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**SIMPLEST SWIFTEST & SUREST**

ON  
PITMAN SHORTHAND

# Progressive Shorthand

**monthly**

with

**Eng./GK/Reasoning**

READING & DICTATION  
EXERCISES FOR  
SPEED DEVELOPMENT



**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

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

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 'PAC', 'audit', 'ordinance', 'legislation', 'confidence', 'principle', 'edifices', and 'implications'.



## Exercise 2

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

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

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

Handwritten shorthand notes corresponding to the typed text, including words like 'CAG', 'P.A.C.', 'A.R.C.', 'UNANIMOUS', 'RIDERS', 'ORDINANCE', 'TREASURY', and 'King's place to keep wealth'.



## Exercise 3

**I** rise to support this Bill brought forward by the Government in regard to Land Ceiling in Delhi area.<sup>20</sup> Sir, as has been said by my colleagues from both sides of the House, and ceiling is one aspect of<sup>40</sup> land management in the agricultural economy of this country. While supporting the Bill, I would like to draw the attention<sup>60</sup> of the Hon'ble Minister, who himself is a knowledgeable person and who knows more about land management, to two important<sup>80</sup> points which occur to me. One point is that land should be productive, productive in the real sense so that<sup>100</sup> they may be able to take not only one crop but two crops as well. They will be in a<sup>120</sup> position then to generate more surplus for the consumers. In this connection the latest reports of the National Sample Survey,<sup>140</sup> the RBI and Agricultural Census published by his Ministry are very bright. I do not want to go<sup>160</sup> into the details because so many Hon'ble Members have said about this and the Hon'ble Minister is also aware of<sup>180</sup> this. By and large, what comes out is that a very large number of people are holding small acreages and<sup>200</sup> therefore, it has to be seen whether these large number of people will be able to manage this and what<sup>220</sup> efforts will have to be put in by the Government and the banking system in that regard.

Sir, I was<sup>240</sup> surprised to learn that about 63 per cent of the agricultural population which contributes goods worth about Rs. 1,700 crores<sup>260</sup> needs roughly about Rs. 7,000 crores for its consumption requirements. Therefore, the rural indebtedness is increasing day by day.<sup>280</sup> Similarly, it is seen from the agricultural census and the report of the National Sample Survey that the small farmers<sup>300</sup> and the marginal farmers are being converted gradually into what are called agricultural labourers. Therefore, you cannot create industrial opportunities<sup>320</sup> if there is this staggering conversion of marginal and submarginal farmers to agricultural or landless labourer. Therefore, it is necessary<sup>340</sup> that the land which is going to be made available should be made productive, and this is the present need<sup>360</sup> of the country. In this connection, I would like to draw the attention of the Hon'ble Minister to a very<sup>380</sup> illuminating research carried out by one lady scientist and which has been published very recently.<sup>400</sup>

STAGGERING: dismaying; ILLUMINATING: shining



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

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

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



**Exercise 5**

I am thankful to all the Hon'ble Members who have participated in the debate. Some Hon'ble Members expressed certain reservations <sup>20</sup> about some of the provisions of the Bill. But all the same, it has been a brief but very interesting <sup>40</sup> debate. My friend expressed certain views. I thought that his party had become wiser because of some developments in the <sup>60</sup> country and because of the way the problems of land and agriculture in this country were getting solved. And my <sup>80</sup> understanding was that party broadly agrees with the national guidelines on the ceiling laws. Once I had some talk with <sup>100</sup> his leader and I was told that the party broadly agrees with the land reforms legislation and guidelines. But opposite <sup>120</sup> views I have heard just now from my Hon'ble friend. Sir, these broad guidelines and the national ceiling laws have been broadly <sup>140</sup> accepted in this country as part of the land reforms and there has been, by and large, a part of the <sup>160</sup> land reforms and there has been, by and large, a general consensus, irrespective of party platforms. But while my friend <sup>180</sup> spoke about the Bill, though he did not positively say that he is opposed to the provisions, he expressed certain <sup>200</sup> views. For instance, he thought there are certain contradictions involved in the Government policies as far as land ceiling laws <sup>220</sup> are concerned. He asked, how is it that, on the one hand, the Government is promoting mechanisation and, on the <sup>240</sup> other, the Government wants to have farms of 8 hectares.

Now, I would like to tell my friend that as <sup>260</sup> far as India is concerned, first of all, this is not a country where we can afford to have big <sup>280</sup> farms. The days of big farms, absentee landlordism and very large holdings have gone. In fact, we can claim very <sup>300</sup> legitimately that one of our very proud achievements is that we have done away with landlordism, we have done <sup>320</sup> away with big landlords and big estates. We want this country to be a country of small farmers. But there <sup>340</sup> were certain persons, certain individuals, certain categories of persons, who had in their possession very large holdings. I do not <sup>360</sup> think they can have it now. But naturally whatever may be the problems of agriculture in this country, we have <sup>380</sup> tried to find solutions in its own background. We cannot follow the pattern of either the Soviet Union or America. <sup>400</sup>

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

Handwritten shorthand notes corresponding to the typed text, written on lined paper.



## Exercise 6

If International experience has any lesson to teach us, it is that even small farms can be productive farms, can<sup>20</sup> be paying farms. For instance, take the case of Japan. My friend may be aware that the size of Japanese<sup>40</sup> farms is less than the average size of our farm holdings but even then they are highly mechanised and they<sup>60</sup> use small tractors and power tillers. So, there is no basic contradiction. On our scheme of things, we do not<sup>80</sup> contemplate that every individual should own a tractor. In fact, what we are trying to help and support in this<sup>100</sup> country is that tractors and power tillers should be available either through co-operative societies or through service centres or through<sup>120</sup> agro-industries corporations. So, there should be an institutional framework to provide adequate draft power and necessary machinery for cultivation. <sup>140</sup> I do think there is any contradiction involved. But we do not think that every farmer should own a tractor. <sup>160</sup> He also made a statement that there is no ceiling on income from business and why should there be a <sup>180</sup> ceiling on land? This matter has been discussed and debated in this House for over two or three decades now. <sup>200</sup> The position of land availability in this country or the land-man ratio in this country is well known. If <sup>220</sup> a few persons are allowed to have large holdings, it would have created lot of tension in the countryside. <sup>240</sup> It is not, therefore, in the interests of the country. But, I quite concede that it is not possible to <sup>260</sup> distribute land in the rural areas on the basis of calculation of heads. This is the other extreme which we <sup>280</sup> do not want. We do not want wide disparities to prevail in land holdings. We cannot compare the agricultural sector <sup>300</sup> with industrial sector. That has not been the thinking in this country. The ruling party does not have such views. <sup>320</sup> He made one point with which I broadly agree. He said that while allotting land there should be some minimum. <sup>340</sup> We have advised the State Governments that whatever land is allotted to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes or other <sup>360</sup> landless persons should fulfill the minimum requirement in regard to the size so that they can make out a living <sup>380</sup> from that land. But when the landless persons are so many and demands and pressure are so much, the State <sup>400</sup> Government will naturally have to compromise on that taking into consideration the local situation. So, naturally, they have to cut <sup>420</sup> down the sizes of the lands whenever the people are more and land is not enough. I hope the people shall also compromise there. <sup>440</sup>

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



## Exercise 7

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

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

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



**Exercise 8**

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

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

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



## Exercise 9

**H**onourable Members, Space Technology plays a central role in improving the lives of the common man, providing early-warning<sup>20</sup> of impending disasters, identifying location of natural resources, providing signals to various means of communication and ensuring national security.<sup>40</sup> It is the endeavor of my Government to maximize the use of space technology for human welfare. Several facilities such as<sup>60</sup> roads, houses for poor, farming or equipment for fishermen have all been linked to space technology. Space technology has helped<sup>80</sup> us in further strengthening our security at land, air and water. Our expertise in accurate weather forecast has improved.<sup>100</sup> This was evidenced during the recent 'Cyclone Phani' that struck the eastern coast of the country. Due to accurate information and<sup>120</sup> timely preparation, large scale destruction to life and property was averted. India is marching forward to assume a leadership role<sup>140</sup> in unravelling and comprehending the mysteries of space. Our scientists are involved in the preparations for the launch of 'Chandrayaan-2',<sup>160</sup> which will be India's first spacecraft to reach the Moon. We are also making rapid progress towards achieving the goal of<sup>180</sup> sending the first Indian in India's own 'Gaganyaan' by 2022.

