



SHORTHAND INSTITUTE
SKILLS TODAY | BETTER TOMORROW

PROGRESSIVE SHORTHAND

NEW ADDITION
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Reading and Dictation Passages have been marked for 20 words each, so that the same can be dictated for 80 to 160 wpm speed.

Law & Legislation Ex. 1 - 12

Exercise 1

Mr. Deputy Speaker, this is a measure which we think is being rushed through the House in an atmosphere of ²⁰ mystery. Even the Hon'ble Member who has been associated with the Public Accounts Committee for such a long time and ⁴⁰ who is now the present Chairman of the PAC has put forward his views very eloquently to tell ⁶⁰ us how this is a matter of great complexity and is sought to be rushed through, without proper details being ⁸⁰ made available to the Members of Parliament. Why this attitude is being taken by the Government? Suddenly, after so many ¹⁰⁰ years, Government feels one night that they must have audit separated from accounts and promulgate an ordinance. Thus legislation by ¹²⁰ Ordinance has become almost the order of the day. This discloses an attitude of taking the Parliament for granted in ¹⁴⁰ every vital matters. Of course, this is an important Bill which need not be opposed from political point of view ¹⁶⁰ and it is an important piece of legislation but this is sought to be placed before the House. They think ¹⁸⁰ they can pass any legislation they like so long as the present composition continues, and they need not take ²⁰⁰ Parliament into confidence. This is our basic charge. We are being asked to give our thoughts to a piece of ²²⁰ legislation which requires very thorough study. The Minister may be happy with the bureaucratic advice he receives. They do not ²⁴⁰ realise what its full implications are. They are quite satisfied with the bureaucratic advice they get. We want to know ²⁶⁰ the real objective separating audit from accounts or accounts from audit and come ²⁸⁰ out with an Ordinance and come up to the House with something which has been accomplished as it were and ³⁰⁰ then say, you please give your formal assent to it, and so on. Sir, we object to it on principle. ³²⁰ Rushing through measures such as these is not a correct thing to do. There have been sustained attempts going on ³⁴⁰ to bring down all edifices in the national life of our country, even in the Governmental functioning of the country. ³⁶⁰ We are objecting to this on principle. This is a matter which should have been conceived on proper considerations. Parliament ³⁸⁰ should have been taken into confidence in much greater detail about its full implications being the highest body as such. ⁴⁰⁰

ELOQUENTLY: power of fine speech; PROMULGATE: to make known to the public; IMPLICATIONS: meanings; EDIFICES: large building.

Handwritten shorthand notes corresponding to the text, including words like 'mystery', 'PAC', 'legislation', 'ordinance', 'confidence', 'principle', 'edifices', 'implications', 'eloquently', 'promulgate', and 'sustained'.

Exercise 2

Of course, this is a technical matter and I do not feel much competent to speak on the implications of ²⁰ it or how it will ultimately affect us, because what we find is, even much more competent people of the ⁴⁰ category of CAG etc. have not been able to be unanimous on this point. There have been ⁶⁰ so many views offered. There was reference made to the recommendations of the P.A.C. So many riders were ⁸⁰ there. The Estimate Committee had given certain recommendations. There are the recommendations of the A.R.C. The recommendations are ¹⁰⁰ subject to so many riders, so many conditions. All these things should have gone into in depth and if they ¹²⁰ had not made up their minds so far, what suddenly happened just now? Why should they pass an Ordinance on ¹⁴⁰ the 29th of February? Why cannot they wait for 7 days for the House to reassemble? They just come to ¹⁶⁰ this House with this attitude, which cannot be appreciated.

In the Statement of Objects and Reasons they have stated the ¹⁸⁰ circumstances necessitating legislation by ordinance. It appears that they have made up their mind to do it with effect from ²⁰⁰ 1st April, to complete the exercise before that date. Without taking the view of the legislature, the executive ²²⁰ has come to a decision and they have stated, as it were, implementing the decision. To start with they want ²⁴⁰ to do it in connection with three Ministries. The present accounting system applicable to most Ministries and Departments is essentially ²⁶⁰ external to financial management functions where the payments are made by the treasuries and accounts are compiled by the Audit ²⁸⁰ and Accounts Offices under the control of the Comptroller and Auditor-General on the basis of initial and subsidiary accounts ³⁰⁰ received by them from the treasuries. This system worked fairly well when Governmental business was limited. With the increase in ³²⁰ the volume and variety of Governmental outlays, the system has proved inadequate to the administration's stakes and separation of accounts ³⁴⁰ from audit had to be thought of. There are doubts in our minds which have been very valid if I ³⁶⁰ may say so, expressed by my friend who has studied the matter in greater details. Therefore, we submit that this ³⁸⁰ is not a matter which should be hurried through. As the Hon'ble Speaker on the other side said just now, ⁴⁰⁰ we are still in the dark and we are trying to make a study of the matter. He says, may ⁴²⁰ be, the management control will be good. But, we must know about the Task Forces whose reports are not available. ⁴⁴⁰

UNANIMOUS: agreement in total; RIDERS: conditions; ORDINANCE: decree by the king; TREASURY: King's place to keep wealth;

Handwritten notes in shorthand script, likely representing the content of the printed text in a shorthand form.

Exercise 3

I rise to support this Bill brought forward by the Government in regard to Land Ceiling in Delhi area.²⁰ Sir, as has been said by my colleagues from both sides of the House, and ceiling is one aspect of⁴⁰ land management in the agricultural economy of this country. While supporting the Bill, I would like to draw the attention⁶⁰ of the Hon'ble Minister, who himself is a knowledgeable person and who knows more about land management, to two important⁸⁰ points which occur to me. One point is that land should be productive, productive in the real sense so that¹⁰⁰ they may be able to take not only one crop but two crops as well. They will be in a¹²⁰ position then to generate more surplus for the consumers. In this connection the latest reports of the National Sample Survey,¹⁴⁰ the RBI and Agricultural Census published by his Ministry are very bright. I do not want to go¹⁶⁰ into the details because so many Hon'ble Members have said about this and the Hon'ble Minister is also aware of¹⁸⁰ this. By and large, what comes out is that a very large number of people are holding small acreages and²⁰⁰ therefore, it has to be seen whether these large number of people will be able to manage this and what²²⁰ efforts will have to be put in by the Government and the banking system in that regard.

Sir, I was²⁴⁰ surprised to learn that about 63 per cent of the agricultural population which contributes goods worth about Rs. 1,700 crores²⁶⁰ needs roughly about Rs. 7,000 crores for its consumption requirements. Therefore, the rural indebtedness is increasing day by day.²⁸⁰ Similarly, it is seen from the agricultural census and the report of the National Sample Survey that the small farmers³⁰⁰ and the marginal farmers are being converted gradually into what are called agricultural labourers. Therefore, you cannot create industrial opportunities³²⁰ if there is this staggering conversion of marginal and submarginal farmers to agricultural or landless labourer. Therefore, it is necessary³⁴⁰ that the land which is going to be made available should be made productive, and this is the present need³⁶⁰ of the country. In this connection, I would like to draw the attention of the Hon'ble Minister to a very³⁸⁰ illuminating research carried out by one lady scientist and which has been published very recently.⁴⁰⁰

STAGGERING: dismaying; ILLUMINATING: shining.

Handwritten shorthand notes in Devanagari script, corresponding to the typed text on the left. The notes are written in a cursive style, using various symbols and abbreviations to represent the words and phrases of the original text.

Exercise 4

It is seen from there that the marketable surplus of the marginal farmers is directly linked to the rates to be given for their products. We see here that whenever the Agricultural Prices Commission advises the Government to fix the prices, the economists say that it will create inflation and that there will be transfer of resources from the urban to the rural population and so on. I do not know what actually it means. But the difficulty is that they are not giving proper prices to the farmers for their products. For that purpose, if the marketable surplus is to be taken from farmers, then care has to be taken, particularly with regard to the distribution of land whether it is in Delhi or anywhere else in this country so that proper relationship is maintained whereby marketable surplus is made available. Now, I do not want to go into the question of small farmers and large farmers. My Hon'ble friend on the other side has given out his own views. But very recently we have seen some Russian experts expressing the opinion that small farms are not productive to the extent desired and that they require a different type of services to see that the small farms are productive in our country. But in Japan we see that the small farms are productive. Somebody talked about tractor prices. We see that the prices of fertilisers, oil and so many other inputs have increased to such an extent that to the farmer who is going to get such land out of this surplus land to cultivate it and make it an economic and viable unit requires some efforts for giving him incentive prices.

In this connection, I want to refer to other agencies, small ³⁰⁰ farmers and medium farmer's societies. Now, the scheme of rural banks, the efforts of the nationalised banks and the co-operative ³²⁰ banks are there. With all these, still the problem is so much that mere distribution of land will not be ³⁴⁰ the solution for keeping rural indebtedness under control. For that purpose, I think, more risk-oriented capital has to be ³⁶⁰ put in. Subsidy on agricultural inputs, incentives on mechanisation scheme have to be given at such level where by the ³⁸⁰ marginal farmer or the small farmer will be induced to produce more. It is my experience that in metropolitan cities ⁴⁰⁰ like Delhi, Mumbai, Calcutta and Chennai you have now enacted laws for small farmers and created distribution agencies for ⁴²⁰ the available surplus land but no steps are taken for benami land held by professionals like doctors and lawyers. ⁴⁴⁰

INPUTS: ingredients; VIABLE: practicable; INDEBTEDNESS: debts to pay; MARGINAL: at the last unit of scale.

Handwritten text in Arabic script, likely a religious or historical document, written on lined paper. The text is dense and covers most of the page, with some lines starting with a large, decorative initial letter. The script is cursive and characteristic of the Maghrebi or Ottoman style.

Exercise 5

I am thankful to all the Hon'ble Members who have participated in the debate. Some Hon'ble Members expressed certain reservations²⁰ about some of the provisions of the Bill. But all the same, it has been a brief but very interesting⁴⁰ debate. My friend expressed certain views. I thought that his party had become wiser because of some developments in the⁶⁰ country and because of the way the problems of land and agriculture in this country were getting solved. And my⁸⁰ understanding was that party broadly agrees with the national guidelines on the ceiling laws. Once I had some talk with¹⁰⁰ his leader and I was told that the party broadly agrees with the land reforms legislation and guidelines. But opposite¹²⁰ views I have heard just now from my Hon'ble friend. Sir, these broad guidelines and the national ceiling laws have been broadly¹⁴⁰ accepted in this country as part of the land reforms and there has been, by and large, a part of the¹⁶⁰ land reforms and there has been, by and large, a general consensus, irrespective of party platforms. But while my friend¹⁸⁰ spoke about the Bill, though he did not positively say that he is opposed to the provisions, he expressed certain²⁰⁰ views. For instance, he thought there are certain contradictions involved in the Government policies as far as land ceiling laws²²⁰ are concerned. He asked, how is it that, on the one hand, the Government is promoting mechanisation and, on the²⁴⁰ other, the Government wants to have farms of 8 hectares.

Now, I would like to tell my friend that as²⁶⁰ far as India is concerned, first of all, this is not a country where we can afford to have big²⁸⁰ farms. The days of big farms, absentee landlordism and very large holdings have gone. In fact, we can claim very³⁰⁰ legitimately that one of our very proud achievements is that we have done away with landlordism, we have done³²⁰ away with big landlords and big estates. We want this country to be a country of small farmers. But there³⁴⁰ were certain persons, certain individuals, certain categories of persons, who had in their possession very large holdings. I do not³⁶⁰ think they can have it now. But naturally whatever may be the problems of agriculture in this country, we have³⁸⁰ tried to find solutions in its own background. We cannot follow the pattern of either the Soviet Union or America.⁴⁰⁰

CEILING: upper limit; CONSENSUS: agreement; CONTRADICTIONS: denials; LEGITIMATELY: properly; ESTATES: large property.

