

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

Exercise 1

Mr. Speaker, Sir, a week ago today, I returned to Delhi after visiting many countries and many great cities in ²⁰ the West, and meeting many leading personalities. I tried to understand the great movements that were taking place there, and ⁴⁰ the thoughts that were passing in the minds of people. Even more so, I tried to understand what image there ⁶⁰ was of India in the minds of the people I met in Europe.

Even as I watched something of the ⁸⁰ stuff of history being made in Europe, I wanted to know how far the history we might be making here ¹⁰⁰ was reflected in the minds of the European people. I found they were greatly interested in what was happening in ¹²⁰ India, because they felt it was something very significant, something that would not only change India but affects other countries ¹⁴⁰ and continents. From that distance I thought of our work here, of the great problems that face us, and the ¹⁶⁰ responsibility of this Parliament in making the history of India.

Another thought that struck me as I travelled from country ¹⁸⁰ to country was how the old frontiers gradually had less and less meaning. Within an hour or two, I travelled ²⁰⁰ from the capital of one great country to the capital of another. It seemed to me that despite the many ²²⁰ unsolved problems and conflicts, the idea of national frontiers had become less and less important in the modern scheme of ²⁴⁰ things.

I mention this because here we are considering, with great heat and passion, not the frontiers of nations but ²⁶⁰ the borders inside the nation between two States or provinces. If the frontiers of nations have become relatively less important ²⁸⁰ than they were, and if in the course of a few years they may almost be ignored for many matters, ³⁰⁰ how much less important are these problems of State boundaries which we are considering! I do not wish to underrate ³²⁰ their importance, but I do wish this House to consider the question in proper perspective. We are apt to lose ³⁴⁰ that perspective in the heat of the debate. I know that this question, and this Bill and its provisions, have ³⁶⁰ moved people strongly and deeply and that even now there is a great deal of feeling about them. I do ³⁸⁰ not suppose that the most ideal of solutions could possibly have been pleasing to all one parts to the dispute. ⁴⁰⁰

IDEAL : existing in idea; PERSPECTIVE : to see in natural form;

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

Exercise 2

So far I am concerned, it is of no great significance to us what part of India goes into which State boundary. We must of course decide which course is more desirable, but in the ultimate analysis, it does not make much difference from the Government's point of view where one little part goes. I do not deny that it has a certain importance from the individual's or the State's point of view, but it has none from the national point of view.

The Government of India has approached this question objectively and without any particular desire to impose its decisions. We have been told that we did not go through the proper procedures of consultation and decision. But I think any person who knows what has happened in the last six, seven or eight months in this country will agree that the amount of consultation and discussion that we have had about this matter is without parallel. In fact, many people say that we overdid this; it would have been much simpler if we had not tried to consult hundreds of thousands of persons in this process and thereby perhaps added to the confusion. However, it is a fact that this question has roused people. But I want this House, in the first place, to look at this question in proper perspective, lest we should get lost in the passions of the moment; secondly, to realize that however important these borders might be, they are, after all, administrative divisions inside the country; and thirdly, to remember that whatever we may decide today, nobody prevents us from making any variation subsequently. Nobody wants to change things everyday. At the same time nothing is final in the sense that it cannot be changed in the future.

Our difficulty has been that we have tried, too much perhaps, to balance respective viewpoints and find a common way and as large a measure of agreement as possible. In doing so, we have often succeeded in displeasing many people. Yet I would beg of you to remember that in this very complicated business which has affected the whole of India, by far the greater part of India has accepted, broadly speaking, the proposals that have been made. It is true that many important questions remain to be solved; among them perhaps the one that has been talked about most is the question of Bombay and Maharashtra. Let us realize that even if some decision which we dislike is made, it does not make a great lot of difference. A mistake made in a restricted sphere can be corrected later, whereas a blunder cannot be corrected.

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

OBJECTIVELY : based on objective;
ULTIMATE : final; **BLUNDER** : big mistake;

Exercise 3

I have felt that the approach to these questions has been marred by strong language, by direct or indirect reproaches,²⁰ and by the running down of this group or that. Consideration of these problems is not helped in the slightest⁴⁰ by any province or community being run down and by any other part of the country considering itself more capable,⁶⁰ more courageous, more independent or more nationalistic. We are all here as Members chosen by some constituency or other in⁸⁰ India. Naturally, we are interested in that constituency. But I submit that we are much more. I am not here¹⁰⁰ merely as Member for the eastern part of Allahabad district. I consider a Member of Parliament to be a Member¹²⁰ for India. We are not members of some local municipality or district to consider the interests only of our area¹⁴⁰ and forget the rest of India. We have to consider every question in relation to the whole country. As Prime¹⁶⁰ Minister of India I have to think in terms of India. I may make a mistake, as all of us¹⁸⁰ make mistakes. But our *bona fides* must not be called into question. I submit that when we begin to challenge²⁰⁰ one another's *bona fides*, then any discussion and consideration of a problem and merits become difficult. Some hon. Members may²²⁰ say, "It is all very well; your intentions may be very good, but where have you landed us with your²⁴⁰ good intentions?" It is perfectly true that we have landed ourselves in a bit of a mess. I admit it²⁶⁰ and I admit my responsibility for it, because as Prime Minister and otherwise also, I am at least partly responsible²⁸⁰ for it. I do not wish to run away from it. It sometimes happens that in trying to avoid one³⁰⁰ difficulty we land in another.

In regard to Bombay and Maharashtra, we varied previous decisions on several occasions. Each time³²⁰ we varied it we landed in a fresh difficulty. We did it at the suggestion of some respected colleagues of³⁴⁰ ours and then they themselves wanted something else. Ultimately we landed ourselves in this difficulty that any attempt to change³⁶⁰ it resulted in probably a worse situation than the first one.

The hon. Member, Shri Deshmukh, said he preferred a³⁸⁰ City State formula to the present state of affairs. So did we and that was our first decision for us.⁴⁰⁰

REPROACHES : convey protest; **BONA FIDES** : lawful position.

Handwritten shorthand notes in Progressive Shorthand script, corresponding to the typed text on the left. The notes are written on lined paper and include various symbols, numbers, and abbreviations used in shorthand.

Exercise 4

Hon'ble Member will remember that on one occasion he told us not only on his behalf but responsibly and authoritatively ²⁰ on behalf of others too that we should adopt the City State formula. We adopted it although we had come ⁴⁰ to some other conclusion because we were anxious and eager to please. But not 48 hours had passed when ⁶⁰ we were told, "No; go back upon that; we won't approve that." We went back upon it, and so we ⁸⁰ shifted about in our anxiety to arrive at some decision which carried the largest measure of agreement and consent.

The ¹⁰⁰ Hon. Member referred to what he called two crucial decisions which were taken without consultation. I am in a difficulty ¹²⁰ about this matter because I am really, totally and absolutely unable to follow him. I do not know where he ¹⁴⁰ gets his facts from. I consulted my papers, our Cabinet records and everything. There are two decisions—I leave out ¹⁶⁰ for the moment the statement that I made in Bombay. The first decision was taken, I may say absolutely and ¹⁸⁰ emphatically, with the consultation of everybody and my colleagues in the whole cabinet. I have no doubt about it. Finally, ²⁰⁰ this Bill itself was placed before the Cabinet. The Bill, after all, contains the decision on Bombay and it was ²²⁰ the Cabinet that adopted it before it came to this House. That is the usual procedure. I do not understand ²⁴⁰ how anyone can say, unless he is forgetting all this, that this decision was adopted without consultation. There has been ²⁶⁰ more consultation on this than on any other subject that I have known of since I became Prime Minister.

