Modi's second government has begun yet another rethink of higher education policies through the draft NEP (National Education Policy) and EQUIP (Education Quality Upgradation and Inclusion Programme). This is the latest, and seemingly among the most elaborate, in an endless series of official reports and programmes aimed at improving higher education in independent India. The Radhakrishnan Commission of 1949, the National Education Policies of 1968 and 1986, the Yashpal Committee of 2009, the National Knowledge Commission in 2007, and the draft NEP of 2019 have all basically said the same thing.

While it is always valuable for various government committees to point to the importance of higher education for economy and society, it is not necessary to convene many experts through initiatives such as EQUIP to tell the government and the academic community what they already know. Perhaps the time, energy and resources that EQUIP will require can be better spent implementing the obvious. Everyone agrees that higher education needs significant improvement, especially as India seeks to join the ranks of the world's premier economies.

### Inadequate allocation of funds

However, central to both quality improvement and increased access is money. Higher education in India has been chronically underfunded – it spends less than most other BRICS countries on higher education. The last Budget allocated only ₹37,461 crore for the higher education sector. Other related ministries and departments such as Space, Scientific and Industrial Research, Skill Development and Entrepreneurship, Science and Technology, Health Research and Agricultural Research have been allocated only modest support. Inadequate funding is evident at all le-



"The challenge is not only to enrol students and improve graduation rates but also to ensure that they are provided with a reasonable standard of quality." Students fill admission forms in New Delhi in June. •PTI

vels. All State governments, which provide the bulk of higher education money, also fail to adequately support students and institutions.

The Central government, responsible mostly for the top of the academic system, does not provide sufficient resources. Even the Institutions of Eminence scheme falls short of requirements and is dramatically behind similar programmes in China and several European countries. Funding for basic research, which is largely a Central government responsibility, lags behind peer countries. Apart from Tata Trusts, Infosys Foundation, and Pratiksha Trust, industry provides little support. Thus, India requires substantial additional resources for higher education to improve quality and build a small but important "world class" sector. Massive effort is needed at both State and Central levels – and the private sector must contribute as well.

A key goal of EQUIP and the NEP is that India must expand the percentage of young people enrolled in post-secondary education significantly. It is interesting to note that while the draft NEP aims at increasing the gross enrolment ratio to at least 50% by 2035, EQUIP targets doubling the gross enrolment ratio to 52% by 2024. At present, India's gross enrolment ratio is 25.8%, significantly behind China's 51% or much of Europe and North America, where 80% or more young people enrol in higher education. India's challenge is even greater because half of the pop-

ulation is under 25 years of age. The challenge is not only to enrol students, but to ensure that they can graduate. Non-completion is a serious problem in the sector.

And of course, the challenge is not only to enrol students and improve graduation rates but also to ensure that they are provided with a reasonable standard of quality. It is universally recognised that much of Indian higher education is of relatively poor quality. Employers often complain that they cannot hire graduates without additional training. The fact that many engineering colleges even today have to offer "finishing programmes" to their graduates underlines the pathetic state of quality imparted by these institutions.

India needs a differentiated academic system – institutions with different missions to serve a range of individual and societal needs. Some "world class" research-intensive universities are needed. Colleges and universities that focus on quality teaching and serve large numbers of students are crucial. Distance education enters the mix as well. The draft NEP's recommendations for a differentiated system of research universities, teaching universities, and colleges are in tune with this. However, the ways suggested to achieve these objectives are impractical.

The private sector is a key part of the equation. India has the largest number of students in private higher education in the world. But much of private higher education is of poor

quality and commercially oriented. Robust quality assurance is needed for all of post-secondary education, but especially for private institutions.

The structure and governance of the higher education system needs major reform. There is too much bureaucracy at all levels, and in some places, political and other pressures are immense. Professors have little authority and the hand of government and managements is too heavy. At the same time, accountability for performance is generally lacking.