Handwritten shorthand notes corresponding to the printed text, written in a cursive style on lined paper.

Exercise 6

If International experience has any lesson to teach us, it is that even small farms can be productive farms, can²⁰ be paying farms. For instance, take the case of Japan. My friend may be aware that the size of Japanese⁴⁰ farms is less than the average size of our farm holdings but even then they are highly mechanised and they⁶⁰ use small tractors and power tillers. So, there is no basic contradiction. On our scheme of things, we do not⁸⁰ contemplate that every individual should own a tractor. In fact, what we are trying to help and support in this¹⁰⁰ country is that tractors and power tillers should be available either through co-operative societies or through service centres or through¹²⁰ agro-industries corporations. So, there should be an institutional framework to provide adequate draft power and necessary machinery for cultivation.¹⁴⁰ I do think there is any contradiction involved. But we do not think that every farmer should own a tractor.¹⁶⁰ He also made a statement that there is no ceiling on income from business and why should there be a¹⁸⁰ ceiling on land? This matter has been discussed and debated in this House for over two or three decades now.²⁰⁰ The position of land availability in this country or the land-man ratio in this country is well known. If²²⁰ a few persons are allowed to have large holdings, it would have created lot of tension in the countryside.²⁴⁰ It is not, therefore, in the interests of the country. But, I quite concede that it is not possible to²⁶⁰ distribute land in the rural areas on the basis of calculation of heads. This is the other extreme which we²⁸⁰ do not want. We do not want wide disparities to prevail in land holdings. We cannot compare the agricultural sector³⁰⁰ with industrial sector. That has not been the thinking in this country. The ruling party does not have such views.³²⁰ He made one point with which I broadly agree. He said that while allotting land there should be some minimum.³⁴⁰ We have advised the State Governments that whatever land is allotted to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes or other³⁶⁰ landless persons should fulfill the minimum requirement in regard to the size so that they can make out a living³⁸⁰ from that land. But when the landless persons are so many and demands and pressure are so much, the State⁴⁰⁰ Government will naturally have to compromise on that taking into consideration the local situation. So, naturally, they have to cut⁴²⁰ down the sizes of the lands whenever the people are more and land is not enough. I hope the people shall also compromise there.⁴⁴⁰

TILLERS: one who plough the field: CONTEMPLATE: to plan thoughtfully: DISPARITIES: inequalities:

Handwritten shorthand notes corresponding to the printed text, written in a cursive style on lined paper.

Exercise 7

The debate on this new Constitution Amendment Bill or these provisions in this Bill which is under consideration, is now ²⁰ going on but some people started objecting that there are certain basic changes in the Constitution. They have started objecting ⁴⁰ to the passing of this Constitution Amendment Bill questioning whether this House has got its mandate? Let us discuss it ⁶⁰ on the basis of these points which have been raised by some Hon'ble friends. My friends have aptly said that ⁸⁰ this House has got the mandate on the basis of the programmes of the party given in 1971, ¹⁰⁰ I do not want to refer to all that. But, if in order to uphold the Constitution, in order to ¹²⁰ work within the framework of this Constitution, certain changes are made in order to give relief to the poorer sections. ¹⁴⁰ I do not know where is the conflict therein and where is the question of mandate that comes in. The ¹⁶⁰ mandate is there. The moment this House was elected, composed of 526 members, they have their bounden ¹⁸⁰ duty to secure for the society justice, social economic and political. This is envisaged under the Bill.

What are we going to ²⁰⁰ do by this amending process? They said, erosion of Fundamental Rights. The Law Minister and other Members also explained ²²⁰ that any laws passed in the furtherance of the Directive Principles that is, Chapter IV of the Constitution, should ²⁴⁰ not be challenged on any of the grounds mentioned in Articles 14, 19 and 31. What are the things that ²⁶⁰ are mentioned in the Directive Principles. The things are betterment of the society, welfare of the people and in its ²⁸⁰ totality, whatever is possible, that is to be done. I would like to add one word here. So far as ³⁰⁰ these things which were not being done earlier are concerned, an attempt has been made to do them and also ³²⁰ to see that the society marches forward both in the economic sphere and political sphere and also to transform the ³⁴⁰ society into an egalitarian society. Certain new clauses have been added for this purpose, which are laudable. But, some persons ³⁶⁰ have found fault with it, I do not know what is their argument. Let us take the question of erosion ³⁸⁰ of the judiciary. No powers of the judiciary have been curbed; rather the powers of judiciary have been streamlined. ⁴⁰⁰

AMENDMENT: alterations; MANDATE: command, order;
TRANSFORM: change; EGALITARIAN: approach to
economic equality;

Exercise 8

We have seen out of our experience what actually has been the role of the judiciary in our country. One ²⁰ after the other the judiciary tried to interpret the Constitution in a manner they wanted to do and even by ⁴⁰ one judge's point of view, either in the High Court or Supreme Court, they wanted to uphold that their views ⁶⁰ were supreme and none else's. Though we are in this democratic process and we believe in democracy and adult franchise, ⁸⁰ yet this view of the representatives of the people in this House and in the other House are not supreme ¹⁰⁰ only, the judges' views are supreme. This is nothing but a new nepotism on the part of the judiciary who ¹²⁰ deliver judgements as if they are the only kings and rulers in this country and nobody else, completely ignoring the ¹⁴⁰ will and consent of the people who send their representatives to this House to look after their welfare and well-being. ¹⁶⁰ Therefore, the question of erosion of the judiciary does not hold any ground. I have gone through one of the ¹⁸⁰ articles published in the Indian Express sometime before. About Fundamental Duties, particularly, they mention and I say that the challenges follow ²⁰⁰ the noble ideals that inspired our national struggle for freedom. Our national leaders took part in the national struggle and ²²⁰ they aptly have said that there are certain Fundamental Rights and those Rights, particularly referring to Article 14, 19 and ²⁴⁰ 31 are, somehow or the other, being taken in view of the Directive Principles of the State Policy of the ²⁶⁰ Constitution. I do not know what is their actual view point. If their view point is to stick to the ²⁸⁰ law that is the Fundamental Rights are Fundamental Rights, then those Fundamental Rights are for whom? Those Fundamental Rights are ³⁰⁰ for the so-called higher strata of the society, for the so-called haves and not for have-nots. What is ³²⁰ their grievance? The poorer sections of the society, the vast multitudes of the country do not consider that Fundamental Rights ³⁴⁰ are embedded in the Constitution. They consider what their fundamental needs are. Their fundamental needs is that their hunger should ³⁶⁰ be removed and their economic conditions redressed. In view of these things, which one is to be given more weightage, ³⁸⁰ the poorer sections who are demanding better transformation of the society. The problems of the poorer sections are to be ⁴⁰⁰ given more weightage. This position, in brief, seemed to have shocked many people. With this view, these Articles or Constitutional ⁴²⁰ changes which are under consideration, are welcome measures and ought to be framed. There is no doubt about it. ⁴⁴⁰

FRANCHISE: right to vote; NEPOTISM: favouring one's kins;
GRIEVANCES: complaints; EMBEDDED: to lay in.

Handwritten shorthand notes corresponding to the typed text on the left, written in a cursive shorthand style.

Exercise 9

Honourable Members, Space Technology plays a central role in improving the lives of the common man, providing early-warning²⁰ of impending disasters, identifying location of natural resources, providing signals to various means of communication and ensuring national security.⁴⁰ It is the endeavor of my Government to maximize the use of space technology for human welfare. Several facilities such as⁶⁰ roads, houses for poor, farming or equipment for fishermen have all been linked to space technology. Space technology has helped⁸⁰ us in further strengthening our security at land, air and water. Our expertise in accurate weather forecast has improved.¹⁰⁰ This was evidenced during the recent 'Cyclone Phani' that struck the eastern coast of the country. Due to accurate information and¹²⁰ timely preparation, large scale destruction to life and property was averted. India is marching forward to assume a leadership role¹⁴⁰ in unravelling and comprehending the mysteries of space. Our scientists are involved in the preparations for the launch of 'Chandrayaan-2',¹⁶⁰ which will be India's first spacecraft to reach the Moon. We are also making rapid progress towards achieving the goal of¹⁸⁰ sending the first Indian in India's own 'Gaganyaan' by 2022.

During the Lok Sabha elections, the country²⁰⁰ attained another milestone, which however, did not receive as much attention as it should have. With the successful testing of²²⁰ 'Mission Shakti' a new dimension has been added to India's capability in space technology and security-preparedness. For this, today²⁴⁰ I once again congratulate our scientists and engineers. The role of technology in the field of security is expanding continuously.²⁶⁰ Keeping this in view, work is in progress to establish three joint service agencies for space, cyber and special forces.²⁸⁰ These collaborative efforts will strengthen the security of the country. New India is rapidly moving towards occupying its rightful place³⁰⁰ in the world community. Today, India has acquired a new image and our relations with other countries have become stronger.³²⁰ It is a matter of immense pleasure that in 2022, India will host the G-20 Summit.³⁴⁰ The world community enthusiastically supported India's proposal to declare June 21st as 'International Day of Yoga' by the United Nations.³⁸⁰ At present, several programmes associated with International Day of Yoga are being organized with great enthusiasm in various countries,³⁸⁰ of which the most important events was held the 21st June this year at all over the world.⁴⁰⁰

IMPENDING: something bad to happen;

ENDEAVOUR: serious effort;

COLLABORATIVE: cooperative, helping each other;

ENTHUSIASTICALLY: with great excitement.

Exercise 10

Honourable Members, the world community supports India's position on various issues such as climate change, economic and cyber-crime, action²⁰ against corruption and black money and energy security. Today the whole world stands with India on the issue of terrorism.⁴⁰ Designation of Masood Azhar, responsible for dastardly terrorist attacks on our soil, as a global terrorist by United Nations,⁶⁰ is a major testimony to this fact. My Government's 'Neighborhood First' policy is an evidence of our approach of according priority⁸⁰ to South Asia and countries in the adjoining region. India will play a crucial role in the progress of this¹⁰⁰ region. Accordingly, trade, connectivity and people-to-people contact are being encouraged in this region. My Government is also conscious¹²⁰ of protecting the interests of Indians living and working abroad. Today an Indian, if caught in any crisis abroad,¹⁴⁰ is confident of receiving timely help and relief. Several services ranging from passports to visas have been made easy and accessible.¹⁶⁰ Due to the efforts of my Government, India's philosophy, culture and achievements have got a distinct recognition at the global stage.¹⁸⁰ This year, the 150th birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi, which is being celebrated world over, will provide a fillip²⁰⁰ to India's 'Thought Leadership'. Similarly, programmes related to the 550th birth anniversary of Guru Nanak Dev ji, will help²²⁰ spread the light of India's spiritual wisdom throughout the world. New India will be sensitive and also, economically prosperous.²⁴⁰ But for this to happen, nation's security is of utmost importance.