During the Lok Sabha elections, the country<sup>200</sup> attained another milestone, which however, did not receive as much attention as it should have. With the successful testing of<sup>220</sup> 'Mission Shakti' a new dimension has been added to India's capability in space technology and security-preparedness. For this, today<sup>240</sup> I once again congratulate our scientists and engineers. The role of technology in the field of security is expanding continuously.<sup>260</sup> Keeping this in view, work is in progress to establish three joint service agencies for space, cyber and special forces.<sup>280</sup> These collaborative efforts will strengthen the security of the country. New India is rapidly moving towards occupying its rightful place<sup>300</sup> in the world community. Today, India has acquired a new image and our relations with other countries have become stronger.<sup>320</sup> It is a matter of immense pleasure that in 2022, India will host the G-20 Summit.<sup>340</sup> The world community enthusiastically supported India's proposal to declare June 21st as 'International Day of Yoga' by the United Nations.<sup>380</sup> At present, several programmes associated with International Day of Yoga are being organized with great enthusiasm in various countries,<sup>380</sup> of which the most important events was held the 21st June this year at all over the world.<sup>400</sup>

**IMPENDING:** something bad to happen;

**ENDEAVOUR:** serious effort;

**COLLABORATIVE:** cooperative, helping each other;

**ENTHUSIASTICALLY:** with great excitement.

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



## Exercise 10

Honourable Members, the world community supports India's position on various issues such as climate change, economic and cyber-crime, action<sup>20</sup> against corruption and black money and energy security. Today the whole world stands with India on the issue of terrorism.<sup>40</sup> Designation of Masood Azhar, responsible for dastardly terrorist attacks on our soil, as a global terrorist by United Nations,<sup>60</sup> is a major testimony to this fact. My Government's 'Neighborhood First' policy is an evidence of our approach of according priority<sup>80</sup> to South Asia and countries in the adjoining region. India will play a crucial role in the progress of this<sup>100</sup> region. Accordingly, trade, connectivity and people-to-people contact are being encouraged in this region. My Government is also conscious<sup>120</sup> of protecting the interests of Indians living and working abroad. Today an Indian, if caught in any crisis abroad,<sup>140</sup> is confident of receiving timely help and relief. Several services ranging from passports to visas have been made easy and accessible.<sup>160</sup> Due to the efforts of my Government, India's philosophy, culture and achievements have got a distinct recognition at the global stage.<sup>180</sup> This year, the 150th birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi, which is being celebrated world over, will provide a fillip<sup>200</sup> to India's 'Thought Leadership'. Similarly, programmes related to the 550th birth anniversary of Guru Nanak Dev ji, will help<sup>220</sup> spread the light of India's spiritual wisdom throughout the world. New India will be sensitive and also, economically prosperous.<sup>240</sup> But for this to happen, nation's security is of utmost importance.

My Government accords top most priority to national security.<sup>260</sup> Therefore, effective steps are being taken to tackle Terrorism and Naxalism. India has amply demonstrated both her intent and capabilities,<sup>280</sup> first through surgical strikes and then through air strikes after the Pulwama attack at terrorist hideouts across the border.<sup>300</sup> In future too, all possible steps will be taken to ensure our security. Illegal infiltrators pose a major threat to our<sup>320</sup> internal security. This is leading to social imbalance in many parts of the country, as well as putting a huge<sup>340</sup> pressure on limited livelihood opportunities. My Government has decided to implement the process of 'National Register of Citizens' on priority<sup>360</sup> basis in areas affected by infiltration. Security along the border will be further strengthened to prevent infiltration. While on the<sup>380</sup> one hand, Government is working to identify the infiltrators, on the other, it is also fully committed to protecting the<sup>400</sup> victims of persecution due to their faith. In this regard, efforts will be made to amend the Citizenship Act while<sup>420</sup> protecting the linguistic, cultural and social identities. My Government is making efforts with complete dedication in this direction for future.<sup>440</sup>

**DASTARDLY:** dangerous; **TESTIMONY:** proof;

**FILLIP:** to encourage; **INFILTRATION:** enter secretly;

**PERSECUTION:** to trouble physically.

xx Online Steno & Typing



**Exercise 11**

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

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

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

PROFOUND: deep. intense. DIVERSE: varied;

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



## Exercise 12

**M**r. Chairman, Sir, at the outset, I wish to express my sincerest thanks to all the Members and the Ministers <sup>20</sup> of State for Law for their participation in this debate and I take this opportunity of congratulating the Hon'ble Member <sup>40</sup> for what I consider his maiden appearance in a debate in this House after taking over the charge of the <sup>60</sup> Ministry. When I started this debate, you must have noticed that I spoke in a very low key. I spoke <sup>80</sup> in a low key because I was apprehensive that, as my amendments are to curtail the number of Members of <sup>100</sup> some States; passions may be roused and if passion is roused, the purpose of the discussion would be lost. I <sup>120</sup> am happy that Members approached the debate dispassionately and calmly and, in fact, we had a very good discussion, as <sup>140</sup> I see it, on all points. My Hon'ble friend criticised the Whip system and I understand why he has criticised. <sup>160</sup> Because it appears that the Whip of his party did not permit him to speak in the Presidential Address debate. <sup>180</sup> Therefore, what he could not speak in the Presidential Address debate he tried to speak here and though most of <sup>200</sup> what he said had no relevance to the subject matter except referring to my Bill once, his whole speech was <sup>220</sup> on other subjects. Therefore, I think I need not reply to them. As this morning the Prime Minister has replied <sup>240</sup> to all the points and during the debate on the Presidential Address, there was enough discussion on these points.