Shri ²⁸⁰ Deshmukh was kind enough and good enough to say that he did not refer to me when he said that ³⁰⁰ there was a certain animus. I thank him for the statement, but it is a small matter, after all, what ³²⁰ I am and what I may be. But our method of government, the procedure we follow in the Cabinet, in ³⁴⁰ the Government of India, in this Parliament and elsewhere are much bigger matters. Are we following wrong procedures? Are we ³⁶⁰ overriding everybody and imposing some individual will, mine or a small committee's will, over this Parliament, over the Government, over ³⁸⁰ the country? That is a vital matter. It is more vital than, I say, this whole States Reorganization Bill. If ⁴⁰⁰ we go wrong, how are we to function? It is a serious charge the hon. Member has made. It is ⁴²⁰ not easy to reply to it and to justify my own conduct. But I feel he has not assured justice. ⁴⁴⁰

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

AUTHORITATIVELY : exercising authority;
ANIMUS : hostility in speech; **IMPOSING** : forcing;

Exercise 5

Then there is the question of the statement I made in Bombay. What is the crucial point of the statement?
²⁰ I had said at the Amritsar Congress and at various other places repeatedly that Bombay would be given an opportunity ⁴⁰ to decide, by some democratic process, what it should do and where it should go. For my part, I would ⁶⁰ be exceedingly happy if Bombay went to Maharashtra. I have absolutely no reason against it and I think there are ⁸⁰ many good and valid arguments for Bombay going to Maharashtra. But I say there are valid arguments also on the ¹⁰⁰ other side. In this difficulty, we thought that the best way was to allow Bombay to decide. It may be ¹²⁰ done even now. But, as I pointed out, the conditions have been such, and so much passion has been aroused, ¹⁴⁰ that it is not yet the right time to decide it. Let things cool down. I have repeatedly said that ¹⁶⁰ normality should prevail and then the people should decide. I do not mean that you will necessarily have a **referendum** ¹⁸⁰ and all that; but, if there is a good atmosphere, I have no doubt that it would be far simpler to ²⁰⁰ settle this matter without any such cumbersome procedure. I was hoping for that and I still hope for that. At ²²⁰ the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay, I was not, to my thinking, making any announcement of ²⁴⁰ a great decision. I was merely stating what I had stated repeatedly—my view, and I am somebody, after all. ²⁶⁰ A Prime Minister is a Prime Minister, and he can lay down the policy of the Government. I know something ²⁸⁰ about democratic procedure; I know something about party procedure; I know what the Prime Minister's duties are and in the ³⁰⁰ Constitution that we have and Britain has, the Prime Minister is the **linchpin** of Government. To say that the Prime ³²⁰ Minister cannot make a statement is itself a monstrous statement. I entirely fail to understand where the Hon. Member ³⁴⁰ has got his acquaintance of democracy and of what, under the present Constitution of India and England, the Prime Minister ³⁶⁰ is, what he can do and what he cannot do. I am something more than the Prime Minister; we are ³⁸⁰ all something more; we are the children of the Indian Revolution. And that still exists in our body and spirits. ⁴⁰⁰

MONSTROUS : huge, outrageous;
LINCHPIN : element vital to organisation;
REFERENDUM : referring to electorate for direct decision;

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

Exercise 6

I made that simple statement in Bombay, if I may call it so, to give an assurance that the decision ²⁰ was not final and irrevocable. The statement said in effect, "Let peace be restored first and then this matter may ⁴⁰ be decided calmly." I do not mind which way it is decided. I am perfectly prepared to plead the cause ⁶⁰ of Maharashtra with others. 'Animus' is a big word. I have no disinclination towards Maharashtra, but 'animus' is a big ⁸⁰ word. I attach much importance to this question being solved in a calm manner so as not to leave any ¹⁰⁰ headache behind. By all means, let Maharashtra get Bombay in a friendly way, in a co-operative way, and it will ¹²⁰ be good for Maharashtra, it will be good for Bombay, and good for the country.

The older I grow, the ¹⁴⁰ more I feel that the manner things are done is more important than the things themselves. Means are more important ¹⁶⁰ than ends. All our trouble in this business has been not that the ends were not good, but that the ¹⁸⁰ means employed somehow tarnished the ends, made difficulties and actually came in the way of achievement of those ends. I ²⁰⁰ am not blaming anybody; I am quite prepared to blame myself. But I believe it is a fact that if ²²⁰ you employ the wrong methods and gain something, than end is perverted. Because passions and had come into play, I wanted ²⁴⁰ the question to be considered in a calmer atmosphere. The more I thought, the more I felt it was ²⁶⁰ good to postpone this particular decision for some time. I say five years, but I am not setting any rigid ²⁸⁰ limit. It is an indication that our minds are not closed on this issue, and that the matter is left ³⁰⁰ open for the future, to be decided when the opportunity arises. It was, to my humble thinking, a hand held ³²⁰ out to Maharashtra instead of against it. The day before I made that statement in the All-India Congress Committee, ³⁴⁰ I had the privilege of meeting quite a number of leading gentlemen from Maharashtra, and we talked about these matters. ³⁶⁰ I told them my difficulties and asked them what could be done about the Bill. I said that we could ³⁸⁰ see that the matter was not closed, but was kept open for a period. They asked me whether I would ⁴⁰⁰ say so before the All-India Congress Committee. I agreed and I made that Statement.

I did not convey any ⁴²⁰ firm decision of Government. I know that when a Prime Minister makes a statement, it is important, not casual at all. ⁴⁴⁰

DISINCLINATION : not favourably disposed; TARNISHED : blackened;

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

Exercise 7

Some people have talked about a big bilingual State, and for my part, I welcome it. I do not mind ²⁰ if Bombay is a City State. I do not mind if any chunk of territory were to go from one ⁴⁰ side to the other. May be, there is no sense of provincialism in me. I regard economic and geographical factors ⁶⁰ as more important. But the thing that is really important is how linguistic minorities are to be treated. Boundaries are ⁸⁰ bound to overlap, wherever you might draw them. There are bound to be bilingual and perhaps trilingual areas. How then ¹⁰⁰ are linguistic minorities to be treated?

The House will remember that in the Commission's Report, there is a special reference in ¹²⁰ the concluding chapters to certain measures, certain protections, certain precautions, certain assurances, certain statutory provisions in regard to the linguistic ¹⁴⁰ minorities. I am anxious that these should be implemented. Any complaint that people speaking a certain language have not been ¹⁶⁰ given protection because they are in a minority must be removed altogether from India, and removed not merely by pious ¹⁸⁰ protestations but by active and precise instructions to that effect.

All the fourteen languages mentioned in our Constitution are our ²⁰⁰ national languages—not Hindi only. We have said that Hindi, not because of any linguistic superiority, but because it is ²²⁰ spread over a larger area and for other reasons, should be an all-India language; it should, for official purposes, ²⁴⁰ become an all-India language gradually after a certain period. But all the fourteen are national languages. We want to ²⁶⁰ encourage them. The attitude that we can encourage one language by crushing others is completely wrong from the literary or ²⁸⁰ the linguistic point of view. I am convinced that the development of any language in India leads to the development ³⁰⁰ of others. I feel that any kind of application, letter or petition that is presented to courts can be done ³²⁰ in any of the fourteen languages of India and no court should reject it.

If that is so about every ³⁴⁰ language in India, it should be so especially in regard to the actual languages spoken in a certain area. They ³⁶⁰ should be given official position in that area, in applications and other matters. After all, Government issues notices so that ³⁸⁰ they may be understood, not with the intention of encouraging or discouraging a language. A notice misunderstood is useless. ⁴⁰⁰

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

Exercise 8

It is of the utmost importance that, in building the future, we should develop an all-India outlook. The provincial²⁰ outlook is not going to pay the province, much less India. I may come from Uttar Pradesh, my ancestors might⁴⁰ have come from Kashmir, but I consider myself an Indian; I feel that I have inherited every great deed and⁶⁰ tradition of India from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas. Sometimes, comparisons are made among people of the various provinces. The⁸⁰ people of one province are supposed to be brave, yet others are believed to be businessmen and some others to be¹⁰⁰ entrepreneurs and so on. All this thinking is unfortunately the reflex of the caste system—a bane and curse to¹²⁰ this country. Which province or State is there in India which does not have a proud tradition of its own? ¹⁴⁰ Go to the South, to Tamil Nadu; they have a great language and great traditions, military and the rest. Go¹⁶⁰ the Andhra, and they will tell you about the famous Andhra empires of old.

I inherit all this legacy. Do¹⁸⁰ you think that I can confine myself to the city of Allahabad, although it is an ancient city, because I²⁰⁰ was born at Allahabad? I claim to have a right to the glory of every other part of India.

Everybody²²⁰ knows the vital part Maharashtra has played in India's history, in military achievement, in scholarship, in literature and finally, in²⁴⁰ the struggle for freedom. The Maharashtrians or Gujaratis or the Tamilians do no require protection. They are big enough. The²⁶⁰ people who do require protection are our border people.