My Government accords top most priority to national security.²⁶⁰ Therefore, effective steps are being taken to tackle Terrorism and Naxalism. India has amply demonstrated both her intent and capabilities,²⁸⁰ first through surgical strikes and then through air strikes after the Pulwama attack at terrorist hideouts across the border.³⁰⁰ In future too, all possible steps will be taken to ensure our security. Illegal infiltrators pose a major threat to our³²⁰ internal security. This is leading to social imbalance in many parts of the country, as well as putting a huge³⁴⁰ pressure on limited livelihood opportunities. My Government has decided to implement the process of 'National Register of Citizens' on priority³⁶⁰ basis in areas affected by infiltration. Security along the border will be further strengthened to prevent infiltration. While on the³⁸⁰ one hand, Government is working to identify the infiltrators, on the other, it is also fully committed to protecting the⁴⁰⁰ victims of persecution due to their faith. In this regard, efforts will be made to amend the Citizenship Act while⁴²⁰ protecting the linguistic, cultural and social identities. My Government is making efforts with complete dedication in this direction for future.⁴⁴⁰

DASTARDLY: dangerous; **TESTIMONY:** proof;
FILLIP: to encourage; **INFILTRATION:** enter secretly;
PERSECUTION: to trouble physically.

Exercise 11

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am very thankful to my Hon'ble colleague for having made a very enlightened speech on the ²⁰ Bill and the various issues involved. There was a considerable discussion on the merits and demerits of the legislature. I ⁴⁰ must thank various Hon'ble Members for the very learned and profound discussion which they have had here in this House ⁶⁰ today. While thanking them for that, I must say, since that question was not an issue before the House, I ⁸⁰ will not waste the valuable time of the Hon'ble House by replying to that.

In the Statement of Objects and Reasons ¹⁰⁰ of the Bill it has been stated that equal representation is the main object of federalism or something to that ¹²⁰ effect. While agreeing that is one of the purposes or one of the objectives, I cannot agree that ¹⁴⁰ is the sole objective or the purpose. Considerable discussion has taken place amongst the Constitutional pundits; essays have been written, ¹⁶⁰ books have been written about this question. While conceding to what my Hon'ble friend has said that it is one ¹⁸⁰ of the purposes, the modern trend seems to be, as one of the Constitutional writers has said that it is ²⁰⁰ not the equality of the States that is the main purpose but what it calls, it is the essence of ²²⁰ Statehood that is the main purpose. What is meant by that statement is that in view of the diversity in ²⁴⁰ a State, the various interests in a State, the various sections of the people which constitute a State, it is ²⁶⁰ the representation of sum total of the essence of Statehood that is represented in the Upper House. I think there ²⁸⁰ is much to be said on that.

Sir, I was going through the discussion that took place in the Constituent ³⁰⁰ Assembly. Nobody referred to this aspect of the matter because it seems there was a consensus that the second aspect ³²⁰ of the problem as discussed by Constitutional writers, it is the essence of Statehood namely, representation of the various interests, diverse ³⁴⁰ people, diverse cultural and other aspects, which is the purpose of the representation in the Upper House. As a result except one ³⁶⁰ Hon'ble Member, nobody mentioned even the question of equal representation of States. The main emphasis was on whether there was ³⁸⁰ necessity for a legislature and on these lines, we have had an excellent treatment of the subject in the House. ⁴⁰⁰

PROFOUND: deep, intense; DIVERSE: varied;

Exercise 12

Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the outset, I wish to express my sincerest thanks to all the Members and the Ministers²⁰ of State for Law for their participation in this debate and I take this opportunity of congratulating the Hon'ble Member⁴⁰ for what I consider his maiden appearance in a debate in this House after taking over the charge of the⁶⁰ Ministry. When I started this debate, you must have noticed that I spoke in a very low key. I spoke⁸⁰ in a low key because I was apprehensive that, as my amendments are to curtail the number of Members of¹⁰⁰ some States; passions may be roused and if passion is roused, the purpose of the discussion would be lost. I¹²⁰ am happy that Members approached the debate dispassionately and calmly and, in fact, we had a very good discussion, as¹⁴⁰ I see it, on all points. My Hon'ble friend criticised the Whip system and I understand why he has criticised.¹⁶⁰ Because it appears that the Whip of his party did not permit him to speak in the Presidential Address debate.¹⁸⁰ Therefore, what he could not speak in the Presidential Address debate he tried to speak here and though most of²⁰⁰ what he said had no relevance to the subject matter except referring to my Bill once, his whole speech was²²⁰ on other subjects. Therefore, I think I need not reply to them. As this morning the Prime Minister has replied²⁴⁰ to all the points and during the debate on the Presidential Address, there was enough discussion on these points.

My²⁶⁰ Hon'ble friend has supported me but as an extremely intelligent Member of the House, he has tried to give in²⁸⁰ a clever way, very different political overtone to it. He said that the Bill should be the first step³⁰⁰ for increasing the power of the States. I beg to differ from him so far as this is concerned because³²⁰ I feel that in a country like ours with so many diversities and separatist forces, there must be a strong³⁴⁰ Centre and one of the essences or basic features of the reason for which two Chambers theory is encouraged, as³⁶⁰ to keep a check on the separatist forces. My own view was on which the Hon'ble Member differed that³⁸⁰ if only some of the States are given too much representation, they may upset the balance at some time.⁴⁰⁰ The Bill to give more representation and powers to the States is not welcome, as this shall lead to rise of⁴²⁰ the separatist forces. Therefore, our Constitution has laid the basis of strong Centre in the interest of unity as such.⁴⁴⁰

Handwritten shorthand notes corresponding to the typed text on the left, written in a cursive shorthand style on lined paper.

MAIDEN: to occur for the first time; APPREHENSIVE: fearful;
DISPASSIONATELY: without any emotion; DIVERSITIES: variety.

Exercise 13

I am honoured to be present here with President and Secretary General and other leaders at the launch of the²⁰ UN Democracy Fund. This was proposed by President at the UN General Assembly last year and has received widespread⁴⁰ acclaim. Its relevance is underscored by its becoming a concrete reality in just a year's time. May I take this⁶⁰ opportunity to express our solidarity with the people of New Orleans and other regions, devastated by the destructive fury⁸⁰ of Hurricane Katrina? Mr. President, you have our sympathies and support in your efforts to bring relief from pain to the¹⁰⁰ people affected by this disaster. Excellencies, India is proud of its democratic heritage which is rooted in the country's cultural traditions¹²⁰ of tolerance, respect for different view points and a ready embrace of diversity. Mahatma Gandhi led us into a non-violent¹⁴⁰ struggle not only to free India from colonial rule but to also ensure to our people the exercise of their¹⁶⁰ democratic rights. To him it was clear that the end to colonial rule would mean very little unless the broad¹⁸⁰ masses of the people of India were empowered with democracy. We were also inspired by the ideals of freedom, equality²⁰⁰ and justice that were the hallmarks of the great French and American revolutions. India's awakening to freedom, in turn, inspired²²⁰ freedom movements in Asia and Africa. A whole family of independent and proud nations took their place on the world stage.²⁴⁰ India sympathized with and supported their struggle to become masters of their own destiny. For us, the democratic ideal²⁶⁰ is a common heritage of mankind. Those fortunate to enjoy its fruits have a responsibility to share its benefits with others.²⁸⁰

As the world's largest democracy, it is natural that India should have been among the first to welcome and support the³⁰⁰ concept of a UN Democracy Fund. We believe that democracy based on universal adult suffrage empowers the most humble³²⁰ citizen of our country and give him a sense of dignity. Poverty, illiteracy or socio-economic backwardness do not hinder³⁴⁰ the exercise of democracy. Quite the contrary, our experience of more than 50 years of democratic rule demonstrates how democracy³⁶⁰ is a most powerful tool to successfully overcome the challenge of development. But most of all, democracy alone gives the assurance³⁸⁰ that the developmental aspirations of the poorest citizens of our society will be taken into consideration by such programmes.⁴⁰⁰

I bring the best wishes and felicitations of the people of India to this august Assembly meeting in its historic 60th Session.⁴²⁰ India has a special regard for the United Nations. The ideals of the UN run parallel to our own⁴⁴⁰ civilizational ethos. This is the ancient Indian concept of "Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam" or "the whole world is one

Handwritten notes in shorthand script, likely representing the content of the typed text on the left, written on lined paper.

family". It is this⁴⁶⁰ idea of a shared destiny, which encouraged this august Assembly, five years ago, to adopt the Millennium Development Goals.⁴⁸⁰ May I take this opportunity to convey our deep condolences and sympathies to the Government and the people of United States⁵⁰⁰ on the widespread destruction caused by hurricane Katrina. At the turn of the century, there was growing recognition that the⁵²⁰ contemporary challenges of pandemic diseases, environmental depredation and terrorism demand a global response. At the same time there was hope and optimism.⁵⁴⁰ The world community welcomed advances in science and technology, which made it possible as never before in human history⁵⁶⁰ to confront these challenges. We had confidence in mobilizing the collective will and wisdom of nations to herald a new⁵⁸⁰ era of peace and prosperity. Five years later, we find that the international community is generous in setting goals,⁶⁰⁰ slow in pursuing them. We must therefore, make greater efforts to mobilize the needed resources to meet the Millennium Development Goals. This would be a wise investment for the⁶²⁰ future. Failure will only make our task in the future more difficult and more costly.

We in the developing world face⁶⁴⁰ a dual challenge. The domestic one of managing political, economic and social change in an environment of rising expectations and⁶⁶⁰ growing disparities as well as the global challenge of securing an international environment conducive to meeting our developmental aspirations. These challenges⁶⁸⁰ are interlinked and success or failure will affect us all. We welcome the agreement reached on the Draft Outcome Document⁷⁰⁰ to be adopted tomorrow. It is a roadmap for the work ahead to re-orient the organization to meet the challenges⁷²⁰ of the present. India will be a willing participant in this process. All of us assembled here recognize that the⁷⁴⁰ United Nations is in need of urgent and comprehensive reforms. The management of global interdependence requires strong international institutions and⁷⁶⁰ a rule-based multilateral system. The reform of the United Nations must be based on this principle. It must include⁷⁸⁰ the expansion of the United Nations Security Council in both permanent and non-permanent categories of membership. Unfortunately, the United Nations suffers⁸⁰⁰ from a democracy deficit. Its structure and decision-making processes reflect the world of 1945 as such,⁸²⁰ not the world of year 2015. Unless the UN becomes more representative of the contemporary world and more relevant to our concerns.⁸⁴⁰

DESTINY: future goal; **SUFFRAGE:** right to vote;
CONTEMPORARY: current time;
COMPREHENSIVE: detailed.

Handwritten notes in Progressive Shorthand (Monthy) script, corresponding to the printed text on the left. The notes are written in a cursive, shorthand style using various symbols and abbreviations.

Exercise 14

This exhibition was to be opened on January 26, the day we become a sovereign democratic republic. It shows the²⁰ things manufactured in our country, in the village and in the towns, handicrafts as well as machine-made products.⁴⁰ We have to consider in which of these items we should expand production and which we should do more in the⁶⁰ national interest. Twenty years ago, we pledged to work for complete independence. By God's grace we have redeemed that pledge; we need not⁸⁰ go into the many causes due to which we did not have to suffer as much for it¹⁰⁰ as we might well have suffered. But usually we do not value fully those things for which we do not have¹²⁰ to suffer much. Gandhiji underwent the biggest suffering for Swarajya. There were others, too who followed in his footsteps¹⁴⁰ and sacrificed a lot. It was no easy task to integrate such a big country, with its many religions and languages,¹⁶⁰ which had never been one country. So many different States had to be integrated and organized in order that the¹⁸⁰ whole country should be free. But we had comparatively little trouble; we have, therefore, not enough appreciation for this.²⁰⁰ That however, is not the end of our task.