My <sup>260</sup> Hon'ble friend has supported me but as an extremely intelligent Member of the House, he has tried to give in <sup>280</sup> a clever way, very different political overtone to it. He said that the Bill should be the first step <sup>300</sup> for increasing the power of the States. I beg to differ from him so far as this is concerned because <sup>320</sup> I feel that in a country like ours with so many diversities and separatist forces, there must be a strong <sup>340</sup> Centre and one of the essences or basic features of the reason for which two Chambers theory is encouraged, as <sup>360</sup> to keep a check on the separatist forces. My own view was on which the Hon'ble Member differed that <sup>380</sup> if only some of the States are given too much representation, they may upset the balance at some time. <sup>400</sup> The Bill to give more representation and powers to the States is not welcome, as this shall lead to rise of <sup>420</sup> the separatist forces. Therefore, our Constitution has laid the basis of strong Centre in the interest of unity as such. <sup>440</sup>

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

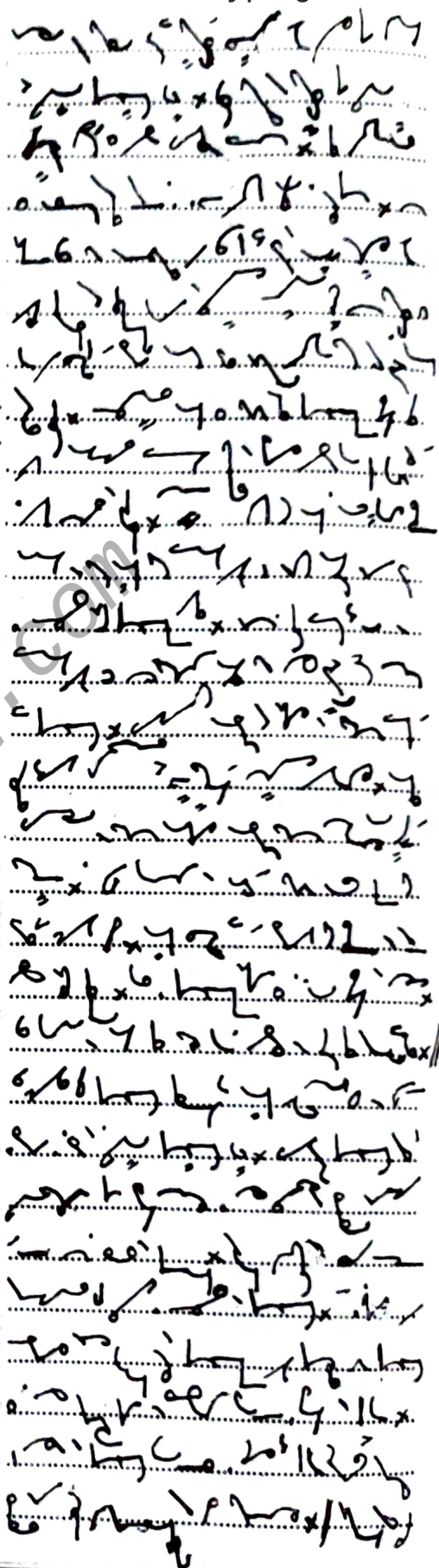


## Exercise 13

I am honoured to be present here with President and Secretary General and other leaders at the launch of the<sup>20</sup> UN Democracy Fund. This was proposed by President at the UN General Assembly last year and has received widespread<sup>40</sup> acclaim. Its relevance is underscored by its becoming a concrete reality in just a year's time. May I take this<sup>60</sup> opportunity to express our solidarity with the people of New Orleans and other regions, devastated by the destructive fury<sup>80</sup> of Hurricane Katrina? Mr. President, you have our sympathies and support in your efforts to bring relief from pain to the<sup>100</sup> people affected by this disaster. Excellencies, India is proud of its democratic heritage which is rooted in the country's cultural traditions<sup>120</sup> of tolerance, respect for different view points and a ready embrace of diversity. Mahatma Gandhi led us into a non-violent<sup>140</sup> struggle not only to free India from colonial rule but to also ensure to our people the exercise of their<sup>160</sup> democratic rights. To him it was clear that the end to colonial rule would mean very little unless the broad<sup>180</sup> masses of the people of India were empowered with democracy. We were also inspired by the ideals of freedom, equality<sup>200</sup> and justice that were the hallmarks of the great French and American revolutions. India's awakening to freedom, in turn, inspired<sup>220</sup> freedom movements in Asia and Africa. A whole family of independent and proud nations took their place on the world stage.<sup>240</sup> India sympathized with and supported their struggle to become masters of their own destiny. For us, the democratic ideal<sup>260</sup> is a common heritage of mankind. Those fortunate to enjoy its fruits have a responsibility to share its benefits with others.<sup>280</sup>

As the world's largest democracy, it is natural that India should have been among the first to welcome and support the<sup>300</sup> concept of a UN Democracy Fund. We believe that democracy based on universal adult suffrage empowers the most humble<sup>320</sup> citizen of our country and give him a sense of dignity. Poverty, illiteracy or socio-economic backwardness do not hinder<sup>340</sup> the exercise of democracy. Quite the contrary, our experience of more than 50 years of democratic rule demonstrates how democracy<sup>360</sup> is a most powerful tool to successfully overcome the challenge of development. But most of all, democracy alone gives the assurance<sup>380</sup> that the developmental aspirations of the poorest citizens of our society will be taken into consideration by such programmes.<sup>400</sup>

I bring the best wishes and felicitations of the people of India to this august Assembly meeting in its historic 60th Session.<sup>420</sup> India has a special regard for the United Nations. The ideals of the UN run parallel to our own<sup>440</sup> civilizational ethos. This is the ancient Indian concept of "Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam" or "the whole world is one





family". It is this<sup>460</sup> idea of a shared destiny, which encouraged this august Assembly, five years ago, to adopt the Millennium Development Goals.<sup>480</sup> May I take this opportunity to convey our deep condolences and sympathies to the Government and the people of United States<sup>500</sup> on the widespread destruction caused by hurricane Katrina. At the turn of the century, there was growing recognition that the<sup>520</sup> contemporary challenges of pandemic diseases, environmental depredation and terrorism demand a global response. At the same time there was hope and optimism.<sup>540</sup> The world community welcomed advances in science and technology, which made it possible as never before in human history<sup>560</sup> to confront these challenges. We had confidence in mobilizing the collective will and wisdom of nations to herald a new<sup>580</sup> era of peace and prosperity. Five years later, we find that the international community is generous in setting goals,<sup>600</sup> 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 the<sup>620</sup> future. Failure will only make our task in the future more difficult and more costly.

We in the developing world face<sup>640</sup> a dual challenge. The domestic one of managing political, economic and social change in an environment of rising expectations and<sup>660</sup> growing disparities as well as the global challenge of securing an international environment conducive to meeting our developmental aspirations. These challenges<sup>680</sup> are interlinked and success or failure will affect us all. We welcome the agreement reached on the Draft Outcome Document<sup>700</sup> to be adopted tomorrow. It is a roadmap for the work ahead to re-orient the organization to meet the challenges<sup>720</sup> of the present. India will be a willing participant in this process. All of us assembled here recognize that the<sup>740</sup> United Nations is in need of urgent and comprehensive reforms. The management of global interdependence requires strong international institutions and<sup>760</sup> a rule-based multilateral system. The reform of the United Nations must be based on this principle. It must include<sup>780</sup> the expansion of the United Nations Security Council in both permanent and non-permanent categories of membership. Unfortunately, the United Nations suffers<sup>800</sup> from a democracy deficit. Its structure and decision-making processes reflect the world of 1945 as such,<sup>820</sup> not the world of year 2015. Unless the UN becomes more representative of the contemporary world and more relevant to our concerns.<sup>840</sup>

DESTINY: future goal; SUFFRAGE: right to vote;

CONTEMPORARY: current time;

COMPREHENSIVE: detailed.

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## Exercise 14

This exhibition was to be opened on January 26, the day we become a sovereign democratic republic. It shows the<sup>20</sup> things manufactured in our country, in the village and in the towns, handicrafts as well as machine-made products.<sup>40</sup> We have to consider in which of these items we should expand production and which we should do more in the<sup>60</sup> national interest. Twenty years ago, we pledged to work for complete independence. By God's grace we have redeemed that pledge; we need not<sup>80</sup> go into the many causes due to which we did not have to suffer as much for it<sup>100</sup> as we might well have suffered. But usually we do not value fully those things for which we do not have<sup>120</sup> to suffer much. Gandhiji underwent the biggest suffering for Swarajya. There were others, too who followed in his footsteps<sup>140</sup> and sacrificed a lot. It was no easy task to integrate such a big country, with its many religions and languages,<sup>160</sup> which had never been one country. So many different States had to be integrated and organized in order that the<sup>180</sup> whole country should be free. But we had comparatively little trouble; we have, therefore, not enough appreciation for this.<sup>200</sup> That however, is not the end of our task.