Geography has made India what it is, with the Himalayas and²⁸⁰ the seas protecting it. Whatever internal divisions and dissensions and conflicts we have had in India in the past few³⁰⁰ thousands of years, the concept of India has remained. The concept of India, Bharat or Hindustan, has remained and has³²⁰ kept us mentally together. Such a concept did not perhaps matter so much in the old days. But the concept³⁴⁰ of unity does matter today, when we must be integrated not only politically, but emotionally and intellectually. It is painful³⁶⁰ how in the last few months we have displayed not to ourselves alone but to the world that we are³⁸⁰ not integrated in our minds and hearts. Even if it is conceded that the Government of India has committed a⁴⁰⁰ mistake, it will take time to change matters. You can, of course, change the Government of India; you can change⁴²⁰ the decisions, but remember, above all, that we have to preserve India uninjured in any manner for the future generations.⁴⁴⁰

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

Exercise 9

Sir, I think this debate will have a positive and beneficial effect on the settlement of this strike. Most of ²⁰ the Members, almost all the Members who have spoken here, have sympathised with the cause of the workers, the demands ⁴⁰ of the workers. Nobody has said that the workers are putting forward unjustified demands. Now, unfortunately, some issues have been ⁶⁰ brought in, which have created some amount of confusion. Even in the Statement of the Minister, which he had made ⁸⁰ here, on the floor of the House and in the other House, for example, I must clear those one or ¹⁰⁰ two points.

First, it was stated here that the strike was illegal. Though there were some confusion in the press, ¹²⁰ we read that they said that we had not declared it illegal, but it becomes automatically illegal. It becomes automatically ¹⁴⁰ illegal because conciliation proceedings were pending and they went on strike which was illegal. I just want to ¹⁶⁰ correct the record a bit. Under the Industrial Disputes Act, notice has to be given of strike. It has enjoined ¹⁸⁰ upon the employees of the public utility concern to serve notice before they go on strike. This was done by ²⁰⁰ all the four Federations including the Congress led INTUC Federation. It is the responsibility of the ²²⁰ Unions that they have to serve due notice. Under Section 22 of the Industrial Disputes Act, once a notice of ²⁴⁰ strike is received, it is the responsibility of the Government immediately to start conciliation proceedings, and the Act says that ²⁶⁰ the conciliation proceedings have to be conducted by a conciliation officer.

In the present case, no conciliation officer appeared on ²⁸⁰ the scene for the simple reasons that the negotiations were being conducted at the highest level between the Minister himself ³⁰⁰ and the leaders of the four Federations. The question of conciliation officer coming along and holding conclusion proceedings does not ³²⁰ arise in this case. It is not relevant because the negotiations were going on at the top level. Now to ³⁴⁰ say that conciliation was pending, therefore, the strike is automatically illegal, I do not know why they are making so ³⁶⁰ much out of it, except to try to confuse the public that we have done something illegal. It is said ³⁸⁰ that essential services like water supply, fire fighting, hospitals, electricity etc., have been exempted from the purview of the strike. ⁴⁰⁰

CONCILIATION : to bring together; ENJOINED : to commend;

Exercise 10

It is quite correct, we always do that. We have also exempted all defence cargo. Any vessels carrying defence cargo ²⁰ will be handled in spite of the strike by us. Passenger vessels will be handled. Any ships which are in ⁴⁰ distress will, of course, be normally treated as they should be. And whatever work was done during the last five ⁶⁰ days in respect of these matters is being done free by the workers without taking any wages. Don't say that ⁸⁰ our attitude is an irresponsible attitude. I only want to wish to add my voice to what the other Hon. ¹⁰⁰ Members have said for the use of debating on the Demands of Grants for the Defence Ministry and we were talking ¹²⁰ of the role of Navy in repelling back the external aggression, and here the Navy is being ¹⁴⁰ used to break the strike of the workers. This is a very unfortunate situation which should not repeat in future.

I ¹⁶⁰ would tell the Government that this is not the proper way to deal with such matters. Such strikes have taken ¹⁸⁰ place in many countries. This has not happened for the first time. Many times Railways, dock and port workers have ²⁰⁰ gone on strike, longshore men in America have gone on strike, so many times. These are democratic countries like ours ²²⁰ with a parliamentary government, the army and navy have never been brought in to break the strike. This should not ²⁴⁰ be done, it will have unhealthy consequences. Many hon. Members had already emphasized this point. I do not want to ²⁶⁰ go into the details of it.

The question now is, how is it that wage revision agreements running into crores ²⁸⁰ of rupees, were successfully negotiated in the other public sector undertakings. Nowhere it was necessary for the workers to go ³⁰⁰ on strike, neither in coal, nor in steel, petroleum, BHEL, or any of the major public sector ³²⁰ undertakings, where new wage agreements were signed in the course of last one, and one and a half years. How ³⁴⁰ is it that only in the case of port and dock workers, things have come to such a pass where ³⁶⁰ a strike has taken place, and it is going to complete one week. We do not want the strike to ³⁸⁰ go on, we want a settlement. If the Government wants to test the unity or determination of the workers, ⁴⁰⁰ well, I think, one week is ample to demonstrate them, and it is not necessary to prolong that. We have ⁴²⁰ made it clear. The Four Federations have also said that. You have read that in the newspapers this morning. ⁴⁴⁰

CARGO : good in transit; AMPLE : large quantity;

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

Exercise 11

I am grateful to my friend, Director of the International Academy of Indian Culture, to have asked me to lay ²⁰ the foundation-stone of the Academy's building and to inaugurate the function. I associate myself with both of these functions ⁴⁰ with pleasure. For some time past I have been familiar with the objects of and the work done by the ⁶⁰ International Academy of Indian Culture, and I feel that despite its limited resources the Academy has been doing valuable work ⁸⁰ in the field of research. I believe there are some other institutions also carrying on researches in Indology and other ¹⁰⁰ branches of ancient thought, but I do not think any one of them has been able to cover such a ¹²⁰ range of subjects and such a wide field as to include South-East Asia, the Middle East and Central Asia ¹⁴⁰ as the International Academy of Indian Culture. Seeing the importance of this work, it seems essential that the Academy should ¹⁶⁰ be encouraged in its work, as far as possible.

Search for knowledge, is as interesting a pursuit as the acquiring ¹⁸⁰ of it. The ancient knowledge, which recorded history and old monuments **unravel** to us, has its limitations. These sources of ²⁰⁰ history do not carry us very far and in some cases they do not tell us enough of the currents ²²⁰ and cross-currents of popular thought. Luckily, we have another source of having a peep into the dim and forgotten ²⁴⁰ past. That source consists of ancient works and manuscripts found in a variety of languages and scripts. An examination of ²⁶⁰ this data and its proper integration can also add to our knowledge of that period.

Not much by way of ²⁸⁰ research has till now been done so far as the countries of the East are concerned, although scholars are of ³⁰⁰ the view that exchange of thought and mutual give-and-take on the intellectual level has not been less in ³²⁰ Asia than in other parts of the world. By not assimilating this knowledge, we are not only keeping our information ³⁴⁰ incomplete but are also unable to assess correctly man's intellectual progress through the ages. That is why proper integration of ³⁶⁰ the bits of knowledge scattered in various lands is not only essential for the lifting of the curtain over patches ³⁸⁰ of ignorance but also for having an integrated history of the intellectual evolution of man. This is being done now. ⁴⁰⁰

INDOLOGY : study relating to India;

ASSIMILATING : absorb; **UNRAVEL** : to discover;

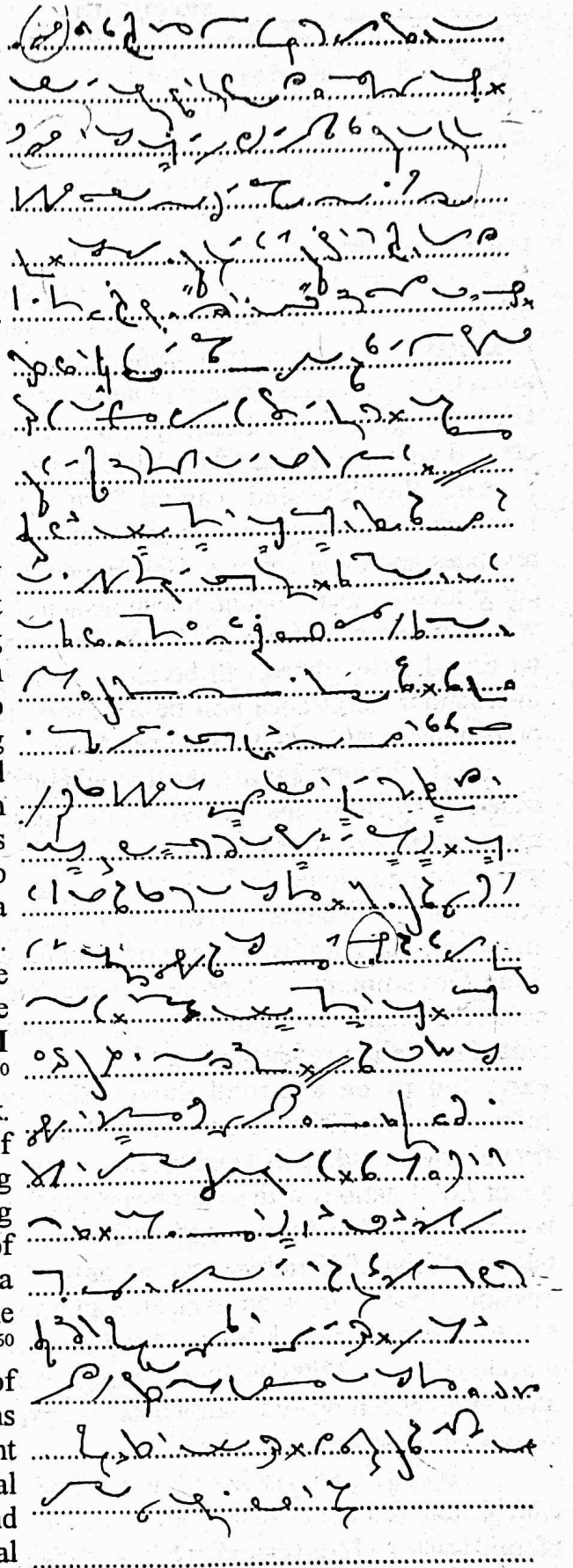
EVOLUTION : origination of specie from development;