What has been achieved so far is like a peasant preparing²²⁰ the ground for cultivation. The true Swarajya of Gandhiji's dreams has still to be created by us in India.²⁴⁰ Those who held up our work have left. There is no obstacle now. But millions in our country are suffering today.²⁶⁰ They need food, clothing and shelter. At least there should be no lack of these things under self-rule. We do not²⁸⁰ grow as much food as we need. Burma and some of the food surplus areas in our country have now³⁰⁰ separated from us. There is thus a deficit. To ensure that food is available everywhere and no one starves,³²⁰ we have to import foodgrains. Arrangements have to be made to ensure at least subsistence rations everywhere, thus necessitating various controls.³⁴⁰ These lead to many evils. In such a big country, it is not easy to have rationing and controls.³⁶⁰ The Government is often brought into disrepute. People take bribes. Much else happens. But it is all our doing.³⁸⁰ Aliens have not hand in this. People blame the Government. To a certain extent they are right not fully also.⁴⁰⁰

This exhibition shows, among other things, how to grow more food, what to do and use for this purpose,⁴²⁰ what we are doing in this respect and where. We have to become independent of food imports and mostly grow what⁴⁴⁰ we need. It is a difficult

Handwritten shorthand notes in a cursive style, corresponding to the printed text on the left. The notes are written on lined paper and include various symbols, numbers, and abbreviations used in shorthand.

task, especially for a country weakened by years of slavery and foreign exploitation.⁴⁶⁰ A poor country does not become affluent only by achieving freedom. But if all work unitedly, it can be done.⁴⁸⁰ Gandhiji said our Swarajya depended upon the Charkha; we could spin our way to Swarajya. But we did not do that.⁵⁰⁰ The swarjya we have gained is not the real thing. Real swarajya we can have by producing in our country⁵²⁰ what we need. For this we will have to change our habits. We will have to transform our villages. We have⁵⁴⁰ to pledge ourselves not to use imported goods. Of course, if there is anything not produced in our country,⁵⁶⁰ but required in the national interest to produce more wealth, like machinery, it will have to be used. But we should,⁵⁸⁰ as far as possible, not even touch foreign products. Things made by our poor brothers and sisters in our villages⁶⁰⁰ and our towns have to be encouraged. All free countries do this. Their people are taught this from childhood.⁶²⁰

Our industrialists and other capable people should try to manufacture the machines we now import and make our economy self-reliant.⁶⁴⁰ Unfortunately, we have a dispute with a neighbour of ours. We have the factories in Calcutta which used to utilise all the⁶⁶⁰ jute grown in Pakistan. The Government of India has done its best to see that economics of both the⁶⁸⁰ countries are not hampered. But no agreement that we reach is implemented by them. We have to act alone.⁷⁰⁰ They refuse to deliver even the jute paid for in advance, thus harming both countries. If they cannot guarantee to implement agreements,⁷²⁰ we had better not depend on them. Let us grow the jute and the cotton and the foodgrains⁷⁴⁰ we need. It is rather hard because we import a lot of foodgrains while they have enough and to spare;⁷⁶⁰ they got all the best cultivable and irrigated lands and turned out the occupants who are now refugees here. We have⁷⁸⁰ to make arrangements for these people bear with their anger and their sorrow, while their golden lands has been usurped⁸⁰⁰ by other. We have asked loudly and repeatedly for a settlement but Pakistan obstinately refuses to do so. Thus the⁸²⁰ dispute lingers on. It can be resolved only by frank and broad-hearted fraternal talks between all the parties.⁸⁴⁰

SOVEREIGN: authority to rule;

STARVES: to die of lack of food;

ALIENS: foreigner;

HAMPERED: to interfere obstruction;

USURPED: to deprive forcibly or without legal right.

Exercise 15

We have now come to realize that it is easy to plan but difficult to plan within our resources.²⁰ We have to cut our coat according to our cloth. When we came to office, I thought the first requirement⁴⁰ in the country was external and internal security. You must have any plan unless there is security. I started planning for the⁶⁰ intergration of whatever remained of the country and also tried to secure peace because I found that the world⁸⁰ had changed. We have tall talk of world peace, but there is no country in the world which is not¹⁰⁰ in a disturbed condition. Even the countries which had freedom for centuries and which had never been slaves are in¹²⁰ a disturbed condition. In this country, which won freedom only yesterday and which has a past legacy of so many¹⁴⁰ disturbing elements, it is impossible to make progress unless we first restore order. On top of it came partition which¹⁶⁰ made our task difficult. We were just settling down when came the devaluation. Things are not entirely in our hands¹⁸⁰ even today to plan for the progress of the country because we depend upon so many outside factors which govern us.²⁰⁰ The planners have to take into account many extraneous circumstances.

My own view which I have not concealed²²⁰ and which I have expressed often to the displeasure of many is that if we had not played false to²⁴⁰ ourselves and to our country, large imports of food would have been unnecessary. We have plenty of food in this country.²⁶⁰ Five or ten per cent of deficit in a huge country like this is not difficult to make up by²⁸⁰ increased production, by prevention of waste, by putting in maximum efforts to economise and also by applying our hearts unitedly³⁰⁰ in the matter of giving up food-stuffs where they are surplus. There are some provinces which are surplus and³²⁰ others are deficit. Whenever a province tries to procure the surplus food from the people, we do not speak with³⁴⁰ one voice. Some of us put our province first and the rest of the country afterwards. We know that our³⁶⁰ neighbours are, in spite of their best efforts, not getting enough to eat and yet we feel that if we feed³⁸⁰ our province the rest does not matter. Considerable Planning is required to make the Presidents and Chief Ministers meet.⁴⁰⁰

Planning, however good, will not work till we realize our responsibility and till we feel that it is our obligation⁴²⁰ to help in the implementation of a scheme that has been planned.

Handwritten shorthand notes in Progressive Shorthand script, corresponding to the printed text on the left. The notes are written in a cursive, shorthand style using various symbols and abbreviations.

It is not the Congress organization alone,⁴⁴⁰ but there are other groups whose business it is to destroy everything that we do. Their main function is to find⁴⁶⁰ fault with everything we do, however good it may be. There are some groups who are bent on creating disruption⁴⁸⁰ and dislocation and go to the length of creating chaos, committing murders and dacoities, removing rails and tampering with communications.⁵⁰⁰ These are matters of great concern. On that account considerable amount of strain has been placed on the Government.⁵²⁰ In spite of all that, we have, to large extent, restored order and this has been appreciated by the people who come⁵⁴⁰ from outside. This is practically the only stable country in the whole of Asia and it is one place⁵⁶⁰ where we can stem the tide of aggression and disorder. Many have expressed admiration for the work that has been done⁵⁸⁰ but that work would not last unless we have enough food in the country to feed our people.⁶⁰⁰

Machinery will not solve the problem because millions of idle hands who have no work cannot find employment on machines.⁶²⁰ India's Planning must necessarily differ from the Planning of highly developed and industrialised countries. India is primarily agricultural country⁶⁴⁰ and in a country as thickly populated as India is, idleness is the greatest disease. Gandhiji's Planning was, therefore, of⁶⁶⁰ a different kind and it was difficult. But it is difficult to plan on a non-industrial basis also. We must⁶⁸⁰ industrialize our country quickly and efficiently in certain directions. Otherwise we are doomed in the modern world because a⁷⁰⁰ modern army requires many things which only machines can produce, apart from arms and ammunition, uniforms and stores, jeeps and⁷²⁰ motor cars, aeroplanes and petrol. If industry is not developed in the country we have to depend to external sources.⁷⁴⁰ If the world succeeds in bringing about conditions in which no country requires an army, then the scheme of self-sufficiency⁷⁶⁰ in villages would be the ideal thing to work for. But that is not so. We have to plan⁷⁸⁰ both for industry which is immediately necessary and for agriculture which is of primary importance. Today the most controversial question⁸⁰⁰ in the country which has brought the Government into trouble and made it unpopular is controls. This Government has not⁸²⁰ got the machinery for effective controls in any sphere. It has got barely enough staff to run the administration.⁸⁴⁰

LEGACY: anything handed down from past;

EXTRANEIOUS: irrelevant alien;

RESTORED: to bring back into existence.

Handwritten shorthand notes in Progressive Shorthand script, covering the right side of the page. The notes are written in a cursive, shorthand style, corresponding to the typed text on the left.

Exercise 16

Madam, Deputy Chairperson, I am glad for the opportunity given to me to speak a few words on the subject. ²⁰ The National Highways Act as well as the present Bill introduced, both use the term a national highway. A national ⁴⁰ highway is a highway that is notified by the Government of India. But there are no norms under which the ⁶⁰ national ways are constructed. There are no norms given in any of these. Before taking up any road as a ⁸⁰ national highway, we must go into what the traffic condition is, what are the roads that should be taken over ¹⁰⁰ by necessity, what are the essential traffic conditions and other conditions. These must be looked into. But what are the ¹²⁰ norm being adopted is not given in this Bill. I find there are some discrimination also. For example, in Tamil ¹⁴⁰ Nadu there is only one highway, Highway No. 45. There is no other national highway in Tamil Nadu. The problem ¹⁶⁰ is that the Tamil Nadu Government has asked for so many roads to be taken over as national highways, particularly ¹⁸⁰ highway to Salem Steel Plant. It is the main road, with very heavy traffic. In between there is Neyveli, a ²⁰⁰ major lignite project. There is a big road, a highly essential road, that was asked by the State Government ²²⁰ to be taken as a National Highway. It is not considered. Subsequent to this National Highway 45, no road is taken ²⁴⁰ up as a National Highway. Therefore, through you, Madam, I ask the Hon'ble Minister to consider this and take up ²⁶⁰ all the roads referred to by the Government of Tamil Nadu as a National Highway because Tamil Nadu is one ²⁸⁰ of the States in India which has motorable roads to almost all the villages in the State.

Financially, the State ³⁰⁰ Government is under very high pressure. Many roads have been taken up by the State Government to link all the ³²⁰ villages with motorable roads. There is this financial constraint for the State Government to maintain all the roads. At least, ³⁴⁰ if some roads are taken by the national highway, it will somewhat lessen the burden of the State, and ³⁶⁰ it will be easier for the State Government to maintain the other roads. Therefore, through you, Madam, I ask the ³⁸⁰ Government to consider this also. We have so far only 32,000 and odd Kilometres under the National Highway. ⁴⁰⁰

It is a very poor figure. We should not hesitate to take up more length of roads under this scheme. ⁴²⁰ The Government may say that the resources are very limited. In this connection, what I submit is that you have ⁴⁴⁰ taxed

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petrol. Previously when the legislation was introduced, only petrol was in use. Now diesel is also used. All the ⁴⁶⁰ lorries, all the movable vehicles are using only diesel. Large quantities of diesel is being used. You can tax diesel ⁴⁸⁰ also for this purpose. There is no problem for the vehicle owners to pay this tax. There is no difficulty ⁵⁰⁰ in it. All the automobiles are put to a very heavy loss if the roads are not maintained properly. By ⁵²⁰ putting tax on diesel, you can have some more money and if the roads are maintained properly, it will not ⁵⁴⁰ only save the time, but it will also save the fuel consumption. Therefore, ⁵⁶⁰ putting some, more tax on diesel is not going to affect many. Therefore, that too may be taken up for ⁵⁸⁰ consideration.