What has been achieved so far is like a peasant preparing<sup>220</sup> the ground for cultivation. The true Swarajya of Gandhiji's dreams has still to be created by us in India.<sup>240</sup> Those who held up our work have left. There is no obstacle now. But millions in our country are suffering today.<sup>260</sup> They need food, clothing and shelter. At least there should be no lack of these things under self-rule. We do not<sup>280</sup> grow as much food as we need. Burma and some of the food surplus areas in our country have now<sup>300</sup> separated from us. There is thus a deficit. To ensure that food is available everywhere and no one starves,<sup>320</sup> we have to import foodgrains. Arrangements have to be made to ensure at least subsistence rations everywhere, thus necessitating various controls.<sup>340</sup> These lead to many evils. In such a big country, it is not easy to have rationing and controls.<sup>360</sup> The Government is often brought into disrepute. People take bribes. Much else happens. But it is all our doing.<sup>380</sup> Aliens have not hand in this. People blame the Government. To a certain extent they are right not fully also.<sup>400</sup>

This exhibition shows, among other things, how to grow more food, what to do and use for this purpose,<sup>420</sup> what we are doing in this respect and where. We have to become independent of food imports and mostly grow what<sup>440</sup> we need. It is a difficult

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task, especially for a country weakened by years of slavery and foreign exploitation.<sup>460</sup> A poor country does not become affluent only by achieving freedom. But if all work unitedly, it can be done.<sup>480</sup> Gandhiji said our Swarajya depended upon the Charkha; we could spin our way to Swarajya. But we did not do that.<sup>500</sup> The swarajya we have gained is not the real thing. Real swarajya we can have by producing in our country<sup>520</sup> what we need. For this we will have to change our habits. We will have to transform our villages. We have<sup>540</sup> to pledge ourselves not to use imported goods. Of course, if there is anything not produced in our country,<sup>560</sup> but required in the national interest to produce more wealth, like machinery, it will have to be used. But we should,<sup>580</sup> as far as possible, not even touch foreign products. Things made by our poor brothers and sisters in our villages<sup>600</sup> and our towns have to be encouraged. All free countries do this. Their people are taught this from childhood.<sup>620</sup>

Our industrialists and other capable people should try to manufacture the machines we now import and make our economy self-reliant.<sup>640</sup> Unfortunately, we have a dispute with a neighbour of ours. We have the factories in Calcutta which used to utilise all the<sup>660</sup> jute grown in Pakistan. The Government of India has done its best to see that economics of both the<sup>680</sup> countries are not hampered. But no agreement that we reach is implemented by them. We have to act alone.<sup>700</sup> They refuse to deliver even the jute paid for in advance, thus harming both countries. If they cannot guarantee to implement agreements,<sup>720</sup> we had better not depend on them. Let us grow the jute and the cotton and the foodgrains<sup>740</sup> we need. It is rather hard because we import a lot of foodgrains while they have enough and to spare;<sup>760</sup> they got all the best cultivable and irrigated lands and turned out the occupants who are now refugees here. We have<sup>780</sup> to make arrangements for these people bear with their anger and their sorrow, while their golden lands has been usurped<sup>800</sup> by other. We have asked loudly and repeatedly for a settlement but Pakistan obstinately refuses to do so. Thus the<sup>820</sup> dispute lingers on. It can be resolved only by frank and broad-hearted fraternal talks between all the parties.<sup>840</sup>

**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

**W**e have now come to realize that it is easy to plan but difficult to plan within our resources.<sup>20</sup> We have to cut our coat according to our cloth. When we came to office, I thought the first requirement<sup>40</sup> in the country was external and internal security. You must have any plan unless there is security. I started planning for the<sup>60</sup> intergration of whatever remained of the country and also tried to secure peace because I found that the world<sup>80</sup> had changed. We have tall talk of world peace, but there is no country in the world which is not<sup>100</sup> in a disturbed condition. Even the countries which had freedom for centuries and which had never been slaves are in<sup>120</sup> a distrubed condition. In this country, which won freedom only yesterday and which has a past legacy of so many<sup>140</sup> disturbing elements, it is impossible to make progress unless we first restore order. On top of it came partition which<sup>160</sup> made our task difficult. We were just settling down when came the devaluation. Things are not entirely in our hands<sup>180</sup> even today to plan for the progress of the country because we depend upon so many outside factors which govern us.<sup>200</sup> The planners have to take into account many extraneous circumstances.

My own view which I have not concealed<sup>220</sup> and which I have expressed often to the displeasure of many is that if we had not played false to<sup>240</sup> ourselves and to our country, large imports of food would have been unnecessary. We have plenty of food in this country.<sup>260</sup> Five or ten per cent of deficit in a huge country like this is not difficult to make up by<sup>280</sup> increased production, by prevention of waste, by putting in maximum efforts to economise and also by applying our hearts unitedly<sup>300</sup> in the matter of giving up food-stuffs where they are surplus. There are some provinces which are surplus and<sup>320</sup> others are deficit. Whenever a province tries to procure the surplus fopd from the people, we do not speak with<sup>340</sup> one voice. Some of us put our province first and the rest of the country afterwards. We know that our<sup>360</sup> neighbours are, in spite of their best efforts, not getting enough to eat and yet we feel that if we feed<sup>380</sup> our province the rest does not matter. Considerable Planning is required to make the Presidents and Chief Ministers meet.<sup>400</sup>

Planning, however good, will not work till we realize our responsibility and till we feel that it is our obligation<sup>420</sup> to help in the implementation of a scheme that has been planned.

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It is not the Congress organization alone,<sup>440</sup> but there are other groups whose business it is to destroy everything that we do. Their main function is to find<sup>460</sup> fault with everything we do, however good it may be. There are some groups who are bent on creating disruption<sup>480</sup> and dislocation and go to the length of creating chaos, committing murders and dacoities, removing rails and tampering with communications.<sup>500</sup> These are matters of great concern. On that account considerable amount of strain has been placed on the Government.<sup>520</sup> In spite of all that, we have, to large extent, restored order and this has been appreciated by the people who come<sup>540</sup> from outside. This is practically the only stable country in the whole of Asia and it is one place<sup>560</sup> where we can stem the tide of aggression and disorder. Many have expressed admiration for the work that has been done<sup>580</sup> but that work would not last unless we have enough food in the country to feed our people.<sup>600</sup>

Machinery will not solve the problem because millions of idle hands who have no work cannot find employment on machines.<sup>620</sup> India's Planning must necessarily differ from the Planning of highly developed and industrialised countries. India is primarily agricultural country<sup>640</sup> and in a country as thickly populated as India is, idleness is the greatest disease. Gandhiji's Planning was, therefore, of<sup>660</sup> a different kind and it was difficult. But it is difficult to plan on a non-industrial basis also. We must<sup>680</sup> industrialize our country quickly and efficiently in certain directions. Otherwise we are doomed in the modern world because a<sup>700</sup> modern army requires many things which only machines can produce, apart from arms and ammunition, uniforms and stores, jeeps and<sup>720</sup> motor cars, aeroplanes and petrol. If industry is not developed in the country we have to depend to external sources.<sup>740</sup> If the world succeeds in bringing about conditions in which no country requires an army, then the scheme of self-sufficiency<sup>760</sup> in villages would be the ideal thing to work for. But that is not so. We have to plan<sup>780</sup> both for industry which is immediately necessary and for agriculture which is of primary importance. Today the most controversial question<sup>800</sup> in the country which has brought the Government into trouble and made it unpopular is controls. This Government has not<sup>820</sup> got the machinery for effective controls in any sphere. It has got barely enough staff to run the administration.<sup>840</sup>

LEGACY: anything handed down from part;

EXTRANEIOUS: irrelevant alien;

RESTORED: to bring back into existence.