Exercise 12

The story as to how thoughts travel almost like electricity from one place to another influencing and inspiring peoples of ²⁰ far-flung lands, is extremely interesting. Short stories of ancient India and our social and religious thoughts spread in far off territories crossing ⁴⁰ many seas and scaling many a high mountain peak. In the same way, the Buddhist faith and thought and the ⁶⁰ Buddhist conception of art travelled to foreign lands at a time when, comparatively speaking, the means of communication were, more ⁸⁰ or less, non-existent. Persistent efforts of devout thinkers and scholars gave wing to those thoughts and like saplings planted ¹⁰⁰ them in other countries where they blossomed and bore fruit. In all these countries Buddhist thought and traditions were assimilated ¹²⁰ in and influenced by local thought.

It has been the effort of the International Academy of Indian Culture to present ¹⁴⁰ all those currents of thought in a readily assimilable and integrated form. It is gratifying to note that in its ¹⁶⁰ efforts the Academy has met with considerable success as a result of which it is going to launch is publication ¹⁸⁰ programme, making a beginning with this. This book is a collective record, an integrated view of the many currents of ²⁰⁰ thoughts that crossed each other throughout vast territories in the Himalayan fastnesses of Tibet and from the Pacific Islands of ²²⁰ Indonesia upto the snow-covered areas in Siberia and Central Asia. India thought had influenced all this vast area in ²⁴⁰ ancient times. I hope the publication of this will throw much light on the undetermined history of these ancient countries ²⁶⁰ and the exchange of thought that one took place among them. I am glad that the International Academy of Indian ²⁸⁰ Culture has planned the publication of such a monumental work.

All this information about the ancient history of Eastern countries ³⁰⁰ and their mutual relationship is coming to us at a time when there is an upsurge of awakening discernible in ³²⁰ them. This knowledge is, therefore, of particular importance to us. Not only the countries of Asia but all the nations ³⁴⁰ of the world are getting closer to one another, and all of them feel that the world can be saved ³⁶⁰ from destructive wars by strengthening mutual ties of goodwill and friendship. Our knowledge of the relations which subsisted among the ³⁸⁰ various countries in ancient times is bound to lend strength to the basis of international friendship. Let us hope that ⁴⁰⁰ the publication of this and also the new awakening will inspire a sense of intellectual



Exercise 13

Railways, roads and rivers are the lifeline of our country. I feel privileged to present the first combined Budget of²⁰ independent India that includes the Railways also. We are now in a position to synergise the investments in railways, roads,⁴⁰ waterways and civil aviation. For 2017-18, the total capital and development expenditure of Railways has been pegged⁶⁰ at one lac thirty one thousand crores. This includes Rs.55,000 crores provided by the Government. Among other things,⁸⁰ the Railways will focus on four major areas, namely: One, Passenger safety; two, Capital and development works; three, Cleanliness; and four,¹⁰⁰ Finance and accounting reforms. For passenger safety, a Rashtriya Rail Sanraksha Kosh will be created with a corpus of¹²⁰ Rs.1 lakh crore over a period of 5 years. Besides, seed capital from the Government, the Railways will arrange the¹⁴⁰ balance resources from their own revenues and other sources. Government will lay down clear cut guidelines and timeline for implementing various¹⁶⁰ safety works to be funded from this Kosh. Unmanned level crossings on Broad Gauge lines will be eliminated by 2020.¹⁸⁰ Expert international assistance will be harnessed to improve safety preparedness and maintenance practices.

In the next 3 years, the throughput²⁰⁰ is proposed to be enhanced by 10%. This will be done through modernisation and upgradation of identified corridors. Railway²²⁰ lines of 3,500 Kms will be commissioned in 2017-18, as against 2,800 kms in last year.²⁴⁰ Steps will be taken to launch dedicated trains for tourism and pilgrimage. Railways have set up joint ventures with 9²⁶⁰ State Governments. 70 projects have been identified for construction and development. A beginning has been made with regard to station redevelopment.²⁸⁰ At least 25 stations are expected to be awarded during this year for station redevelopment. 500 stations will be³⁰⁰ made differently abled friendly by providing lifts and escalators. It is proposed to feed about 7,000 stations with solar power³²⁰ in the medium term. A beginning has already been made in 300 stations. Works will be taken up³⁴⁰ for 2,000 railway stations as part of 1000 MW solar mission. Our focus is on Swachh Rail.³⁶⁰ SMS based Clean My Coach Service has been started. It is now proposed to introduce 'Coach Mitra' facility,³⁸⁰ a single window interface, to register all coach related complaints and requirements for the facility of passenger as such.⁴⁰⁰

By 2019, all coaches of Indian Railways will be fitted with bio toilets. Pilot plants for environment friendly disposal⁴²⁰ of solid waste and conversion of bio-degradable waste to energy are being set up at New Delhi and Jaipur railway stations.⁴⁴⁰

Handwritten notes in Devanagari script, likely a shorthand or summary of the text, covering the same topics as the printed text.

Five more such solid waste management plants are now being taken up. Today Indian Railways face stiff competition from other¹⁶⁰ modes of transportation which are dominated by the private sector. Transformative measures have to be undertaken to make Indian Railways competitive⁴⁸⁰ to retain their position of pre-eminence. The following steps will therefore be taken: One, Railways will implement end to end integrated transport⁵⁰⁰ solutions for select commodities through partnership with logistics players, who would provide both front and back end connectivity. Rolling stocks⁵²⁰ and practices will be customised to transport perishable goods, especially agricultural products. Two, Railways will offer competitive ticket booking facility⁵⁴⁰ to the public at large. Service charge on e-tickets booked through IRCTC has been withdrawn.⁵⁶⁰ Cashless reservations have gone up from 58% to 68%. Three, as part of accounting reforms, accrual⁵⁸⁰ based financial statements will be rolled out by March 2019. It will be our continuous endeavour to improve⁶⁰⁰ the Operating Ratio of the Railways.

The tariffs of Railways would be fixed, taking into consideration costs, quality of service,⁶²⁰ social obligations and competition from other forms of transport. Metro rail is emerging as an important mode of urban transportation.⁶⁴⁰ A new Metro Rail Policy will be announced with focus on innovative models of implementation and financing, as well as⁶⁶⁰ standardisation and indigenisation of hardware and software. This will open up new job opportunities for our youth. A new Metro Rail Act⁶⁸⁰ will be enacted by rationalising the existing laws. This will facilitate greater private participation and investment in construction⁷⁰⁰ and operation. An effective multi modal logistics and transport sector will make our economy more competitive. A specific programme for⁷²⁰ development of multi-modal logistics parks, together with multi modal transport facilities, will be drawn up and implemented.⁷⁴⁰ Select airports in Tier 2 cities will be taken up for operation and maintenance in the PPP mode.⁷⁶⁰ Airport Authority of India Act will be amended to enable effective monetisation of land assets. The resources, so raised, will be⁷⁸⁰ utilised for airport upgradation. For transportation sector as a whole, including rail, roads, shipping, I have provided Rs.2 lac crores⁸⁰⁰ this year. This magnitude of investment will spur a huge amount of economic activity across the country and create more⁸²⁰ job opportunities. This has been the one of the important landmark aim as per Government of India right now.⁸⁴⁰

SYNERIGISE: coordinated action; **HARNESSED:** profitably used;

ACCRUAL: earning basis; **INNOVATIVE:** new idea;

INDIGENISATION: local production;

MONETISATION: adding value to assets..