Madam, in Tamil Nadu, East Coast Road was suggested long back. It was said that the scheme was under ⁶⁰⁰ the consideration of the Government of India to form that road. Madam, East Coast Road is not only useful for ⁶²⁰ the movement of the vehicles and other transport, it is also a strategic road. They should also consider forming that ⁶⁴⁰ road. Now, coming to the abolition of the agency system, what made the Government to abolish the agency system? If ⁶⁶⁰ they say that the agency system is not working well, then how is the present system going to work? Government ⁶⁸⁰ officials are doing the same work there. Here, you are going to entrust the work again to the Government officials. ⁷⁰⁰ Therefore, you can give the work to the State Government also. With some control on the agency, you can do ⁷²⁰ the work well. It is very difficult for the Authority to go and see all the roads throughout the country. ⁷⁴⁰ You can leave the work under the agency system. Further, Madam, the new legislation seeks power to maintain the road ⁷⁶⁰ to control the road, to regulate the traffic and everything as if the Authority is a monopoly, as if the ⁷⁸⁰ road is an exclusive property of the Transport Authority or the Government of India. This is not their exclusive property. ⁸⁰⁰ suppose a State Government needs some tax to be collected through the Highway, then they must ask the Authority, and ⁸²⁰ the Authority alone can collect the taxes. The State Governments are treated as if they are not concerned with it. ⁸⁴⁰

Handwritten notes in shorthand script, likely representing the same text as the typed version on the left, written in a cursive shorthand style.

NOTIFIED: to give notice of; CONSTRAINT: compulsion;
STRATEGIC: important crucially;

Exercise 17

Sir, another project in the State of Kerala is also kept in cold storage. Hundreds of Kms. can be served ²⁰ in the northern part of Kerala if this rail link comes into operation. Then the great Konkan Railway project will ⁴⁰ again help the overall development of that region, on the one hand, and the proper utilisation and development of Mangalore ⁶⁰ port on the other if this rail link comes into operation. What is the attitude? I do not want to ⁸⁰ speak about the rail link. For that also whereas Rs. 17 crores were originally estimated, only Rs. 2 crores is ¹⁰⁰ being given. I do not want to elaborate that. We could enumerate a number of points in relation to discrimination ¹²⁰ against various regions. This discrimination is there not only towards Kerala. The same discrimination is there towards North Eastern region ¹⁴⁰ and many other regions also. It is here that the important point comes that unless you have a very balanced ¹⁶⁰ and open approach towards the developmental projects that are to be established in areas of railways and its expansion, this ¹⁸⁰ will pave way to dissatisfaction among various sections of people. The need for a coach factory to be set up ²⁰⁰ at Palghat was explained everywhere. It was announced that a coach factory is going to be set up in Kerala ²²⁰ at Palghat. Even the place was located. This can be characterised as a slip between the lip and the cup. ²⁴⁰ But this is something very very serious so far as the people of Kerala are concerned. At the last moment, ²⁶⁰ this was taken away and the most funny thing is being set up there is that instead of that, a sleeper factory is being set ²⁸⁰ up. The name of that factory is very ironical that is, sleeper factory. It very well expresses the attitude of the higher-ups ³⁰⁰ towards the problems of the people of Kerala as such. They are sleeping over the problems and what would Kerala get ³²⁰ out of this factory? This is also very strange.

Some 12 people will get jobs from this factory which is ³⁴⁰ going to be set up in Palghat. This is the reply given by the Minister and nothing has been decided whether ³⁶⁰ this will be in public sector, private sector or joint sector. When this is going to provide job for 12 ³⁸⁰ people, in which sector it is going to be set up, and all that is ridiculous for our Indian Government. ⁴⁰⁰

Unfortunately, this is the attitude of the Government towards the problems of people living in different parts of the country. ⁴²⁰ My very earnest request to the Minister is that he should see that this negative attitude is changed. I

Handwritten shorthand notes in Devanagari script, corresponding to the typed text on the left. The notes are written in a cursive style on lined paper.

do ⁴⁴⁰ not know whether this earnest appeal will find any result. But as it is customary from our part to place ⁴⁶⁰ our grievances and appeals before the Minister, I am doing that. Now, regarding trains, though many new announcement have been ⁴⁸⁰ made in the Railway Budget, nothing is there for the people of Kerala. The only thing instead of the ⁵⁰⁰ Mumbai Mangalore train running two days week, this has been raised to three days a week. This is all ⁵²⁰ that has been given to Kerala. If this is one side, on the other side something is taken away. Not ⁵⁴⁰ only no meaningful project is given, but whatever we have now is taken away. The Mangala Express has got some ⁵⁶⁰ emotional attachment also because this was started at that time in connection with the 25th Anniversary of India's Independence. It ⁵⁸⁰ was Jayanthi-Janta, Mangala Express and all that. Now, this has been stopped. The justification given for that is, the frequency ⁶⁰⁰ of Kerala Express has been increased. But if you calculate, it will be found that it is reduced. We had ⁶²⁰ the Mangala Express five days a week, Kerala Express two days a week and Him Sagar Express once a week. We ⁶⁴⁰ had eight trains per week. Hence, this is reduced to seven trains per week. This is the net result.

Representatives ⁶⁶⁰ from political parties met the Minister of Railways in the presence of our Hon'ble Minister. We requested that this decision ⁶⁸⁰ should be reviewed. Now, the Minister is coming out with a very good proposal. Instead of resuming the Mangala Express, ⁷⁰⁰ the Kerala Express is going to be renamed as Kerala-Mangala Express. This is the kind of solutions which the ⁷²⁰ Minister and his Ministry are finding out. I do not want to speak anything more about this. Many other trains ⁷⁴⁰ have been stopped also. I do not want to give the details of them. The stoppage of these trains is ⁷⁶⁰ causing a lot of problems for the people of Kerala. I request that at the earliest these trains may be ⁷⁸⁰ resumed. Sir, I would like to mention some problems of the Railway Protection Force. They have been strictly under the ⁸⁰⁰ Railway Department. Now a change has been brought in. They have been declared as Army personnel. As part of the ⁸²⁰ Armed Forces personnel, they do not have a democratic right to have organisation like that which you very well understand. ⁸⁴⁰

ELABORATE: detailed; ENUMERATE: to count; PAVE: prepare the way for; IRONICAL: contradictory; PERSONNEL: employees.

Exercise 18

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you for allowing me to speak on this subject because it is ²⁰ better late than never. Of course there are only a few points which I want to make here. Railway Budget, ⁴⁰ to me, is another attack by the Government on the general masses of the country when it has belied the ⁶⁰ hopes of these masses. Railway is the only means by which the general mass of people can travel at comparatively ⁸⁰ cheaper rates. But every year you are raising the fare gradually to such a point that the Railways no longer ¹⁰⁰ remain a transport for the poor people in the country. Fares for both the classes have been raised. Even the ¹²⁰ rate of platform ticket has been increased. The parcel rate has also been increased. In this way Government is ¹⁴⁰ trying to earn revenue at the cost of the sufferings of the people. Even such a hike in fares could ¹⁶⁰ have been accepted if the Government had given proof of a sincere effort to improve the present state of affairs ¹⁸⁰ in the Railway equally all over the country.

In my State of Assam, the performance of the Railway is the ²⁰⁰ poorest of the poor. While Hon'ble Prime Minister talks of leading the country towards the 21st Century at a high ²²⁰ speed, the only metre gauge train which is the only railway connection between Guwahati and Dibrugarh in Assam takes 18 ²⁴⁰ hours to run between these two places situated at a distance of about 500 Kilometres only. So far as ²⁶⁰ the North Eastern region is concerned, the Government seems to be very much apathetic. The metre gauge tracts in Assam ²⁸⁰ were built by the Britishers. While in Independent India the whole country has been having broad-gauge lines, in Assam ³⁰⁰ the broad-gauge line has been extended up to Guwahati only. It was after the Chinese aggression that the railway ³²⁰ bridge over the Brahmaputra was built and the metre gauge railway line on the north bank of the Brahmaputra was ³⁴⁰ laid. Shall we have to wait for the rest to get the railway lines modernised and improved and extended? The existing ³⁶⁰ metre gauge tract was built by the alien rulers to carry tea, coal and oil from the upper Assam area ³⁸⁰ and it was built not for the convenience of the people. Therefore, the line is running without touching the major towns. ⁴⁰⁰

No new and improved railway tract has been built besides the earlier one built by the same alien rulers to ⁴²⁰ connect the Barak Valley of the State. In most of the days in the rainy season this train does not ⁴⁴⁰ run on this line.

Handwritten shorthand notes in a cursive script, likely representing the text of the exercise in shorthand form. The notes are written on lined paper and cover the right side of the page.

Whenever we demand improvement of the railways in Assam, the Minister gives his prepared reply of ⁴⁶⁰ dearth of funds. It is very much unfortunate. In 1971, the Government assured us of establishing a Railway ⁴⁸⁰ division at Rangia. But now the Government is trying to eat back its own words. Last year, when we met ⁵⁰⁰ the Railway Minister, he replied that there was no proposal to start new division. But only in the case of ⁵²⁰ Assam this remark is applicable. The Government has proposed new divisions in other States.

I want to know why the ⁵⁴⁰ Government is taking such a stand in the case of Assam only. The demand for a bridge over the Brahmaputra ⁵⁶⁰ has also been turned down on the plea of the constraints of funds. This bridge would connect ⁵⁸⁰ the remote areas of Arunachal with the rest of the country and would help tremendously for the socio-economic development ⁶⁰⁰ of the whole North-Eastern region. But the Ministry is not paying heed to this necessity and demand. The main ⁶²⁰ railway tract is running through the city of Guwahati, and the State Government as well as the people have been ⁶⁴⁰ demanding to shift the tract from the middle of the city to a side. But the Ministry is not in ⁶⁶⁰ favour of doing so. There are about 40 railway crossings in the State, but there are only a few flyovers. ⁶⁸⁰ The Government seems to be not interested at all in building flyovers for the safety of the people and for ⁷⁰⁰ necessary speed in the day-to-day life of the State as a whole. In Assam the railway train runs ⁷²⁰ at the speed of a snail. It has dirty coaches without cushions, without catering, even without water and light sometimes. ⁷⁴⁰ The number of coaches is also insufficient in comparison to the number of passengers. All coaches seem to be worn ⁷⁶⁰ out. The doors and the windows of even some 1st class coaches cannot be closed or shut down. The number ⁷⁸⁰ of cancer patients in Assam is an alarming one. But the train connection with Chennai and Mumbai who are unemployed where the cancer ⁸⁰⁰ treatment can be had, is very poor, particularly for the unemployed. It is also notable that the local people of the ⁸²⁰ North-Eastern region, do not get employment in the Railways. They are deprived of the avenues of employment in the Railways. ⁸⁴⁰

BELIED: to prove wrong; DEARTH: shortage;
DEPRIVED: to withdraw.

Exercise 19

I am glad to welcome you to this Conference, the main initiative for calling which belongs to my friend and colleague, when he first suggested to me that there should be a meeting of Vice-Chancellors and others to consider how we can improve agricultural education in the country, I readily agreed. There is perhaps no single issue which is of greater importance for the future well-being of our country. A hard fact which we must face is that the economic life of India is not properly balanced between agriculture and industry. Though there has been considerable development in industry in India in the last fifty years, we cannot, by any means, call India an industrial country. The basis of our life is still agricultural and the vast majority of our people depend on agriculture for their livelihood. In fact, curious as it may seem, the pressure on the land has, on the whole, been increasing in spite of the growth of our industries. It is therefore, all the more regrettable that we cannot produce enough food even to meet our requirements.