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## Exercise 16

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

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

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

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

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

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



**Exercise 17**

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

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

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

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

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

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



## Exercise 18

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

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

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

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

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

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

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**Education Ex.19 - 25****Exercise 19**

I am glad to welcome you to this Conference, the main initiative for calling which belongs to my friend and <sup>20</sup> colleague, when he first suggested to me that there should be a meeting of Vice-Chancellors and others to consider <sup>40</sup> how we can improve agricultural education in the country, I readily agreed. There is perhaps no single issue which is <sup>60</sup> of greater importance for the future well-being of our country. A hard fact which we must face is that the <sup>80</sup> economic life of India is not properly balanced between agriculture and industry. Though there has been considerable development in industry <sup>100</sup> in India in the last fifty years, we cannot, by any means, call India an industrial country. The basis of our <sup>120</sup> life is still agricultural and the vast majority of our people depend on agriculture for their livelihood. In fact, curious <sup>140</sup> as it may seem, the pressure on the land has, on the whole, been increasing in spite of the growth <sup>160</sup> of our industries. It is therefore, all the more regrettable that we cannot produce enough food even to meet our <sup>180</sup> requirements.

Roughly, eighty per cent of our people are in some way or the other connected with the land <sup>200</sup> and yet we have to depend upon foreign countries to get enough food for our people. In sharp contrast, we <sup>220</sup> find that the U.S.A., where not even 1/5th of the people work on the land, not only <sup>240</sup> produces all its food but exports vast quantities to other parts of the world. We must, therefore, ask ourselves the <sup>260</sup> reason why with 4/5th of our people on the land we are still deficit in food supply, whereas other <sup>280</sup> countries which do not use even 1/5th of their manpower for the production of food are surplus areas. A <sup>300</sup> searching enquiry into this problem is more necessary as our position has not always been so bad as it <sup>320</sup> is today. Until some years ago, we have, in fact, been exporting wheat and other food grains, but since <sup>340</sup> 1983 we seem to be suffering from a perpetual shortage. You all know about the efforts of the Governments, <sup>360</sup> both at the Centre and the States, to increase the production of food through the Grow More Food Campaign. I <sup>380</sup> think you will all agree that the results have not been commensurate with our efforts in this regard as such. <sup>400</sup>

We know that the average yield of our land is one of the poorest in the world and this is <sup>420</sup> so, in spite of the fact that the quality of our soil is perhaps second to none. The only explanation <sup>440</sup> is that our methods of agriculture are not fully effective. We must, therefore, think in terms of a change in <sup>460</sup> our agricultural methods. This can be achieved

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

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

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

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**Exercise 20**

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

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

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

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

INHERENTS: within; PERILS: dangers; BIAS: favour;

TANGIBLE: definite; ADOPT/ ADAPT: to accept/ to adjust;

PHENOMENAL: wonder, remarkable person/ thing.

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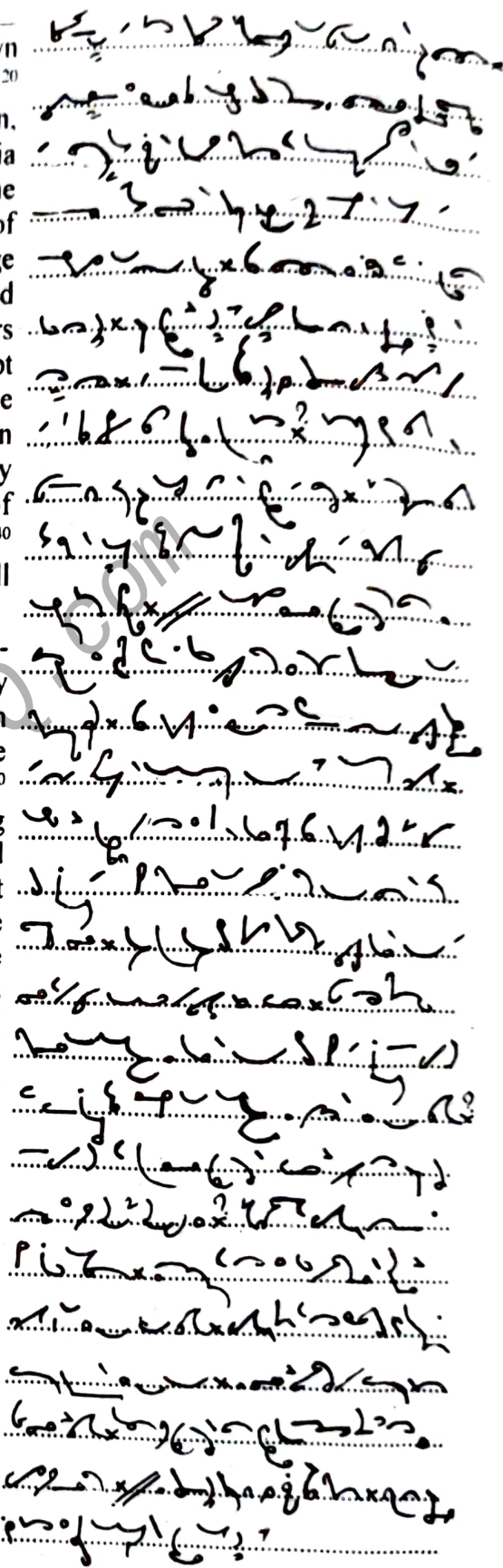


## Exercise 21

On behalf of the Government of India and on my own behalf I have great pleasure in welcoming you all <sup>20</sup> to this symposium. Unesco has, since its inception, been organising seminars, discussion groups and symposia for the consideration of various <sup>40</sup> problems that affect the relations of nations and countries and for the creation of better understanding through the exchange of <sup>60</sup> knowledge and experience in many fields. This symposium is concerned with an even more fundamental issue. Today, philosophers of the <sup>80</sup> East and the West have met to discuss the Concept of Man himself. Who can deny that this issue is <sup>100</sup> the basic one of the modern age, and on its satisfactory solution depends the future of man? I am, therefore, <sup>120</sup> specially happy to welcome you here to this ancient land of philosophers and seers. I earnestly hope that the spirit of <sup>140</sup> India with its long traditions of wisdom and spirituality will inspire all your deliberations.