### Recommendations

India needs: (a) dramatically increased funding from diverse sources, and the NEP's recommendation for a new National Research Foundation is a welcome step in this direction; (b) significantly increased access to post-secondary education, but with careful attention to both quality and affordability, and with better rates of degree completion; (c) longitudinal studies on student outcomes; (d) to develop "world class" research-intensive universities, so that it can compete for the best brains, produce top research, and be fully engaged in the global knowledge economy; (e) to ensure that the private higher education sector works for the public good; (f) to develop a differentiated and integrated higher education system, with institutions serving manifold societal and academic needs; (g) reforms in the governance of college and universities to permit autonomy and innovation at the institutional level; and (h) better coordination between the University Grants Commission and ministries and departments involved in higher education, skill development, and research.

The latest draft NEP and EQUIP have reiterated the importance of some of these points. There is really no need to spend money and attention on a new review. The needs are clear and have been articulated by earlier commissions and committees. The solutions are largely obvious as well. What is needed is not more research, but rather long-neglected action.

Philip G. Altbach is research professor and founding director, Centre for International Higher Education at Boston College, U.S. Eldho Matheus is an independent higher education researcher based in New Delhi

### FROM THE READERS' EDITOR

## Fair reporting demands appropriate words

Why the media uses the term Dalit



A.S. PANNEERSELVAM

Some issues tend to keep surfacing, no matter how many times you address them. On August 20, 2018, I wrote a column, "Why context matters", to explain why news reports use the term 'Dalit'. When the Information and Broadcasting (I&B) Ministry issued an absurd advisory to the media in 2018 on the use of the term Dalit, this newspaper carried an informed editorial, "What's in a name?" (September 6), which once again explained not only the rationale but also the ethical imperatives for using the term.

Yet, recently, a reader, Tarun Pal, wrote an angry letter to us asking why *The Hindu*, an English language newspaper, uses the term Dalit, a Hindi word, and not Scheduled Caste. Mr. Pal argued that if the idea is to describe the daily ordeals of a section of people, it would be prudent to name the specific community rather than use the general term Dalit. Another reader, Mahesh P. Padukone, wondered about the efficacy of using the term. He wrote: "Congresswoman Pramila Jayapal stating that 'Fifty two per cent of Dalit respondents feared their caste would be 'outed' and 67% said they faced discrimination at the workplace' in the U.S. is far-fetched because I seriously doubt an American even knows or cares about 'Brahmins', 'Dalits', 'Adivasis'... For them, it's an 'Indian' without the ramifications of caste."

This brings us back to the question, is the word Dalit used without any application of mind? Is it discriminatory? How did the change happen from Mahatma Gandhi's Harijan to Dalit? And where does the official term Scheduled Caste fit into this narrative?

### Historical context

Eminent economist and former chairman of the University Grants Commission, Sukhdeo Thorat, in his book, *Dalits in India: Search for a Common Destiny*, explained the significance of the term Dalit. He said that this term was invoked in a conscious manner in 1932 when B.R. Ambedkar worked out the Poona Pact with Congress leaders to secure reserved seats for the depressed classes to the provincial legislatures and the Central

Legislature. Mr. Thorat argued that the term Scheduled Caste is a legally defined category, but that the media and academics can use other words to capture the context and problems faced by communities. He also made it clear that Dalit is a Marathi word, and means the oppressed and resourceless.

Scholars have also consistently argued that the term Scheduled Caste remains neutral, while the term Dalit provides the cultural and political context to the struggles of a people. In this newspaper, the academic Ananya Vajpeyi wrote an article, "A modern-day enlightenment" (April 17, 2014), explaining some of these contentious issues. She cited D.R. Nagaraj's influential essay, "Self-Purification v/s Self-Respect: On the Roots of the Dalit Movement" to make several points: "First, that it was Gandhi who initially grasped untouchability as a political problem (albeit his own concerns were spiritual and not material); second, that Gandhi and Ambedkar debated their divergent approaches to the problem of untouchability in a vigorous manner both before and after the Poona Pact of 1932; and third, that by the end of their long encounter with one another, Gandhi and Ambedkar had internalised one another's ideas." She examined how Nagaraj explained the difference between Harijan and Dalit as the "difference between the caste Hindu's struggle for self-purification and the outcaste's struggle for self-respect" because the "self" in the two situations is not the same.