Roughly, eighty per cent of our people are in some way or the other connected with the land and yet we have to depend upon foreign countries to get enough food for our people. In sharp contrast, we find that the U.S.A., where not even 1/5th of the people work on the land, not only produces all its food but exports vast quantities to other parts of the world. We must, therefore, ask ourselves the reason why with 4/5th of our people on the land we are still deficit in food supply, whereas other countries which do not use even 1/5th of their manpower for the production of food are surplus areas. A searching enquiry into this problem is more necessary as our position has not always been so bad as it is today. Until some years ago, we have, in fact, been exporting wheat and other food grains, but since 1983 we seem to be suffering from a perpetual shortage. You all know about the efforts of the Governments, both at the Centre and the States, to increase the production of food through the Grow More Food Campaign. I think you will all agree that the results have not been commensurate with our efforts in this regard as such.

We know that the average yield of our land is one of the poorest in the world and this is so, in spite of the fact that the quality of our soil is perhaps second to none. The only explanation is that our methods of agriculture are not fully effective. We must, therefore, think in terms of a change in our agricultural methods. This can be achieved

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only if our agricultural education is thoroughly recast. I think you will all ⁴⁸⁰ agree that the present system of agricultural education in India is not satisfactory. It has not proved adequate even in ⁵⁰⁰ normal times. During an emergency like the present, its shortcomings are only too apparent. Most of our universities have some ⁵²⁰ provision for agricultural education, but the education is mainly theoretical, so that the results we could expect from the application ⁵⁴⁰ of science to agriculture do not materialise.

Our agricultural graduates are fit for almost everything except becoming agriculturists themselves. Our ⁵⁶⁰ present agricultural education is defective because it lacks adequate practical basis. An even greater defect is that agricultural education is ⁵⁸⁰ not an essential part of the general education of the country. Education is intended to develop the potential abilities of ⁶⁰⁰ the individual in the context of the requirements of society. In a country like India, where agriculture is not only ⁶²⁰ the main profession but the dominant way of life, it is necessary that agriculture must enter intimately into every aspect ⁶⁴⁰ of general education. We are now planning to transform the system of our primary education by converting it into basic ⁶⁶⁰ education. Gandhiji, with the insight of a genius, saw that if education is to be creative and real for millions ⁶⁸⁰ of our people, it must seek to satisfy their basic requirements of food and clothing. Intellectual development can be adequate ⁷⁰⁰ and satisfactory only in the context of satisfying these two basic needs. Our general education, especially in the earlier stages, ⁷²⁰ must therefore, give a greater importance to the theory and practice of agriculture. I have for sometime been considering the ⁷⁴⁰ question of having some kind of conscription by which all students in our colleges and universities would be compelled to ⁷⁶⁰ work for a period in fields and factories. I have, however, come to the conclusion that for various reasons this ⁷⁸⁰ cannot be immediately done. In Western countries, the labour of young people has been effectively and usefully employed, as the ⁸⁰⁰ problem of these countries is primarily one of shortage of labour. In our country, if there is an excess in ⁸²⁰ anything, it is that of manpower. It will not be incorrect to say that almost all Indians are under-employed. ⁸⁴⁰

PERPETUAL: for infinite period of time; COMMENSURATE: in proportion to; POTENTIAL: latent strength; GENIUS: extra intelligent; CONSCRIPTION: to enlist compulsorily for State's service.

Exercise 20

What I have said above in regard to students in general would not, however, apply to the students of agricultural ²⁰ schools and colleges. In their case, it would be a necessary part of their training to do field work for ⁴⁰ a period before they are given diplomas or degrees. You are aware that on the advice of the All India ⁶⁰ Council for Technical Education and Scientific Manpower Committee, it is proposed that engineering and technical graduates must do a period ⁸⁰ of service training before they can enter their profession. I think such training is even more necessary for the students ¹⁰⁰ of agricultural schools and colleges. I would in fact go further. While the idea of conscripting students in schools and ¹²⁰ colleges would be difficult to put into practice, I do not see any reason why colleges and schools in the ¹⁴⁰ rural or semi-rural areas should not have an agricultural section attached to them. The difficulties I have mentioned above, ¹⁶⁰ arise only when the students are taken away from their homes or places of normal residence. There would be no ¹⁸⁰ such difficulty if students are required to do some agricultural work in the course of their normal college or school life. ²⁰⁰ The difficulty of finding adequate land may stand in the way of carrying out this programme in educational institutions ²²⁰ in large towns and cities. There is, however, no reason why schools and colleges in the rural areas or small ²⁴⁰ towns should not have attached to them sufficient land which can be utilised for the purpose. Even colleges in larger ²⁶⁰ towns and cities can co-operate in such a programme by establishing centres where, during vacations and other holidays, students can ²⁸⁰ acquire an experience of simple practical agriculture by working on the farms. Many of you know that the universities in ³⁰⁰ the U.K. and the U.S.A. sometimes adopt villages. I hope that in India also, schools and colleges ³²⁰ in urban areas will adopt villages. There should be friendly competition among educational institutions as to which have done the ³⁴⁰ best rural work. I hope that this conference will devise some method of carrying out this programme, and also advise ³⁶⁰ the Indian Council for Agricultural Research to set up a section devoted exclusively to the development of agricultural education in ³⁸⁰ schools and colleges. This shall enable use to overcome the shortage of food in our country in future. ⁴⁰⁰

One grave drawback to which I would like to draw your attention is our curious failure to realise the dangers inherent ⁴²⁰ in our present food situation. It is strange that in spite of a shortage of food and the people's knowledge ⁴⁴⁰ of the fact, there is no passionate urge among them to

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increase food production in the country. If our young ⁴⁶⁰ men and women in colleges and schools are not sensitive to our problems, how are we going to overcome the ⁴⁸⁰ perils which face us? I am sure, you can all help in creating in young men and women a sense ⁵⁰⁰ of the urgency of our problems. There are, of course, certain necessary measures which lie outside the sphere of educational authorities. ⁵²⁰ Colleges and schools can, however, contribute a great deal to the solution of the problem if they create in ⁵⁴⁰ young men and women the enthusiasm to increase the food production of the country. I am sure that if the ⁵⁶⁰ universities provide extension education in agriculture, it will not only improve the quality of our agriculture but also make a ⁵⁸⁰ deep impression on the public mind. It will help to break down the barriers which divide the literate classes from ⁶⁰⁰ the unlettered. It will also improve the quality of our educated classes by bringing them nearer to the soil and ⁶²⁰ giving a more practical bias to their minds.

I referred earlier to countries where agriculture is more productive and gives far ⁶⁴⁰ better results than in India for each unit of manpower. It is obvious that if we are to improve our ⁶⁶⁰ agricultural production, we must profit by the experience of such countries. We must therefore, create closer contacts with all countries ⁶⁸⁰ which have applied scientific methods to agriculture and shown tangible results of such application. Naturally, the first country we think ⁷⁰⁰ of in this connection is the U.S.A. In industry as well as in agriculture, she has made a phenomenal progress. ⁷²⁰ We must try to adopt and adapt her methods in both fields. She has under the Fullbright Act and ⁷⁴⁰ other enactments made a generous provision for receiving from and sending out to India teachers and students from various fields ⁷⁶⁰ of study. We must take full advantage of her generosity and utilise the services of the American experts in the ⁷⁸⁰ various fields of agriculture. The universities have always and in all countries played a leading part in transforming the quality ⁸⁰⁰ of the life of the people. In order to perform this function successfully, the universities must base their programmes on ⁸²⁰ the real needs of the country. Until now, our university education has proved inadequate because it has ignored agriculture altogether. ⁸⁴⁰

INHERENTS: within; PERILS: dangers; BIAS: favour;
TANGIBLE: definite; ADOPT/ ADAPT: to accept/ to adjust;
PHENOMENAL: wonder, remarkable person/ thing.

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Exercise 21

On behalf of the Government of India and on my own behalf I have great pleasure in welcoming you all²⁰ to this symposium. Unesco has, since its inception, been organising seminars, discussion groups and symposia for the consideration of various⁴⁰ problems that affect the relations of nations and countries and for the creation of better understanding through the exchange of⁶⁰ knowledge and experience in many fields. This symposium is concerned with an even more fundamental issue. Today, philosophers of the⁸⁰ East and the West have met to discuss the Concept of Man himself. Who can deny that this issue is¹⁰⁰ the basic one of the modern age, and on its satisfactory solution depends the future of man? I am, therefore,¹²⁰ specially happy to welcome you here to this ancient land of philosophers and seers. I earnestly hope that the spirit of¹⁴⁰ India with its long traditions of wisdom and spirituality will inspire all your deliberations.

In the last six thousand¹⁶⁰ years or more, the human-being has travelled over a vast region from his early beginnings in primitive society. This¹⁸⁰ period has seen man overcome many hidden obstacles and meet the challenge of inanimate nature and the animate world. In²⁰⁰ spite of all the vicissitudes which man has had to face during this period, there has, on the whole, been²²⁰ continuous and steady progress in wresting from nature some of her greatest secrets. Veil after veil has been torn apart²⁴⁰ from the hidden face of nature and secrets that are still unknown are yielding to his quest. While man's triumphant²⁶⁰ progress in unveiling the face of nature has been steady and continuous, can we say with equal confidence that he²⁸⁰ has succeeded in unveiling the lineament of his own self? Can we say that after six thousand years of quest³⁰⁰ of the real man today, sees himself as he essentially is? I think you will agree that we have to³²⁰ make a sad confession in this matter. The mirror that man has fashioned reflects all aspects of the world but³⁴⁰ not his own inner self. We have to admit that man has not yet been able to form a clear³⁶⁰ picture of his own nature. The secrets of the universe are clearer to him than the secrets of the self.³⁸⁰ For some three thousand years of more, philosophers have again and again asked what man is, whence he comes from⁴⁰⁰

The basic issue before you is the consideration of this problem. You have met to discuss the Concept of Man⁴²⁰ as it has been enunciated by thinkers in the East and the

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West. I would, at the very beginning, like ⁴⁴⁰ to emphasise that in speaking of the East and the West, we are thinking only of certain special features in ⁴⁶⁰ the thought of these regions. This cannot and does not mean that there are not large areas of common and ⁴⁸⁰ agreed ground. Man all over the world has adopted common methods of reasoning and thought. The human reason in one ⁵⁰⁰ and identical. Human feelings are largely similar. The human will operate more or less in the same manner in similar ⁵²⁰ situations everywhere. It is, therefore, natural that the human way of looking at himself and the world is largely common ⁵⁴⁰ in different parts of the world. Their attitudes towards the unknown mysteries of existence are also largely similar. The Greeks ⁵⁶⁰ who looked with admiration and awe upon the peaks of Olympus shared the same feelings as the Indian who meditated ⁵⁸⁰ in the valleys of the Himalayas and looked upon its eternal snow. In spite of large areas of agreement, human ⁶⁰⁰ minds in different regions of the world have adopted a different approach to some of their common problems.

Even where ⁶²⁰ the approach has not been different, there has been a tendency to place a different emphasis on the different aspects ⁶⁴⁰ of common problems and common solutions. No two situations are exactly alike. It was inevitable that people in different regions ⁶⁶⁰ should pay greater attention to different aspects of common problems. It is on account of such differences in emphasis that ⁶⁸⁰ we describe a particular mode of thought as characteristic of a particular nation or region. It is from this point ⁷⁰⁰ of view that I will try to formulate what are the differences that characterise the East from the West. I ⁷²⁰ think you will all agree that even where the solutions are similar in pattern and outline, there are differences in ⁷⁴⁰ shade and colour which justify us in calling some of the solutions Eastern and others Western. There are, as I ⁷⁶⁰ have said, many points in common between the views of philosophers in the East and the West but there is ⁷⁸⁰ one distinction in emphasis between India, Greece and China which strikes us from the very beginning of recorded history. In ⁸⁰⁰ India, the emphasis of philosophy has, on the whole, been on the inner experience of man. Philosophers here have sought ⁸²⁰ to understand man's inner nature, and in this pursuit have gone beyond the regions of sense, intellect and even reason. ⁸⁴⁰

SYMPOSIUM: place to exchange views; SEERS: saints;

VICISSITUDES: change of circumstances;

QUEST: search; ETERNAL: that shall exist always.