In the last six thousand <sup>160</sup> years or more, the human-being has travelled over a vast region from his early beginnings in primitive society. This <sup>180</sup> period has seen man overcome many hidden obstacles and meet the challenge of inanimate nature and the animate world. In <sup>200</sup> spite of all the vicissitudes which man has had to face during this period, there has, on the whole, been <sup>220</sup> continuous and steady progress in wresting from nature some of her greatest secrets. Veil after veil has been torn apart <sup>240</sup> from the hidden face of nature and secrets that are still unknown are yielding to his quest. While man's triumphant <sup>260</sup> progress in unveiling the face of nature has been steady and continuous, can we say with equal confidence that he <sup>280</sup> has succeeded in unveiling the lineament of his own self? Can we say that after six thousand years of quest <sup>300</sup> of the real man today, sees himself as he essentially is? I think you will agree that we have to <sup>320</sup> make a sad confession in this matter. The mirror that man has fashioned reflects all aspects of the world but <sup>340</sup> not his own inner self. We have to admit that man has not yet been able to form a clear <sup>360</sup> picture of his own nature. The secrets of the universe are clearer to him than the secrets of the self. <sup>380</sup> For some three thousand years of more, philosophers have again and again asked what man is, whence he comes from <sup>400</sup>

The basic issue before you is the consideration of this problem. You have met to discuss the Concept of Man <sup>420</sup> as it has been enunciated by thinkers in the East and the





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

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

SYMPOSIUM: place to exchange views; SEERS: saints;

VICISSITUDES: change of circumstances;

QUEST: search; ETERNAL: that shall exist always.

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It was a great act of service to this country that Jawaharlalji introduced planning in this country. But the planning<sup>20</sup> that was introduced did not achieve what it had to achieve. Planning is good, but when it goes astray, it<sup>40</sup> does more harm than good. I cannot say we have made no progress. We have made progress. We were not<sup>60</sup> manufacturing even as pin in this country when we became free. Even the spindle to the spinning wheel had to<sup>80</sup> be imported. That position has changed and we are producing not only steel, aluminium or all the materials of the<sup>100</sup> Railway or sugar machinery or electric machinery, we can even produce a steel mill now. But with all this advance<sup>120</sup> in heavy industries, the dissatisfaction today is much greater than we became free. While prosperity in some<sup>140</sup> sections has increased, substantially or even perceptible when it is compared to the progress made by<sup>160</sup> the affluent people. There is a great dissatisfaction, because their expectation which is not very high in my view, is<sup>180</sup> not fulfilled. And this is where planning has not succeeded in creating conditions which would remove this dissatisfaction and create<sup>200</sup> a feeling of not only satisfaction, but an atmosphere of hope and courage so that we may face our problems<sup>220</sup> with greater confidence and with greater efficiency. Heavy industries are necessary to some extent especially in items like the Railway<sup>240</sup> materials or electric machinery or other machinery or steel or aluminium or metals or machines required for these purposes.

Consumer<sup>260</sup> goods which are far more essential for the poor and not only for the every person in society are uneconomic<sup>280</sup> to produce in heavy industries. They can be more conveniently produced, more easily produced and produced with much less capital,<sup>300</sup> per capita or per man employed, in small and cottage industries than in the bigger industries. This is a controversial<sup>320</sup> subject. In a heavy industry to employ one man requires a capital of anything between Rs.25,000 and<sup>340</sup> Rs.1,50,000, whereas for cottage industries, the investment per person employed would not exceed Rs.500. It may<sup>360</sup> be less than that in many cases. And the employment problem in this country is a most serious problem, because<sup>380</sup> without removing unemployment, we can never bring in happiness for our people. Therefore, we must fight it on a war-footing.<sup>400</sup>

All this requires full attention and a change in attitude to planning as regards priorities; also as regards methods. All<sup>420</sup> this has happened, because we began to imitate the West and the Western affluent methods. They are good for them<sup>440</sup> but they are not good for us. Whatever is good in them, we

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can certainly take and we should take.<sup>460</sup> We cannot think we know everything and we have nothing to learn. We have much to learn from every person.<sup>480</sup> The wisest man has to learn something from even a child. We have to learn a great deal from the <sup>500</sup> whole world and whatever we learn must be based on our foundations of culture, requirements of society and our genius.<sup>520</sup> This we have almost forgotten. This is the greatest misfortune of all of us. This we have to remove and<sup>540</sup> unless we get back this pride in our own basic culture and in our way of life. I am afraid <sup>560</sup> whatever attitude we may keep, it will miscarry. Any task can become successful only if it is taken up with<sup>580</sup> a right attitude, in the right perspective and with right means. Efficiency can be defined as the skill with which<sup>600</sup> you can perform a task with the least labour, with the least expenditure of money and with maximum contentment of<sup>620</sup> doing it and of producing right things. Now, if you examine any task with the background, I am quite sure<sup>640</sup> there will be little scope for disagreement. Our planning is thought in terms of large expenditure of money, because we<sup>660</sup> thought more of heavy industries. We should<sup>680</sup> have attended to it first. Of course, major irrigation works are necessary. As a matter of fact I myself have<sup>700</sup> something in view which perhaps, requires an expenditure of about Rs.15,000 crores for making canals in the north<sup>720</sup> and in the south, which will be horizontal, connecting them with vertical channels, with all rivers so that we have<sup>740</sup> a waterway system which will even be cheaper than the railway system and no dearth of water for any irrigation<sup>760</sup> throughout the country.

As a matter of fact, there was scheme with the East India Company and the British<sup>780</sup> Government earlier, before the Railways had been planned, and there was a scheme for improving the waterway system or having<sup>800</sup> waterway system for transport and for irrigation. But they found that if that was taken up they will have very<sup>820</sup> little to import from England and therefore they decided in favour of railways where everything was imported from the Britain.<sup>840</sup>

|                  |                          |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| <b>ASTRAY:</b>   | to leave the given path; |
| <b>DEARTH:</b>   | shortage;                |
| <b>AFFLUENT:</b> | extra rich;              |

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## Exercise 23

**M**r. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I was submitting in the forenoon session that political defections have become a moral feature of<sup>20</sup> our political and public life. I hope, after this Constitution Amendment bill adopted, we will get rid of this<sup>40</sup> bad thing which has been happening in our public life. I was also saying that a good move has been<sup>60</sup> made by the party in power. After all, a democratic Government is not a Government by majority. It is not<sup>80</sup> a majority rule which operates. In the real sense the Party in power should take the parties in Opposition into<sup>100</sup> confidence. Not merely take them into confidence, but they should also try to meet their point of view to the<sup>120</sup> fullest extent possible. This is the way democracy operates. This is the system which we have inherited from our ancestors,<sup>140</sup> which used to be in the form of Panchayat system. We need to preserve, nurture and see that it flower<sup>160</sup> further so that we can take all advantages through this system. The only alternative to this system is, as is<sup>180</sup> well-known, dictatorship where a person, a human being, cannot flower his own and to the full. Basic freedoms<sup>200</sup> which are very necessary for an advancement of the society and for achieving various objectives are not available.

This defection<sup>220</sup> has raised a matter of principle because it is a matter of morality in public life, in political life, which<sup>240</sup> needs to be gone into. I know, Sir, that this is something which has been happening in all countries, of<sup>260</sup> course, democratic countries, and we have witnessed a number of incidents of this type. But I would submit along with<sup>280</sup> that it is just not right to defect; I think there is something more than that which also we<sup>300</sup> should try to understand. A person leaves party for two reasons. One is that it is a matter of<sup>320</sup> principle or certain basic policy or a programme against which the party is trying to go. It might have been<sup>340</sup> enshrined in the Constitution, in the policies and programmes, but still the occasions do arise when the parties go against<sup>360</sup> their very principles and policies. It is only under circumstances that there are certain persons, members, who are more<sup>380</sup> loyal to the basic principles rather than to the institution or a party, who raise the question of freedom of conscience.<sup>400</sup>

After all, political party is an instrument to achieve something, it is not an end by itself. If you like<sup>420</sup> from this point of view, the right to dissent or even to leave is a basic right which should exist<sup>440</sup> in any democratic society. But the

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point that is relevant is, how this is going to be exercised. It is<sup>460</sup> going to be exercised for personal advancement, gain, personal benefit, selfish interest or some national or social interest? That is<sup>480</sup> the dividing line and this should be kept in mind. I am, therefore, happy that the particular clause, which used<sup>500</sup> to be in the original Bill that was sought, to be introduced, that a person who could be expelled from<sup>520</sup> a party outside the House not connected with the voting in House also would disqualify from the Membership of<sup>540</sup> the House, has been given a go by unanimously. That is a very welcome feature of this particular Bill.