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

Exercise 14

I can never resist a call from an educational institution, because I have been associated with such institutions throughout and ²⁰ have always taken a keen interest in education. I was therefore, happy to accept your invitation; it is a pleasure ⁴⁰ to be in your midst and to confer degrees on many of the students assembled here.

You are fortunate indeed ⁶⁰ to receive education in the Kanya Mahavidyalaya—for this institution occupies an important place in this State and has made ⁸⁰ a remarkable contribution to the advancement of our women. This institution was founded many years ago by a true social-person ¹⁰⁰ who was inspired by lofty and sacred ideals of emancipation of women and national advancement and who had genuine ¹²⁰ reverence for womanhood. We have in our country two types of educational institutions—those established by our English rulers for ¹⁴⁰ the achievement of their own ends and those founded independently by patriots and nationalists with a view to reviving our ¹⁶⁰ civilization and rebuilding our cultural traditions. The Kanya Mahavidyalaya was founded many years ago in pursuance of these sacred ideals, ¹⁸⁰ and those of you who are entering life after having completed your education in such an institution are really fortunate. ²⁰⁰ You have obtained this higher degree, of course, but to have done so from this institution should also be a ²²⁰ treasure of your life which must add to your laurels.

Those of you who have received their degrees are now ²⁴⁰ stepping out of the limited sphere of the Gurukul into the vast arena of life—arena of activity and ²⁶⁰ struggle. You have on your shoulders heavy responsibilities, but I am confident that your experience and education will enable you ²⁸⁰ to bear them with grace. So far you were students—now you will lead a practical life and you have ³⁰⁰ to march ahead in the face of multifarious problems. I hope the education you have received here will give you ³²⁰ strength and energy to face them as responsible citizens of an independent country. But for that you should have a ³⁴⁰ clear picture of what you are going to do in life.

I believe you all know that women occupied a ³⁶⁰ position of great importance and dignity in ancient India—that they played an enviable role in domestic and social life ³⁸⁰ and made a splendid contribution to an all-round development of society by virtue of their ingenuity, intellect and sacrifice. ⁴⁰⁰

I am saying all this to bring home to you that the

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

woman is an incarnation of divinity, a sustainer ⁴²⁰ a creative energy which conduces to the growth and welfare of human society. By virtue of this creative power you ⁴⁴⁰ can work in and outside the home for an all-round progress of society. Thus your responsibility is commensurate with ⁴⁶⁰ your power. I attach great importance to the education of girls for these and similar reasons. However noble be our ⁴⁸⁰ ideals and whatever system of Government we establish, however liberal and equitable be our economic and social philosophy, we cannot ⁵⁰⁰ bring lasting peace and prosperity to our country unless the physical and mental make-up of our coming generation has ⁵²⁰ sound foundation. I, therefore, hold that women can play a much more vital role in the home than in the ⁵⁴⁰ factory or in the office. This, however, does not mean that I want them to be confined within the four ⁵⁶⁰ walls of the house. Along with their domestic life they can and should participate successfully in various social activities to ⁵⁸⁰ which they are naturally and equally entitled. But real freedom and liberty only mean that the woman employs all her ⁶⁰⁰ faculties not only for her individual development but also for the total development of the society, leading ultimately to the ⁶²⁰ welfare of humanity at large, wherein it included her individual self also.

According to the ancient traditions and lofty ideals ⁶⁴⁰ of Indian womanhood, you have not only to educate yourself but also to progress thereafter in all directions as the ⁶⁶⁰ companions of men. After freedom, now, you have also to play your part in the work of national reconstruction. This ⁶⁸⁰ is possible only when we amend our present system of education to suit our purpose. Here also our country is ⁷⁰⁰ faced with conflicting ideologies. The modern Reformists—those who style themselves as Progressivists—contend that boys and girls should be ⁷²⁰ educated together under the same system of education. They told that the woman should be treated on a basis of ⁷⁴⁰ equality not only in the domain of education but in all fields and walks of life, that she should have ⁷⁶⁰ complete social freedom and should be able to participate in all activities and occupations as an equal partner of man. ⁷⁸⁰ These people want that the system of education should also be modelled accordingly. Diametrically opposed is the view of the ⁸⁰⁰ orthodox camp. Thus, we have today conflicting ideologies regarding the education of women. We have naturally to consider carefully which ⁸²⁰ of these two will suit us better and help in the advancement of our culture and civilization at this time. ⁸⁴⁰

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

MULTIFARIOUS : more than one aspect;
 GENUINE : real; REVERANCE : respects;
 SACRED : connected with religion; LAURELS : emblem of victory;
 COMMENSURATE : compensating; INCARNATION : embodied in flesh;

Exercise 15

Sir, agriculture is neglected as against the industrial sector. If we say, about investment, about encouragement given to the industry ²⁰ and the agriculture and a comparison between them will show that agriculture is being discriminated as against industry. Amongst ⁴⁰ agriculture itself, in the irrigated area and non-irrigated area, there is a vast difference. All benefits like fertilizers, subsidy and ⁶⁰ cooperative credit, all these benefits which are supposed to be given to the agriculturists are supplied to the irrigated ⁸⁰ sector and the agriculturists there alone get those benefits. In non-irrigated area where the agriculture is rain-fed, or where it ¹⁰⁰ is all dry land farming they are not properly treated. They are not being properly looked after. The Government is ¹²⁰ totally negligent so far as that sector is concerned.

So far as the drought prone areas are concerned, in our ¹⁴⁰ country there are areas where there is drought repeatedly. In some States they had drought once, twice or even continuously ¹⁶⁰ for some years and now in Maharashtra, Karnataka and in some other parts of the country there has been drought ¹⁸⁰ repeatedly no once or twice but continuously every year. But the Government has not done anything, what it should have ²⁰⁰ done there. The Government of Maharashtra has asked for Rs. 150 crores. So far as the drinking water ²²⁰ is concerned, assistance to the agriculturists is very meagre and they are suffering because their crops have been lost. And ²⁴⁰ the Government has hardly given Rs. 25 crores or Rs. 30 crores and because of this insufficient assistance the work ²⁶⁰ which has to be done to meet the scarcity condition in Maharashtra is not being done properly.

I would urge ²⁸⁰ upon the Government that this should be looked into, and permanent measures to remove these conditions in those drought prone ³⁰⁰ areas should be taken. How those problems can be solved, how a particular investment has to be made, all these ³²⁰ have to be looked into. Certain allocation has to be made because in those drought prone areas the allocation has to be made because in those drought prone areas the allocations ³⁴⁰ are very very scarce. This is not fair. Unemployment problem has been discussed at length here. So I will not ³⁶⁰ say much

Handwritten shorthand notes in Progressive Shorthand script, corresponding to the typed text on the left. The notes are written on lined paper and include various symbols and abbreviations used in shorthand.

about it. But the Hon. Prime Minister has said in his Budget speech that computerisation is going to ³⁸⁰ help reduce unemployment, I myself do not understand this argument. I have discussed this matter with many of our friends. ⁴⁰⁰

I urge upon the Members of the ruling party and the Government to explain this factor as to how it ⁴²⁰ is that computerisation is going to help reduce unemployment. It can be argued that we will produce more and so ⁴⁴⁰ more people will be employed. Then there will be more production and jobs. Here I would like to point out ⁴⁶⁰ that so far as production is concerned, the production is already in plenty. It is very good to give a ⁴⁸⁰ clarion call to produce more. The hon. Prime Minister is very much interested in more production. We are fighting for ⁵⁰⁰ more production. But if there is no purchasing power with the common people, then what is the use of having ⁵²⁰ production only? Now cloth is available in the market in plenty, grains are available in plenty, but the common people ⁵⁴⁰ do not have the purchasing capacity to purchase cloth and grains. They cannot have two square meals a day. They ⁵⁶⁰ cannot have sufficient clothing for themselves. This factor should be taken into account while saying so. The purchasing capacity of ⁵⁸⁰ the common people should be increased.

I would like to draw the attention of the Government to an important issue ⁶⁰⁰ which has been pending since 1956. There is a border dispute between the Government of Maharashtra and the ⁶²⁰ Government of Karnataka. Certain people in boundary areas want to join Maharashtra. When the linguistic State were formed in 1956 ⁶⁴⁰ at the time of reorganisation of States it was expected that certain parts in between the boundary would be given ⁶⁶⁰ to Maharashtra. Since then these people are expressing their desire that they should be allowed to join Maharashtra. So far ⁶⁸⁰ as democracy is concerned, in democracy the will of the people is more important. Since 1956 in all ⁷⁰⁰ elections they have expressed their desire by winning the elections to join Maharashtra. But till now justice is being denied ⁷²⁰ to them.