Exercise 22

It was a great act of service to this country that Jawaharlalji introduced planning in this country. But the planning²⁰ that was introduced did not achieve what it had to achieve. Planning is good, but when it goes astray, it⁴⁰ does more harm than good. I cannot say we have made no progress. We have made progress. We were not⁶⁰ manufacturing even as pin in this country when we become free. Even the spindle to the spinning wheel had to⁸⁰ be imported. That position has changed and we are producing not only steel, aluminium or all the materials of the¹⁰⁰ Railway or sugar machinery or electric machinery, we can even produce a steel mill now. But with all this advance¹²⁰ in heavy industries, the dissatisfaction today is much greater than we became free. While prosperity in some¹⁴⁰ sections has increased, substantially or even perceptible when it is compared to the progress made by¹⁶⁰ the affluent people. There is a great dissatisfaction, because their expectation which is not very high in my view, is¹⁸⁰ not fulfilled. And this is where planning has not succeeded in creating conditions which would remove this dissatisfaction and create²⁰⁰ a feeling of not only satisfaction, but an atmosphere of hope and courage so that we may face our problems²²⁰ with greater confidence and with greater efficiency. Heavy industries are necessary to some extent especially in items like the Railway²⁴⁰ materials or electric machinery or other machinery or steel or aluminium or metals or machines required for these purposes.

Consumer²⁶⁰ goods which are far more essential for the poor and not only for the every person in society are uneconomic²⁸⁰ to produce in heavy industries. They can be more conveniently produced, more easily produced and produced with much less capital,³⁰⁰ per capita or per man employed, in small and cottage industries than in the bigger industries. This is a controversial³²⁰ subject. In a heavy industry to employ one man requires a capital of anything between Rs.25,000 and³⁴⁰ Rs.1,50,000, whereas for cottage industries, the investment per person employed would not exceed Rs.500. It may³⁶⁰ be less than that in many cases. And the employment problem in this country is a most serious problem, because³⁸⁰ without removing unemployment, we can never bring in happiness for our people. Therefore, we must fight it on a war-footing.⁴⁰⁰

All this requires full attention and a change in attitude to planning as regards priorities; also as regards methods. All⁴²⁰ this has happened, because we began to imitate the West and the Western affluent methods. They are good for them⁴⁴⁰ but they are not good for us. Whatever is good in them, we

can certainly take and we should take.⁴⁶⁰ We cannot think we know everything and we have nothing to learn. We have much to learn from every person.⁴⁸⁰ The wisest man has to learn something from even a child. We have to learn a great deal from the⁵⁰⁰ whole world and whatever we learn must be based on our foundations of culture, requirements of society and our genius.⁵²⁰ This we have almost forgotten. This is the greatest misfortune of all of us. This we have to remove and⁵⁴⁰ unless we get back this pride in our own basic culture and in our way of life. I am afraid⁵⁶⁰ whatever attitude we may keep, it will miscarry. Any task can become successful only if it is taken up with⁵⁸⁰ a right attitude, in the right perspective and with right means. Efficiency can be defined as the skill with which⁶⁰⁰ you can perform a task with the least labour, with the least expenditure of money and with maximum contentment of⁶²⁰ doing it and of producing right things. Now, if you examine any task with the background, I am quite sure⁶⁴⁰ there will be little scope for disagreement. Our planning is thought in terms of large expenditure of money, because we⁶⁶⁰ thought more of heavy industries. We should⁶⁸⁰ have attended to it first. Of course, major irrigation works are necessary. As a matter of fact I myself have⁷⁰⁰ something in view which perhaps, requires an expenditure of about Rs. 15,000 crores for making canals in the north⁷²⁰ and in the south, which will be horizontal, connecting them with vertical channels, with all rivers so that we have⁷⁴⁰ a waterway system which will even be cheaper than the railway system and no dearth of water for any irrigation⁷⁶⁰ throughout the country.

As a matter of fact, there was scheme with the East India Company and the British⁷⁸⁰ Government earlier, before the Railways had been planned, and there was a scheme for improving the waterway system or having⁸⁰⁰ waterway system for transport and for irrigation. But they found that if that was taken up they will have very⁸²⁰ little to import from England and therefore they decided in favour of railways where everything was imported from the Britain.⁸⁴⁰

ASTRAY:	to leave the given path;
DEARTH:	shortage;
AFFLUENT:	extra rich;

Exercise 23

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I was submitting in the forenoon session that political defections have become a moral feature of²⁰ our political and public life. I hope, after this Constitution Amendment bill adopted, we will get rid of this⁴⁰ bad thing which has been happening in our public life. I was also saying that a good move has been⁶⁰ made by the party in power. After all, a democratic Government is not a Government by majority. It is not⁸⁰ a majority rule which operates. In the real sense the Party in power should take the parties in Opposition into¹⁰⁰ confidence. Not merely take them into confidence, but they should also try to meet their point of view to the¹²⁰ fullest extent possible. This is the way democracy operates. This is the system which we have inherited from our ancestors,¹⁴⁰ which used to be in the form of Panchayat system. We need to preserve, nurture and see that it flower¹⁶⁰ further so that we can take all advantages through this system. The only alternative to this system is, as is¹⁸⁰ well-known, dictatorship where a person, a human being, cannot flower his own and to the full. Basic freedoms²⁰⁰ which are very necessary for an advancement of the society and for achieving various objectives are not available.

This defection²²⁰ has raised a matter of principle because it is a matter of morality in public life, in political life, which²⁴⁰ needs to be gone into. I know, Sir, that this is something which has been happening in all countries, of²⁶⁰ course, democratic countries, and we have witnessed a number of incidents of this type. But I would submit along with²⁸⁰ that it is just not right to defect; I think there is something more than that which also we³⁰⁰ should try to understand. A person leaves party for two reasons. One is that it is a matter of³²⁰ principle or certain basic policy or a programme against which the party is trying to go. It might have been³⁴⁰ enshrined in the Constitution, in the policies and programmes, but still the occasions do arise when the parties go against³⁶⁰ their very principles and policies. It is only under circumstances that there are certain persons, members, who are more³⁸⁰ loyal to the basic principles rather than to the institution or a party, who raise the question of freedom of conscience.⁴⁰⁰

After all, political party is an instrument to achieve something, it is not an end by itself. If you like⁴²⁰ from this point of view, the right to dissent or even to leave is a basic right which should exist⁴⁴⁰ in any democratic society. But the

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point that is relevant is, how this is going to be exercised. It is⁴⁶⁰ going to be exercised for personal advancement, gain, personal benefit, selfish interest or some national or social interest? That is⁴⁸⁰ the dividing line and this should be kept in mind. I am, therefore, happy that the particular clause, which used⁵⁰⁰ to be in the original Bill that was sought, to be introduced, that a person who could be expelled from⁵²⁰ a party outside the House not connected with the voting in House also would disqualify from the Membership of⁵⁴⁰ the House, has been given a go by unanimously. That is a very welcome feature of this particular Bill.

Again, as⁵⁶⁰ I was saying, there are a number of situations wherein the people are required to operate, to work and vote⁵⁸⁰ according to the policies that are laid down. It is true that the members are elected on the basis of⁶⁰⁰ certain policies and programmes to a political party. It is therefore, their bounden duty to see that these policies and⁶²⁰ programmes are properly implemented, and the issues that come up before the House are accordingly voted upon. Any person or⁶⁴⁰ member who tries to transgress these limits needs to be punished, but it is in this context that it becomes⁶⁶⁰ a matter of very serious concern. That is, when a person defects because he wants to get into power or⁶⁸⁰ get something in return either in installing or pulling down the Government. This is something which is more condemnable and⁷⁰⁰ that is why it has become a matter of contempt as far as the public is concerned.

But sometime, I⁷²⁰ do wonder, Sir, that if defection is given a go by for all the time to come and in all⁷⁴⁰ the countries probably the great men who have appeared on the scene in history might not appear any more. As⁷⁶⁰ my one friend put it, the charms of defection also may not be there. I would like to submit that⁷⁸⁰ there was a great man who defected not once but thrice. He is one of the greatest men of that⁸⁰⁰ country. As we see it, he started his career as a Conservative party member became⁸²⁰ an independent member, and later on again reverted to the Conservative party from where he occupied the highest post in the country.⁸⁴⁰

CONTEMPT	: feeling of inferiority by others;
DEFLECTIONS	: leaving a party/ group;
UNANIMOUSLY	: agreement by all;
TRANSGRESS	: overstep; infringe;

Exercise 24

It gives me great pleasure to be here in your midst, where businessmen, leaders and captains of industry and trade²⁰ from the European Union sit together with the captains of industry of our country. I have always believed with Lord Keynes⁴⁰ that, "in the final analysis businessmen are the custodians of the possibility of survival of human civilization and therefore,⁶⁰ if business leaders think right, I think our societies and our politics can look to the future with hope and⁸⁰ confidence. Therefore, I greatly welcome this opportunity to interact with such an outstanding group of leaders of business and industry.¹⁰⁰ Prime Minister has already mentioned that we had a very fruitful meeting with him and the President and the members¹²⁰ of the European Commission and tomorrow, we will have a bilateral meeting where we will discuss the further development of our¹⁴⁰ relations with the United Kingdom. Under the Presidentship of Prime Minister, we have made a very good progress in our¹⁶⁰ strategic partnership. I am grateful to you, Prime Minister for the leadership you have given to the process of widening and¹⁸⁰ deepening of our relationship with the European Union.

We live in a world of constant change and the success belongs²⁰⁰ to those who are adept at mastering processes of change. In our own times, few leaders of countries have shown²²⁰ that much expertise in effective management of change processes than Prime Minister. Therefore, what he has told you this afternoon,²⁴⁰ I think I heartily agree. Those are the ways to manage processes of change and the moral of what²⁶⁰ he has been saying is similar to what I have been saying to our own people - do not be too fearful of change.²⁸⁰ Learn to live with change, though of course governments have the responsibility to smoothen the processes of change, smoothen³⁰⁰ the transitional pain that may at some times accompany the processes of change. So what Prime Minister has told you this evening,³²⁰ I heartily support. It's for me and for my colleagues a great delight that we have this opportunity to interact with³⁴⁰ leaders of European and Indian business. I sincerely believe that in the modern world, the relationship between Governments is increasingly³⁶⁰ mediated through and influenced by the relationship between the civil society and the business community. It is on the foundation³⁸⁰ of people-to-people and business-to-business relations that we in Government try to build State-to-State relations.⁴⁰⁰

India and the EU have deep and abiding ties comprising political, cultural, social and economic relations. We are the⁴²⁰ largest democracies of the world, we cherish the freedoms that

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democracy offers. We share a common belief in pluralism, consultations⁴⁴⁰ and consensus, in the Rule of Law and in peace. For, in peace and in stability, we have the foundations⁴⁶⁰ necessary for development and economic growth within the framework of an open society and an open economy. The terrorist attacks⁴⁸⁰ on July 7 this year in London are an unfortunate affirmation of our view that terrorism, by whatever name, can have⁵⁰⁰ no place in a civilized society. I am emphasising this in this Business Summit because one of the aims of⁵²⁰ terrorism is to cause economic instability all round. I hope that, as India and EU join hands today⁵⁴⁰ to strengthen our economic ties, one aspect of those ties must be to ensure peace in our lands. We need each other's⁵⁶⁰ strong support in that endeavour. We meet here today at a time when the Indian economy is once again⁵⁸⁰ on an upward growth path. For two years in a row, we have had upwards of 7 per cent growth in our⁶⁰⁰ national income. This year, we expect to repeat that performance. I am convinced that we will sustain this rate of growth,⁶²⁰ perhaps even improve upon it, in the next few years. This has the potential of transforming our economy⁶⁴⁰ in many ways.