Again, as<sup>560</sup> I was saying, there are a number of situations wherein the people are required to operate, to work and vote<sup>580</sup> according to the policies that are laid down. It is true that the members are elected on the basis of<sup>600</sup> certain policies and programmes to a political party. It is therefore, their bounden duty to see that these policies and<sup>620</sup> programmes are properly implemented, and the issues that come up before the House are accordingly voted upon. Any person or<sup>640</sup> member who tries to transgress these limits needs to be punished, but it is in this context that it becomes<sup>660</sup> a matter of very serious concern. That is, when a person defects because he wants to get into power or<sup>680</sup> get something in return either in installing or pulling down the Government. This is something which is more condemnable and<sup>700</sup> that is why it has become a matter of contempt as far as the public is concerned.

But sometime, I<sup>720</sup> do wonder, Sir, that if defection is given a go by for all the time to come and in all<sup>740</sup> the countries probably the great men who have appeared on the scene in history might not appear any more. As<sup>760</sup> my one friend put it, the charms of defection also may not be there. I would like to submit that<sup>780</sup> there was a great man who defected not once but thrice. He is one of the greatest men of that<sup>800</sup> country. As we see it, he started his career as a Conservative party member became<sup>820</sup> an independent member, and later on again reverted to the Conservative party from where he occupied the highest post in the country.<sup>840</sup>

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



## Exercise 24

It gives me great pleasure to be here in your midst, where businessmen, leaders and captains of industry and trade<sup>20</sup> from the European Union sit together with the captains of industry of our country. I have always believed with Lord Keynes<sup>40</sup> that, "in the final analysis businessmen are the custodians of the possibility of survival of human civilization and therefore,<sup>60</sup> if business leaders think right, I think our societies and our politics can look to the future with hope and<sup>80</sup> confidence. Therefore, I greatly welcome this opportunity to interact with such an outstanding group of leaders of business and industry.<sup>100</sup> Prime Minister has already mentioned that we had a very fruitful meeting with him and the President and the members<sup>120</sup> of the European Commission and tomorrow, we will have a bilateral meeting where we will discuss the further development of our<sup>140</sup> relations with the United Kingdom. Under the Presidentship of Prime Minister, we have made a very good progress in our<sup>160</sup> strategic partnership. I am grateful to you, Prime Minister for the leadership you have given to the process of widening and<sup>180</sup> deepening of our relationship with the European Union.

We live in a world of constant change and the success belongs<sup>200</sup> to those who are adept at mastering processes of change. In our own times, few leaders of countries have shown<sup>220</sup> that much expertise in effective management of change processes than Prime Minister. Therefore, what he has told you this afternoon,<sup>240</sup> I think I heartily agree. Those are the ways to manage processes of change and the moral of what<sup>260</sup> he has been saying is similar to what I have been saying to our own people - do not be too fearful of change.<sup>280</sup> Learn to live with change, though of course governments have the responsibility to smoothen the processes of change, smoothen<sup>300</sup> the transitional pain that may at some times accompany the processes of change. So what Prime Minister has told you this evening,<sup>320</sup> I heartily support. It's for me and for my colleagues a great delight that we have this opportunity to interact with<sup>340</sup> leaders of European and Indian business. I sincerely believe that in the modern world, the relationship between Governments is increasingly<sup>360</sup> mediated through and influenced by the relationship between the civil society and the business community. It is on the foundation<sup>380</sup> of people-to-people and business-to-business relations that we in Government try to build State-to-State relations.<sup>400</sup>

India and the EU have deep and abiding ties comprising political, cultural, social and economic relations. We are the<sup>420</sup> largest democracies of the world, we cherish the freedoms that

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



democracy offers. We share a common belief in pluralism, consultations<sup>440</sup> and consensus, in the Rule of Law and in peace. For, in peace and in stability, we have the foundations<sup>460</sup> necessary for development and economic growth within the framework of an open society and an open economy. The terrorist attacks<sup>480</sup> on July 7 this year in London are an unfortunate affirmation of our view that terrorism, by whatever name, can have<sup>500</sup> no place in a civilized society. I am emphasising this in this Business Summit because one of the aims of<sup>520</sup> terrorism is to cause economic instability all round. I hope that, as India and EU join hands today<sup>540</sup> to strengthen our economic ties, one aspect of those ties must be to ensure peace in our lands. We need each other's<sup>560</sup> strong support in that endeavour. We meet here today at a time when the Indian economy is once again<sup>580</sup> on an upward growth path. For two years in a row, we have had upwards of 7 per cent growth in our<sup>600</sup> national income. This year, we expect to repeat that performance. I am convinced that we will sustain this rate of growth,<sup>620</sup> perhaps even improve upon it, in the next few years. This has the potential of transforming our economy<sup>640</sup> in many ways.

It is now possible, as never before, for us to visualise an India without poverty, without disease<sup>660</sup> and without scourge of extreme deprivation. There is an air of optimism and, as a believer in the ideas of Lord Keynes,<sup>680</sup> I am convinced that 'positive expectations have a way of yielding positive outcomes'. The process of economic reforms initiated<sup>700</sup> by us in the early 90's has yielded rich dividends in many ways. We are committed to pursuing these reforms<sup>720</sup> in a manner that the benefits percolate to all sections of our society, especially our rural poor. I have often<sup>740</sup> said that we must walk on two legs - pursuing greater efficiency and simultaneously pursuing greater equity in the working of the economy.<sup>760</sup> I do believe that if the fruits of higher economic growth are better shared, this in itself will<sup>780</sup> stimulate further growth. We see the EU as a natural partner in our economic development. For centuries, long before the<sup>800</sup> colonial era began, Indians and Europeans have been engaged in commerce. India has had civilisational and commercial links with<sup>820</sup> different nationalities within Europe. We must build on those links by renewing the economic, social and cultural basis of our relationship.<sup>840</sup>

**STRATEGIC:** baSEd on thoughtful policy; **CHERISH:** enjoy;

**POTENTIAL:** inner strength; **PERCOLATE:** go downwards;

**SIMULTANEOUSLY:** at the same time; **ADEPT:** skillful.

Handwritten shorthand notes corresponding to the typed text on the left, including words like 'democracy', 'terrorism', 'EU', 'economy', 'growth', 'peace', 'efficiency', 'equity', 'commerce', 'links', 'relationship', 'STRATEGIC', 'CHERISH', 'POTENTIAL', 'PERCOLATE', 'SIMULTANEOUSLY', and 'ADEPT'.