About drinking water, Government has again said that there is not sufficient drinking water so far as thousands ⁷⁴⁰ of villages are concerned. It is very very disappointing that even after 50 years of independence we are still not ⁷⁶⁰ able to provide sufficient potable water to the villages. For bigger cities like Bombay drinking water is being brought from ⁷⁸⁰ hundreds of miles by laying big pipes. But so far as villages are concerned, they are being neglected. In

Handwritten notes in Devanagari script, likely a shorthand or summary of the typed text, covering the same topics: computerisation, production, purchasing power, and the Maharashtra-Karnataka border dispute.

Maharashtra ⁸⁰⁰ more than 25,000 villages are suffering from want of potable water. Even in rainy season there are hundreds of ⁸²⁰ villages where water has to be supplied through tankers. I would urge upon the Government to look into this matter. ⁸⁴⁰

CLARION : call to action, rousing sound;

PRONE : inclined to; SCARCE : in short supply;

Exercise 16

I am grateful for the opportunity that has been afforded to me to meet you this afternoon. During the last ²⁰ four or five days I have been visiting places which have afforded solace to millions and millions of people for ⁴⁰ ages past and which are going to afford solace of a similar kind to generations yet to be born. While ⁶⁰ visiting these places I have also seen the great architecture which is a speciality of these parts, the like of ⁸⁰ which you do not see in that part of the country from which I come. I have been reminded time ¹⁰⁰ and again of the greatness of those who conceived the idea of erecting these temples, of those who actually worked ¹²⁰ on them and ultimately succeeded in creating these works of perfect art, and I must confess that I feel somewhat ¹⁴⁰ jealous, because I cannot find that kind of thing in the North to compare with these great things in the ¹⁶⁰ South. I do not regard them or regard you as different from me or from that part of the country ¹⁸⁰ from which I come. Therefore, I feel that our ancestors, our seers and sages, in their great wisdom, have bound ²⁰⁰ us all together by silken ties which time, vicissitudes, foreign invasions and political upheavals have not been able to cut ²²⁰ asunder. And, today, India, right from Kanya Kumari to Kailash is one, and God willing, shall ever continue to remain ²⁴⁰ one. We have had differences of language, of custom, of ways of living prevalent in this country for centuries. But ²⁶⁰ underlying all these differences there has been an under-current of unity, nay of full unity which has kept India ²⁸⁰ together in spite of political differences in this vast land.

It has been rightly pointed out by you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, ³⁰⁰ that there is a genius of reconciling different ideas which is inherent in our land and it is that ³²⁰ genius which has preserved this ancient land, its glory, its civilization and its culture which are even today, I make ³⁴⁰ bold to say, not inferior to that of any other part of the world. Until, say, two centuries ago, our ³⁶⁰ people in this country were in no way inferior to any other part of the world in any matter, be ³⁸⁰ that in the sphere of arts or sciences. During the last two centuries or so, fallen far behind others now. ⁴⁰⁰

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With the achievements of material sciences, there is a general stampede in favour of material things. We are sometimes in ⁴²⁰ a hurry to discard things which have come down to us from generations past simply because we cannot reconcile them ⁴⁴⁰ with modern things. But I say with great respect to all friends who hold that view that the scientific spirit ⁴⁶⁰ requires that nothing should be discarded and nothing should be accepted without examination or analysis, and I plead that, there ⁴⁸⁰ is much in our past which has to be studied and examined, the true meaning of which has to be ⁵⁰⁰ appreciated, and when that is done, I have no doubt in my mind whatsoever that we shall never have reason ⁵²⁰ to feel sorry later. I have no doubt, we shall, in that event, ever be able to look to other ⁵⁴⁰ people with a certain amount of pride. For, after all, our past is not to be despised. It is something ⁵⁶⁰ which can inspire the present and the future.

Today, the world is passing through a great crisis. Technical achievements in ⁵⁸⁰ science have reached a stage where unless and until they are controlled and guided by moral and spiritual forces, they ⁶⁰⁰ will destroy themselves and the world, and there it is that our great heritage can play its part. But can ⁶²⁰ we do that today? I am afraid, not. We have to acquire that position for ourselves by reviving something of ⁶⁴⁰ the past, by modernising it and adapting it to modern conditions and also by adopting something of the modern world ⁶⁶⁰ to equip ourselves for that great task. Unfortunately, a great leader who understood the significance of the past and the ⁶⁸⁰ significance of the modern world is no more with us. Gandhiji was in his own way trying to bring out ⁷⁰⁰ a conciliation between the two. He had, I believe, hoped to be able to live long enough to give true ⁷²⁰ guidance to the world at large. While he was engaged in the struggle for freedom, he refused to go to ⁷⁴⁰ foreign countries because he felt that he had no message to give to the world until he had found a ⁷⁶⁰ good place for it in his own country. When freedom was achieved, and if God permitting, things had settled down, ⁷⁸⁰ he would have been able to give his great message of reconciliation to the world. Unfortunately, that was not to ⁸⁰⁰ be. The great legacy that he has left us is there and it is for us to prove ourselves worthy ⁸²⁰ of that great legacy if we can look upon our universities as centres where this conciliation would grow. ⁸⁴⁰

GENIUS : intelligence; STAMPEDE : sudden rush of people;
DESPISE : to regard with contempt; LEGACY : gift left by will;
SOLACE : comfort in distress; VICISSITUDES : change of circumstances;

Exercise 17

Sir, I am not going to say who is right and who is wrong. I think, I leave this judgement to the²⁰ honourable leaders of the Opposition. My purpose today is, through this House, to inform our country what I set out⁴⁰ to achieve and how far I have been successful in achieving that. The purpose, the basic thrust,⁶⁰ of all policies of our country, as I see it, is to set in motion processes which would enable us to⁸⁰ leapfrog in the race of social and economic change so that we can get rid of chronic poverty which still¹⁰⁰ afflicts millions and millions of our people. After India became independent, great progress was made in all directions. But, the¹²⁰ task of getting rid of poverty to which Prime Minister committed our nation on the 15th of August, 1947,¹⁴⁰ is still not complete. When I presented my first Budget as Finance Minister in 1991,¹⁶⁰ I had then referred to both Houses of Parliament, quoting, that no power on earth can stop an idea whose time had¹⁸⁰ come, and I had then suggested to this august House, and the other House, that the emergence of India as a²⁰⁰ major global power happens to be one such idea whose time has come and that is the goal that our²²⁰ Government has sought to work on to realise.

Whether we have succeeded or not, it cannot be realised in one go,²⁴⁰ but that is the mission, that is the ambition, and India's foreign policy has to contribute to preservation²⁶⁰ and strengthening of national security and also to widen our development options. We live in a world which is not a²⁸⁰ world which we like in all respects. Yet, it is a fact that inter-dependence of nations is a reality.³⁰⁰ And, that in this inter-dependent world, there is such a thing as power relations. This power in the world³²⁰ is not distributed equally, and we know, through history, that where there is inequality of power international relations are fundamentally³⁴⁰ power relations those who are more powerful cannot resist temptation to coerce those who are weak. The United States is today³⁶⁰ a pre-eminent power. It is a super-power. It has global interest. In many areas, those interests do not³⁸⁰ coincide with our interests. Our ambition is to work to create a more just international system in the world.⁴⁰⁰

Our country, today, is admired all over the world. We have the second highest growth rate in the world and⁴²⁰ what is more significant is that the world today marvels and respects India for what we are a country of⁴⁴⁰ over one billion people with great diversity of beliefs, of religions and yet, seeking its salvation in the framework of a⁴⁶⁰ democratic polity committed

Handwritten notes in Devanagari script, likely a shorthand or summary of the text, covering the same topics as the printed text.

to all fundamental human freedoms and respect for the dignity of the individual. Therefore, there are opportunities⁴⁸⁰ in this unequal system that we have to contend with, and, I sincerely believe working with the United States⁵⁰⁰ to explore areas of convergence of interests is in our national interest. This does not mean that we endorse everything that the⁵²⁰ United States does, but in an interdependent world in which the United States counts for what you all know,⁵⁴⁰ we have to do business, and, therefore, my effort has been in this visit to help create an international environment⁵⁶⁰ which is more supportive of India's development efforts and which in the process widens our development options. Excessive discussion has taken place⁵⁸⁰ on the nuclear issue. My first thought when I thought of visiting the United States was not on⁶⁰⁰ nuclear issue. I was worried about the state of India's agriculture. The previous Government prepared the Tenth Five Year Plan.⁶²⁰ It has a target of four per cent growth rate of agriculture.