It is now possible, as never before, for us to visualise an India without poverty, without disease⁶⁶⁰ and without scourge of extreme deprivation. There is an air of optimism and, as a believer in the ideas of Lord Keynes,⁶⁸⁰ I am convinced that 'positive expectations have a way of yielding positive outcomes'. The process of economic reforms initiated⁷⁰⁰ by us in the early 90's has yielded rich dividends in many ways. We are committed to pursuing these reforms⁷²⁰ in a manner that the benefits percolate to all sections of our society, especially our rural poor. I have often⁷⁴⁰ said that we must walk on two legs - pursuing greater efficiency and simultaneously pursuing greater equity in the working of the economy.⁷⁶⁰ I do believe that if the fruits of higher economic growth are better shared, this in itself will⁷⁸⁰ stimulate further growth. We see the EU as a natural partner in our economic development. For centuries, long before the⁸⁰⁰ colonial era began, Indians and Europeans have been engaged in commerce. India has had civilisational and commercial links with⁸²⁰ different nationalities within Europe. We must build on those links by renewing the economic, social and cultural basis of our relationship.⁸⁴⁰

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STRATEGIC: baSEd on thoughtful policy; CHERISH: enjoy;
POTENTIAL: inner strength; PERCOLATE: go downwards;
SIMULTANEOUSLY: at the same time; ADEPT: skillful.

Exercise 25 (Legal)

In *Gannon Dunkerley & Co. Versus State of Rajasthan*, reported, once again, this Court was faced with a host of²⁰ questions pertaining to the imposition of tax on the transfer of property in goods involved in the execution of⁴⁰ works contracts. One of the contentions raised herein was that after the enactment of the Forty-sixth Amendment,⁶⁰ no amendment was brought to the Act, 1956, applying its provision to the transfer of property in goods involved⁸⁰ in the execution of the works contracts. Consequently, Sections 3, 4 and 5 of the Act, 1956¹⁰⁰ would not be applicable to such transfers. This Court held as: The legislative power of the States under Entry 54 of the¹²⁰ State List is subject to two limitations one flowing from the entry itself which makes the said power¹⁴⁰ "subject to the provisions of Entry 92-A of List I", and the other flowing from the prohibition contained¹⁶⁰ in Article 286. Under Entry 92-A of List I, Parliament has the power to make¹⁸⁰ a law in respect of taxes on sale or purchase of goods other than newspapers where such sale or purchase²⁰⁰ takes place in the course of inter- State trade or commerce. The levy and collection of such tax is governed²²⁰ by Article 269. This shows that the legislative power under Entry 54 of the State List is not²⁴⁰ available in respect of transactions of sale or purchase which take place in the course of inter-State trade²⁶⁰ or commerce.

Similarly clause (1) of Article 286 prohibits the State from making a law imposing or authorising²⁸⁰ the imposition of a tax on the sale or purchase of goods where such sale or purchase takes place³⁰⁰ (a) outside the State or (b) in the course of the import of goods into or export of the goods out of the³²⁰ territory of India. As a result of the said provision, the legislative power conferred under Entry 54 of the³⁴⁰ State List does not extend to imposing tax on a sale or purchase of goods which takes place outside the³⁶⁰ State or which takes place in the course of import or export of goods the limitation imposed by the Constitution.³⁸⁰

In view of the aforesaid limitation imposed by the Constitution on the legislative power of the States under Entry 54⁴⁰⁰ of the State List it is beyond the competence of the State Legislature to make a law imposing or authorising⁴²⁰ the imposition of a tax on transfer of property in goods involved in the execution of a works contract,⁴⁴⁰ with the aid of sub-clause (b) of clause of Article 366, in respect of transactions which take place⁴⁶⁰ in the course of inter-State trade or

commerce or transactions which constitute sales outside the State or sales⁴⁸⁰ in the course of import or export. Consequently, it is not permissible for a State to frame the legislative enactment⁵⁰⁰ in exercise of the legislative power conferred by Entry 54 in State List in a manner as to assume the⁵²⁰ power to impose tax on such transactions and thereby transgress these constitutional limitations. Apart from the limitations referred to above⁵⁴⁰ which curtail the ambit of the legislative competence of the State Legislatures, there is clause (3) of Article 286⁵⁶⁰ which enables Parliament to make a law placing restrictions and conditions on the exercise of the legislative power⁵⁸⁰ of the State under Entry 54 in State List in regard to the system of levy, rates and other⁶⁰⁰ incidents of tax. Such a law may be in relation to (a) goods declared by Parliament by law to be⁶²⁰ of special importance in inter-State trade or commerce, or (b) to taxes of the nature referred to in⁶⁴⁰ sub-clauses (b), (c) and (d) of clause of Article.

When such a law is enacted by Parliament the⁶⁶⁰ legislative power of the States under Entry 54 in State List has to be exercised subject to the restrictions⁶⁸⁰ and conditions specified in that law. In exercise of the power conferred by Article 286(3)(a) Parliament⁷⁰⁰ has enacted Sections 14 and 15 of the Central Sales Tax Act, 1956. No law has, however, been⁷²⁰ made by Parliament in exercise of its power under Article 286(3)(b). The question is whether⁷⁴⁰ in the absence of an amendment in the Central Sales Tax Act specifically applying its provisions to a transfer of property⁷⁶⁰ in goods involved in the execution of a works contract, the provisions of Sections 3, 4 and 5 contained in⁷⁸⁰ Chapter II can be held applicable to such a transfer. In this context, it may be mentioned that prior to⁸⁰⁰ the Forty-sixth Amendment, a distinction was being made between a 'works contract' which was entire and indivisible and a⁸²⁰ works contract composed of two distinct and separate contracts one, for transfer of materials and other, for payment of remuneration for services and for work done.⁸⁵⁶

PERTAINING: relating to;

AMENDMENT: an alteration to law;

IMPOSITION: laying on something as burden;

TRANSGRESS: to violate a law;

AMBIT: scope.

Handwritten shorthand notes in the right margin, including numbers like 366, 11, 18, 54, 286, 13, 14, 15, 1956, 286, 3, 4, 5, and various symbols and abbreviations.

Exercise 26 (Legal)

In this batch of transferred cases, transfer petitions, writ petitions and the petition for special leave to appeal, the challenge²⁰ is to the Constitution, which came into effect on 14.01.2019, whereby the Parliament has amended⁴⁰ Articles 15 and 16 of the Constitution of India by adding two new clauses viz., clause (6) to Article 15⁶⁰ with Explanation and clause (6) to Article 16; and thereby, the State has been empowered, inter alia, to provide for⁸⁰ a maximum of ten per cent. reservation for “the economically weaker sections” of citizens other than “the Scheduled Castes”,¹⁰⁰ “the Scheduled Tribes” and the non-creamy layer of “the Other Backward Classes”. At the outset, it needs to be stated that the¹²⁰ amendment in question does not mandate but enables reservation for EWS and prescribes a ceiling limit of¹⁴⁰ ten per cent.

In a very brief outline of the forthcoming discussion, it could be noticed that the challenge to the¹⁶⁰ amendment in question is premised essentially on three-fold grounds: first, that making of special provisions including reservation in education¹⁸⁰ and employment on the basis of economic criteria is entirely impermissible and offends the basic structure of the Constitution; second, that²⁰⁰ in any case, exclusion of socially and educationally backward classes, that is, SCs, STs and²²⁰ non-creamy layer OBCs from the benefit of these special provisions for EWS is inexplicably discriminatory²⁴⁰ and destroys the basic structure of the Constitution; and third, that providing for ten per cent. additional reservation directly breaches²⁶⁰ the fifty per cent. ceiling of reservations already settled by the decisions of this Court and hence, results in unacceptable abrogation²⁸⁰ of the Equality Code which, again, destroys the basic structure of the Constitution. Per contra, it is maintained on behalf³⁰⁰ of the sides opposing this challenge that the amendment in question, empowering the State to make special provisions for the³²⁰ economically weaker sections of citizens, is squarely within the four corners of the Constitution of India; rather making of such provisions³⁴⁰ is necessary to achieve the Preamble goal of 'JUSTICE, social, economic and political' in real sense of terms. It is also³⁶⁰ asserted that there is no discrimination in relation to the classes that are excluded from EWS³⁸⁰ for the simple reason that the existing special provisions of affirmative action in their relation continue to remain in operation in the future.⁴⁰⁰

As regards the breach of fifty per cent. ceiling of reservations, the contention is that the said ceiling is not⁴²⁰ inflexible or inviolable and in the context of the object sought to be achieved,

ten per cent. has been provided⁴⁴⁰ as the maximum by way of the enabling provision. With the foregoing outline, we may usefully take note of the⁴⁶⁰ reference made to the Constitution Bench for determination of the substantial questions of interpretation of the Constitution, as are involved in these matters and⁴⁸⁰ the questions formulated while commencing the hearing. By an order, a 3-Judge Bench of this Court took note of the⁵⁰⁰ issues arising in these matters and referred the same for determination by a Constitution Bench while observing, inter alia, as under:⁵²⁰

By virtue of the impugned amendments, very Constitution is amended by inserting new clauses in Articles 15 and 16 thereof,⁵⁴⁰ which empower the State to make reservations by way of affirmative action to the extent of 10%⁵⁶⁰ to economically weaker sections. It is the case of the petitioners, that the very amendments run contrary to the constitutional scheme,⁵⁸⁰ and no segment of available seats or posts can be reserved, only on the basis of economic criterion. As such, we are⁶⁰⁰ of the view that such questions do constitute substantial questions of law to be considered by a Bench of⁶²⁰ five Judges. It is clear from the language of Article 145(3) of the Constitution and⁶⁴⁰ Rule 1(1) of the Supreme Court Rules, 2013, the matters which involve substantial questions of law as to interpretation⁶⁶⁰ of Constitutional provisions they are required to be heard a Bench of five Judges. Whether the impugned Amendment Act violates⁶⁸⁰ basic structure of the Constitution, by applying the tests of 'width' and 'identity' with reference to equality provisions of the⁷⁰⁰ Constitution, is a matter which constitutes substantial question of law within the meaning of the provisions as referred above.⁷²⁰ Further, on the plea of ceiling of 50% for affirmative action, it is the case of the respondent-Union of India⁷⁴⁰ that though ordinarily 50% is the rule but same will not prevent to amend the Constitution itself⁷⁶⁰ in view of the existing special circumstances to uplift the members of the society belonging to economically weaker sections.⁷⁸⁰ Even such questions also constitute as substantial questions of law to be examined by a Bench of five Judges.⁸⁰⁰ Pursuant to the order aforesaid, this batch of matters has been referred to this Constitution Bench for determination of the issues arising⁸²⁰ from the challenge to the 103rd Amendment. The court is after perusing the issues suggested by learned counsel.⁸⁴⁰

MANDATE: command; **ABROGATION:** concellation;

PREAMBULAR: as per the preamble;

AFFIRMATIVE: supportive;

PERUSING: examining carefully.

Handwritten notes in shorthand script, likely representing the same text as the printed version, with some additional markings and corrections.