### Pregnant with meaning

History apart, the Press Council of India, the statutory body that regulates the print media, has ruled that there cannot be a ban on the use of the word Dalit in the media. When the I&B Ministry advisory, which was based on an order of the Bombay High Court, was issued, the regulatory body said: "Our reading of the Bombay High Court order is that it did not seek a ban on the word 'Dalit'. We deliberated on the order and have come to the conclusion that it is advisable not to issue directions/orders prohibiting the use of word Dalit."

This newspaper is alive to the fact that the term Dalit is "pregnant with meaning, reflecting the struggle of a community to reassert its identity and lay claim to the rights that were denied to them for centuries". Hence, it becomes the duty of the media to use it.

readerseditor@thehindu.co.in

## Start with preventive care

Doctors must encourage the continuum-of-care approach among patients

PRATHAP C. REDDY

The medical profession is a calling. It requires sacrifice and grit to become a healer, a clinician, and from then on, it is a responsibility and commitment to a lifetime of service and learning. Beyond the initial years of studying medicine, doctors have to work very hard every single day to upgrade their knowledge and skills.

What makes the process more challenging is the dynamic nature of the world we live in today. Knowledge and the nature of knowledge are evolving, driven by technological developments. Healthcare challenges have also constantly evolved. Doctors have reduced many feared ailments to stories of the past. But ailments have also remodelled and resurfaced and are posing different tests to doctors today.

Challenges are not new to doctors; in fact, they are doctors' companions right from the time he or she decides to enter the medical profession. I would urge every doctor to bear this in mind. No medical professional should be disheartened by the recent incidents of violence against members of the fraternity. I was pleased to see the support of fellow professionals, citizens and the government towards the fraternity's call for stronger laws to ensure its safety.

### Developments in healthcare

There are fabulous developments taking place in healthcare today. Health is on the national agenda for the first time after Independence. Ayushman Bharat is a game-changer. It will cover the cost of medical care for almost 40% of India's population, while the 1,50,000 Health and Wellness Centres being developed will strengthen the national focus on preventive healthcare.

There is a willingness amongst our administrators to hear the perspectives of the sector. Innovative plans are on the anvil to boost medical education and hospital infrastructure. Skilling for healthcare is gaining momentum, and will undoubtedly be a key engine for job creation. Millions

of medical value travellers from over a hundred countries are choosing India for medical and surgical treatment. Huge investments are being made to build hospitals, contemporary medical centres and remote healthcare models. As a clinician with over six decades of experience, I am confident that we have all the elements in place for a healthier and happier India. There is no better time to be a doctor than today.

### The big challenge today

Non-communicable diseases (NCDs) are a big challenge today and need serious tackling. The World Health Organization has been ringing the warning bells for the last few years on the challenges that NCDs pose. NCDs have been rapidly growing. Cancer, stroke, obesity and diabetes are some of the ailments growing at an alarming pace. They affect people across ages and threaten the younger population

a lot more than the older population. But there are only finite manpower and resources to manage the problem. The limited pool of medical professionals, technicians and nurses, equipment and hospital beds will make it very difficult to tackle the onslaught of patients and diseases in the coming decade. The entire medical fraternity must come together to tackle this threat with a disruptive and innovative approach of creating a continuum of care. This will enable healthcare to start from preventive care instead of limiting medical excellence to curative care. Doctors must encourage an attitude of care continuum among patients.

On the occasion of National Doctors Day, doctors need to pledge again the medical oath. They have to be the harbingers of change in the attitudes and approaches towards healthcare. They need to become role models for their patients to lead healthier lives. They must educate patients about NCDs, and promote preventive care.