We are nowhere in sight. Our agricultural economy⁶⁴⁰ seems to have reached a platform where new technologies associated with the Green Revolution, which came about in the mid-sixties⁶⁶⁰ and seventies, seem to have lost their old dynamism. And, therefore, I thought this is an opportunity to use⁶⁸⁰ the tremendous advances in human knowledge, in bio-technology and related fields to see if we can revitalise our research institutions,⁷⁰⁰ our agricultural universities, our extension centres, and, that is what is reflected in the Joint Statement, and, I attach great⁷²⁰ importance to its role in modernising and expanding the horizons for India's agricultural economy. Therefore, please do not concentrate only⁷⁴⁰ on the nuclear issue. Then, there is this tremendous infrastructure bottlenecks. The tragedy of Mumbai is very much before us.⁷⁶⁰ How inadequate infrastructure has created such a human misery in this premier financial capital of our country. This could happen⁷⁸⁰ to any other city. We have been very negligent of infrastructure management. I have calculated that we need, at least,⁸⁰⁰ \$150 billion worth of investment in the next seven or eight years if we have to modernise our⁸²⁰ infrastructure, if we have to realise our ambitions of moving on to a growth rate of eight to ten per cent.⁸⁴⁰

CHRONIC: firmly established;

COERCE: to force;

MARVELS: wonders;

DIVERSITY: variety;

CONVERGENCE: to centre at one point.

Handwritten shorthand notes in Devanagari script, corresponding to the typed text on the left. The notes are written in a cursive style, using various symbols and abbreviations to represent words and phrases. The notes are organized into lines, each corresponding to a line of the typed text. The handwriting is fluid and appears to be a personal shorthand system used for quick note-taking.

Exercise 18 (Budget)

Hon'ble Speaker, I rise to present the Budget for the year 2020-2021. In May 2019,³⁰ Prime Minister Modi received a massive mandate to form the government again. With renewed vigour, under his leadership,⁴⁰ we commit ourselves to serve the people of India, with all humility and dedication. People of India have unequivocally given⁶⁰ their verdict for not just political stability and also reposed faith in our economic policies. This is the Budget⁸⁰ to boost their incomes and enhance their purchasing power. Only through higher growth we can achieve that and have our youth¹⁰⁰ gainfully and meaningfully employed. Let our businesses be innovative, healthy and solvent with use of technology. For today's youth born¹²⁰ at the turn of the century, for every member of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who seek a better life,¹⁴⁰ for every woman wishing to stand up and get counted, for every individual from the minority sections of our society¹⁶⁰ this Budget aims to have your aspirations and hopes addressed. We wish to open up vistas for a vibrant and dynamic economy¹⁸⁰ with a gentle breeze of new technology. This vibrant India shall be a caring society which shall attend to its²⁰⁰ weak, the old and the vulnerable among its citizens.

During 2014-19, our government brought in a paradigm²²⁰ shift in governance. This shift was characterised by a twin focus: fundamental structural reform and inclusive growth. Fundamentals of the²⁴⁰ economy are strong and that has ensured macroeconomic stability. Inflation has been well contained. Banks saw a thorough cleaning²⁶⁰ up of accumulated loans of the past decade and then they were recapitalized. Companies were provided an exit through the²⁸⁰ IBC. Several steps on the formalisation of the economy were taken up. Of the structural reforms, the³⁰⁰ Goods and Services Tax has been the most historic in our country. Its chief architect is not with us today. I pay³²⁰ homage to the visionary leader late Shri Arun Jaitley ji. At the time of roll out of GST, he had³⁴⁰ said and I quote: "It will be an India where the Centre and States will work harmoniously towards the common goal³⁶⁰ of shared prosperity. The unanimity of the Constitutional amendment and the consensus of the GST Council highlights³⁸⁰ that India can rise above narrow politics for the nation's interest. With the GST country's interest are strengthened."⁴⁰⁰

True to this vision for the historic structural reform, the Goods and Services Tax has been gradually maturing into a⁴²⁰ tax that has integrated the country economically. It has

2020-21
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True to this vision for the historic structural reform, the Goods and Services Tax has been gradually maturing into a tax that has integrated the country economically. It has

consolidated numerous taxes and cesses to one tax and facilitated formalization⁴⁴⁰ of economy. It has resulted in the efficiency gains in logistic and transport sectors. The turnaround time for trucks has⁴⁶⁰ witnessed a substantial reduction to the tune of 20% due to abolition of check posts in GST.⁴⁸⁰ The dreaded Inspector-Raj has also vanished. It has also led to significant benefits to MSME by way of⁵⁰⁰ enhanced threshold and composition limits. The effective tax incidence on almost every commodity came down substantially. Through several rate⁵²⁰ reductions, an annual benefit of Rs. one lakh crore has been extended to consumers. It amounts to 10% reduction⁵⁴⁰ in overall tax incidence. An average household now saves about 4% on its monthly spends on account of reduced⁵⁶⁰ GST rates. During this phase of maturing, GST did face certain challenges. This was natural⁵⁸⁰ as transition was effecting. GST Council has been proactive in resolving issues during transition. In the last two years⁶⁰⁰ we have added more than 60 lakh new taxpayers, a total of about 40 crore returns were filed,⁶²⁰ 800 crore invoices were uploaded, and 105 crore e-way bills were generated. There has been extensive engagement with⁶⁴⁰ stakeholders.

A simplified new return system is being introduced from April 1, 2020. A former Prime Minister had⁶⁶⁰ once voiced a concern that the fruits of the welfare schemes were not reaching the intended citizens the common and⁶⁸⁰ deserving citizen was only receiving 15 paise of every rupee sent for him. Guided by "Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas, Sabka Vishwas",⁷⁰⁰ our government and our Prime Minister added manifold speed and scaled up the implementation of schemes and programmes that directly⁷²⁰ benefitted the poor and the disadvantaged. I wish to list out only a few as examples: one, welfare schemes with⁷⁴⁰ Direct Benefit Transfer embedded in them; two, sanitation and water as provision of basic needs and as a measure of⁷⁶⁰ preventive healthcare; three, healthcare, through Ayushman Bharat; four, clean energy through Ujjwala and solar power; five, financial inclusion, credit support,⁷⁸⁰ insurance protection to vulnerable sections and pension scheme; six, digital penetration with broadband and UPI; and seven, Affordable Housing⁸⁰⁰ for all through PMAY. The milestones achieved are unprecedented, globally recognised and benchmarked against international indices.⁸²⁰ This strategy, changed the established order of a few individuals cornering most of the benefits and was appreciated by the people.⁸⁴⁰

UNEQUIVOCALLY: to mean one thing only;

INNOVATIVE: new changes/designs;

VISTAS: possibilities in future;

LOGISTIC: transportation related;

VULNERABLE: easy to be hurt.

PARADIGM: typical pattern;

Exercise 19

Today, we cannot do without hydrocarbons. For 70 per cent of our consumption of hydrocarbons today, we are²⁰ dependent on imported supplies. I hope this prosperity prevails in the West Asia. But who can ignore all the uncertainty,⁴⁰ leave aside other uncertainty? We are witnessing this year the uncertainty, instability and unpredictability of the oil prices. They have⁶⁰ tripled in the last five or six months. So, we must, therefore, explore other options. The resolution which led to the⁸⁰ establishment of our Atomic Energy Commission and, our country will be eternally grateful to Prime Minister for having the vision¹⁰⁰ to recognise the role of science and technology, particularly atomic energy, in managing the future needs of our country¹²⁰ laid the greatest emphasis on the use of atomic power for generation of electricity. If we want energy security, we have to rely¹⁴⁰ more on nuclear energy. All over the world, nations like Japan and France, which are short of raw material, rely heavily¹⁶⁰ on nuclear energy. I do believe that while we must develop coal, we must develop hydropower; we must develop renewable¹⁸⁰ sources of energy to widen our development options for the future; and we must have an equal access to commercial energy,²⁰⁰ which is environment-friendly.