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In view of the aforesaid limitation imposed by the Constitution on the legislative power of the States under Entry 54<sup>400</sup> of the State List it is beyond the competence of the State Legislature to make a law imposing or authorising<sup>420</sup> the imposition of a tax on transfer of property in goods involved in the execution of a works contract,<sup>440</sup> with the aid of sub-clause (b) of clause of Article 366, in respect of transactions which take place<sup>460</sup> in the course of inter-State trade or



commerce or transactions which constitute sales outside the State or sales<sup>480</sup> in the course of import or export. Consequently, it is not permissible for a State to frame the legislative enactment<sup>500</sup> in exercise of the legislative power conferred by Entry 54 in State List in a manner as to assume the<sup>520</sup> power to impose tax on such transactions and thereby transgress these constitutional limitations. Apart from the limitations referred to above<sup>540</sup> which curtail the ambit of the legislative competence of the State Legislatures, there is clause (3) of Article 286<sup>560</sup> which enables Parliament to make a law placing restrictions and conditions on the exercise of the legislative power<sup>580</sup> of the State under Entry 54 in State List in regard to the system of levy, rates and other<sup>600</sup> incidents of tax. Such a law may be in relation to (a) goods declared by Parliament by law to be<sup>620</sup> of special importance in inter-State trade or commerce, or (b) to taxes of the nature referred to in<sup>640</sup> sub-clauses (b), (c) and (d) of clause of Article.

When such a law is enacted by Parliament the<sup>660</sup> legislative power of the States under Entry 54 in State List has to be exercised subject to the restrictions<sup>680</sup> and conditions specified in that law. In exercise of the power conferred by Article 286(3)(a) Parliament<sup>700</sup> has enacted Sections 14 and 15 of the Central Sales Tax Act, 1956. No law has, however, been<sup>720</sup> made by Parliament in exercise of its power under Article 286(3)(b). The question is whether<sup>740</sup> in the absence of an amendment in the Central Sales Tax Act specifically applying its provisions to a transfer of property<sup>760</sup> in goods involved in the execution of a works contract, the provisions of Sections 3, 4 and 5 contained in<sup>780</sup> Chapter II can be held applicable to such a transfer. In this context, it may be mentioned that prior to<sup>800</sup> the Forty-sixth Amendment, a distinction was being made between a 'works contract' which was entire and indivisible and a<sup>820</sup> 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.<sup>856</sup>

**PERTAINING:** relating to;

**AMENDMENT:** an alteration to law;

**IMPOSITION:** laying on something as burden;

**TRANSGRESS:** to violate a law;

**AMBIT:** scope.

Handwritten shorthand notes corresponding to the text on the left, including references to sections 14, 15, 3, 4, 5 of the Central Sales Tax Act, 1956, and various constitutional provisions.



## Exercise 26 (Legal)

In this batch of transferred cases, transfer petitions, writ petitions and the petition for special leave to appeal, the **challenge**<sup>20</sup> is to the Constitution, which came into effect on 14.01.2019, whereby the Parliament has amended<sup>40</sup> Articles 15 and 16 of the Constitution of India by adding two new clauses viz., clause (6) to Article 15<sup>60</sup> with Explanation and clause (6) to Article 16; and thereby, the State has been empowered, inter alia, to provide for<sup>80</sup> a maximum of ten per cent. reservation for "the economically weaker sections" of citizens other than "the Scheduled Castes",<sup>100</sup> "the Scheduled Tribes" and the non-creamy layer of "the Other Backward Classes". At the outset, it needs to be stated that the<sup>120</sup> amendment in question does not mandate but enables reservation for EWS and prescribes a ceiling limit of<sup>40</sup> ten per cent.

In a very brief outline of the forthcoming discussion, it could be noticed that the challenge to the<sup>160</sup> amendment in question is premised essentially on three-fold grounds: first, that making of special provisions including reservation in education<sup>180</sup> and employment on the basis of economic criteria is entirely impermissible and offends the basic structure of the Constitution; second, that<sup>200</sup> in any case, exclusion of socially and educationally backward classes, that is, SCs, STs and<sup>220</sup> non-creamy layer OBCs from the benefit of these special provisions for EWS is inexplicably discriminatory<sup>240</sup> and destroys the basic structure of the Constitution; and third, that providing for ten per cent. additional reservation directly breaches<sup>260</sup> the fifty per cent. ceiling of reservations already settled by the decisions of this Court and hence, results in unacceptable abrogation<sup>280</sup> of the Equality Code which, again, destroys the basic structure of the Constitution. Per contra, it is maintained on behalf<sup>300</sup> of the sides opposing this challenge that the amendment in question, empowering the State to make special provisions for the<sup>320</sup> economically weaker sections of citizens, is squarely within the four corners of the Constitution of India; rather making of such provisions<sup>340</sup> is necessary to achieve the Preamble goal of 'JUSTICE, social, economic and political' in real sense of terms. It is also<sup>360</sup> asserted that there is no discrimination in relation to the classes that are excluded from EWS<sup>380</sup> for the simple reason that the existing special provisions of affirmative action in their relation continue to remain in operation in the future.<sup>400</sup>

As regards the breach of fifty per cent. ceiling of reservations, the contention is that the said ceiling is not<sup>420</sup> inflexible or inviolable and in the context of the object sought to be achieved,

Handwritten notes in Urdu script, likely a transcription of the English text, covering the same legal exercise. The notes include dates like 14.01.2019, 15-16, and 15, and terms like EWS, SCs, STs, OBCs, and the fifty per cent ceiling.



ten per cent. has been provided<sup>440</sup> as the maximum by way of the enabling provision. With the foregoing outline, we may usefully take note of the<sup>460</sup> reference made to the Constitution Bench for determination of the substantial questions of interpretation of the Constitution, as are involved in these matters and<sup>480</sup> the questions formulated while commencing the hearing. By an order, a 3-Judge Bench of this Court took note of the<sup>500</sup> issues arising in these matters and referred the same for determination by a Constitution Bench while observing, inter alia, as under:<sup>520</sup>

By virtue of the impugned amendments, very Constitution is amended by inserting new clauses in Articles 15 and 16 thereof,<sup>540</sup> which empower the State to make reservations by way of affirmative action to the extent of 10%<sup>560</sup> to economically weaker sections. It is the case of the petitioners, that the very amendments run contrary to the constitutional scheme,<sup>580</sup> and no segment of available seats or posts can be reserved, only on the basis of economic criterion. As such, we are<sup>600</sup> of the view that such questions do constitute substantial questions of law to be considered by a Bench of<sup>620</sup> five Judges. It is clear from the language of Article 145(3) of the Constitution and<sup>640</sup> Rule 1(1) of the Supreme Court Rules, 2013, the matters which involve substantial questions of law as to interpretation<sup>660</sup> of Constitutional provisions they are required to be heard a Bench of five Judges. Whether the impugned Amendment Act violates<sup>680</sup> basic structure of the Constitution, by applying the tests of 'width' and 'identity' with reference to equality provisions of the<sup>700</sup> Constitution, is a matter which constitutes substantial question of law within the meaning of the provisions as referred above.<sup>720</sup> Further, on the plea of ceiling of 50% for affirmative action, it is the case of the respondent-Union of India<sup>740</sup> that though ordinarily 50% is the rule but same will not prevent to amend the Constitution itself<sup>760</sup> in view of the existing special circumstances to uplift the members of the society belonging to economically weaker sections.<sup>780</sup> Even such questions also constitute as substantial questions of law to be examined by a Bench of five Judges.<sup>800</sup> Pursuant to the order aforesaid, this batch of matters has been referred to this Constitution Bench for determination of the issues arising<sup>820</sup> from the challenge to the 103rd Amendment. The court is after perusing the issues suggested by learned counsel.<sup>840</sup>

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

**PREAMBULAR:** as per the preamble;

**AFFIRMATIVE:** supportive;

**PERUSING:** examining carefully.

Handwritten notes in Urdu script, likely a transcription or summary of the text, including references to Articles 15, 16, 145(3), and Supreme Court Rules, 2013.