Prathap C. Reddy is Chairman, Apollo Hospitals Group



### DATA POINT

## How women travel to work in big cities

More women use public transport to travel for work than men in big cities. Women become more dependant on buses and metro trains as the distance to work increases. With the Delhi government proposing free bus and metro rides for women in the city, we look at the extent of public transport use.

By Vignesh Radhakrishnan and Siddarth Rao T.

### Use of public transport

Close to 37% of women who travel to work use public transport in Delhi. That figure is significantly higher than the % of men who do the same: 28. This trend is true for most big cities. The table below shows the % of working men & women who use public transport

City	Men	Women
Mumbai	49	53
Chennai	25	39
Kolkata	35	38
Delhi	28	37
Bengaluru	29	33
Hyderabad	21	29
Ahmedabad	11	17

### Data source

The data are sourced from Census 2011. By that year, Delhi's metro network was fairly advanced. The network, which started in 2002, extended to 96 km by 2009 and 184 km by 2010-11 before the Commonwealth Games. Thus, the data will be fairly indicative of how women travel today in Delhi

### More women travel smaller distances compared to men

In Delhi, compared to 64% men who travel more than 5 km for work, only close to 53% women do so. The trend is fairly common in all big cities. The table shows the proportion of men and women who travel 0-1 km and 0-5 km for work

City	Distance travelled : 0-1 km		Distance travelled : 0-5 km	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Hyderabad	12	21	51	58
Ahmedabad	15	23	44	57
Mumbai	23	23	56	56
Kolkata	27	29	45	55
Chennai	15	23	47	51
Bengaluru	18	26	47	49
Delhi	19	22	36	47

### Distance factor

The preference for public transport increases as the distance to work increases. The table shows the proportion of women who take public transport across distances. Women who travel 11-20 km rely more on public transport than those who travel smaller distances

City	Distance travelled for work		
	2-5 km	6-10 km	11-20 km
Delhi	33	52	59
Ahmedabad	54	60	88
Mumbai	43	44	75
Kolkata	29	27	51
Chennai	39	48	63
Bengaluru	33	42	57
Delhi	13	20	37

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### FROM The Hindu ARCHIVES

FIFTY YEARS AGO JULY 1, 1969

### 'Desai calls for export of minerals'

Deputy Prime Minister Morarji Desai to-day [June 30] said increased export of minerals could "play a large part" in making up the deficit balance of trade. He told the third annual convention of the Federation of Indian Mineral Industries here [New Delhi] that the Government came in the field of mineral exploration and export to compete in world markets. Full co-operation and co-ordination between the Government and the private mineral industries could help India capture foreign markets. "I hope we will do so," he added. He said people should give up the habit of collaborating with other countries for everything. "We have to develop minerals on our own and have to compete with others." Mr. A.K. Rungta, President of the Federation, in his address, suggested the formation of a "mining finance corporation" to meet the financial requirements of the minerals industry in the country. In his address at the third annual general meeting of the Federation, Mr. Rungta said the minerals industry was faced with numerous problems, creation and availability of adequate financial resources for the growth of the industry being one among them.

A HUNDRED YEARS AGO JULY 1, 1919.

### The Straits Riots. Mob Shot At.

The Penang riots bear slight comparison with similar happenings in Singapore, where the cause was anti Japanese feeling culminating on Thursday 19th June in attacks on shops and individuals. The police had to fire on the mobs and several Chinese and Tamilians were killed and wounded. Captain Chancellor, Inspector General of Police, was struck on the head with a heavy stick, but though dazed by the blow he remained on duty. Placards inciting the Chinese to attack Japanese were posted but were speedily removed. The anti Japanese feeling in Singapore is bitter and the Manchester regiment stationed there had to be called out to assist the police and the movement spread to Penang where it developed into food riots owing to high prices. Shops of prominent Chinese who had been fined for profiteering were attacked and had to be defended by police. Rice shops were looted. All work was suspended at the docks. Obstructions were placed by the rioters on streets, such as trees, blocks of stone, beams and poles, and when these were removed and volunteers proceeded to another spot the obstructions were replaced.