The NPT exists, but we all know, for example, the loopholes that exist and how²²⁰ despite the NPT, proliferation has taken place in our own neighbourhood. I could not, in the present stage,²⁴⁰ ask President Bush or the US Government that they should remove all restrictions on trade in nuclear assets. They said that²⁶⁰ there is such a thing as 'civilian' and there is such a thing as 'military'; we are willing to help you²⁸⁰ to augment your energy resources for use of your development, but military purposes are in other kettle of fish. I had to reckon with³⁰⁰ that reality and, therefore, I had to evolve our approach, taking into account the realities of the world order.³²⁰ And the world order being whatever it is, I was clear in my mind that we shall do nothing³⁴⁰ which will, in any way, compromise our independence with regard to the management of security. And despite the doubts that had been sought to be cast.³⁶⁰ I assure this House that I am satisfied that those doubts are not based³⁸⁰ on facts. It is true that what the US President has stated will require Congressional assent.⁴⁰⁰

I attach great importance to that aspect of my work in Washington. When I was in Washington, three of our⁴²⁰ top meteorological scientists, came to me and said, "India's meteorological system require a sea change, if we are to take⁴⁴⁰

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advantage of what is happening on the frontiers of relevant scientific subjects". This is not only in meteorological matters¹⁶⁰ that we need upgradation of our skills. But our scientists have done very well. We are proud of their achievements.⁴⁸⁰ But human knowledge is increasing at a pace which was unthinkable even ten years ago. Therefore, we need increased contacts between⁵⁰⁰ the academic institutions, the research institutions, between the scientists of our two countries. And, fortunately, there are today, in all⁵²⁰ major US research centres, whether you go to the IBM laboratory or you go the University,⁵⁴⁰ bright young Indians are operating on the frontiers of the knowledge. I think, this is the brain reservoir we must tap.⁵⁶⁰ And, during this visit, it was my effort to tap that potential reservoir for our country, and that is an⁵⁸⁰ aspect which I would like to emphasise. We have reached an agreement, a Framework Agreement, on science and technology development⁶⁰⁰ in frontier areas. The United States now recognises India as a space leader. I hope possibilities of cooperation will occur⁶²⁰ which will do us credit. This was yet another aspect of my work and what we achieved is mentioned in the joint statement.⁶⁴⁰

But, I was always conscious of the fact that if India is going to become a major growth⁶⁶⁰ pole of the evolving world economy, if we have to achieve every year 8 to 10 per cent growth rate,⁶⁸⁰ we would require the growth of commercial energy in our country, at least, at the same rate as our GDP growth.⁷⁰⁰ In fact, in our country, the demand for commercial energy is going to increase at a much faster pace.⁷²⁰ Why do I say this? Because, in our country, two revolutions are taking place simultaneously. At one go, under the⁷⁴⁰ impact of modernisation, the subsistence rural economy is shrinking. Therefore, old traditional ways of meeting energy, firewood, household fuels,⁷⁶⁰ they are giving place to the increasing demand even in the rural sector for modern commercial energy. And, secondly,⁷⁸⁰ as we grow, as we industrialise, as we urbanise, there is that increase in demand for commercial energy. Therefore, India's energy security, along with the security⁸⁰⁰ of our water resources and security of our food, I think, is a critical determinant⁸²⁰ of what happens to the economy in the next 25 years and we have to work in that direction.⁸⁴⁰

PROLIFERATION: large increase:

AUGMENT: increase:

POTENTIAL: inner strength;

SIMULTANEOUSLY: at the same time.

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Universities which can be termed new in the sense that not⁴⁰ even half a century has passed since their establishment, this University—except the Banaras University—may perhaps be said to⁶⁰ be the oldest. But it was only a little time ago that it assumed its present form, and from that⁸⁰ point of view it may be said to be the youngest of the new Universities. Naturally its traditions have not¹⁰⁰ yet become so rigid as to make it difficult for it to move in any direction it chooses for itself. ¹²⁰ I, therefore, expect it to maintain a system of education which would enable it to fulfil all the purposes which¹⁴⁰ education has in the life of man. I have observed on several occasions and at several places previously that our¹⁶⁰ present educational system, whether of the primary or secondary schools or of the universities does not seem to be fulfilling¹⁸⁰ those purposes and that, at any rate, it is not fulfilling those objectives in a balanced way. With your permission, ²⁰⁰ I would like to say a few words about this question today.

In my view the objectives of education are ²²⁰ three, two of which relate more or less to the life of the individual as such while the third is ²⁴⁰ concerned with his collective life. Its first objective is to enhance the power and capacity of reason of the individual ²⁶⁰ given to him by God. It is true that reason is a gift made by nature or God to man ²⁸⁰ at the time of his birth. But in its pristine form its capacity and power are extremely limited. If a ³⁰⁰ person were to be left to depend on his untutored reason alone he would not be able to use it ³²⁰ for any good to himself or to his fellows due to severe limitations of space and time. But if this ³⁴⁰ rational faculty is enriched by the accumulated experience of the past generations, its power and capacity are increased very greatly, for ³⁶⁰ then, the individual is able to grasp numerous truth of great utility relating to himself and the animate and inanimate ³⁸⁰ world around him which he could not possibly have learnt by means of his own unaided reason because of other reasons. ⁴⁰⁰

The second objective of education is to train the senses of every individual human being as will enable him ⁴²⁰ to employ them for fulfilling successfully all his physical and other needs. While knowledge is, no doubt, essential for ⁴⁴⁰ a proper employment of these organs, their practical training is also necessary for the same purpose. However vigorous or energetic ⁴⁶⁰ a man may be, he cannot effectively undertake any work unless his bodily organs are also properly trained and have ⁴⁸⁰ some experience of that kind of work.

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The third purpose of education, in my view, is that it should evoke ⁵⁰⁰ in the individual the qualities necessary to enable him to live and work with his fellow-beings. Whether a person ⁵²⁰ likes it or not, he has to live in society. No one can wholly retire from the world and live ⁵⁴⁰ in an isolated cottage of his own. The life of complete solitude is nothing but a beautiful fancy of the ⁵⁶⁰ poet; it is not and cannot be a fact of life. It is possible that an individual may live in ⁵⁸⁰ solitude for a little time but he cannot do so for all his life. So when collective life is an ⁶⁰⁰ inevitable and ineluctable fact of human life, it is absolutely necessary that every individual should be fully conversant with the ⁶²⁰ art of collective living.

In the ages gone by, when the scale of collective life was quite limited and when ⁶⁴⁰ economic processes had not become highly concentrated, there was no great necessity for an organised effort to achieve these three ⁶⁶⁰ objectives or to maintain at every instant a balance amongst them. But today when the scale of collective life is ⁶⁸⁰ almost world-wide and when economic processes have become concentrated beyond imagination, it has become highly necessary to make intense ⁷⁰⁰ efforts to help the individual realise these objectives in his life not only in the realm of mind but also ⁷²⁰ in that of action.

So it is that in the past few decades people have been feeling in all parts ⁷⁴⁰ of the world the necessity for a fundamental change in the educational system inherited by them from the past. In ⁷⁶⁰ fact we find that different kinds of changes have been taking place in the educational system of different countries of ⁷⁸⁰ the world. I would not be wrong if I say that in the educational sphere also a revolution has been ⁸⁰⁰ taking place similar to that which has taken place in the economic and political spheres. In our country and especially ⁸²⁰ in the State of Bihar, unfortunately, there has been no such far-reaching change in the sphere of better education. ⁸⁴⁰

PRISTINE : former, ancient ; GRASP : to understand;
SOLITUDE : lonely place; INEVITABLE : ultimately; REALM : area;

Exercise 21

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this Bill seeks to provide a special machinery for the removal of grievances of certain categories ²⁰ of employees, particularly in the sectors of State and Central Government services, local bodies and the like. This is being ⁴⁰ done under the powers given and the Parliament can make such a provision if they consider it necessary. The laudable ⁶⁰ objective

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behind this Bill is to have expeditious disposal of the day-to-day grievances of the employees, particularly, what ⁸⁰ is called service-matters. Service matters is a term which includes a lot of grievances in respect of service conditions, ¹⁰⁰ starting from remuneration to promotion, transfer, leave rules and things like that. I welcome this aspect that this Bill makes ¹²⁰ provision to include all aspects of service conditions and makes provision for an employee to go to an Administrative Tribunal ¹⁴⁰ for seeking justice.

The Bill is welcome to the extent that it at least seeks to have an expeditious disposal ¹⁶⁰ of the grievances. But at the same time we have to see how this is sought to be done. I ¹⁸⁰ would refer particularly to the composition of the tribunal to which references have already been made. As has been pointed ²⁰⁰ out by a number of previous speakers, this is a provision whereby not merely a person who is a High ²²⁰ Court Judge or a Supreme Court Judge, serving or retired, can be made a member particularly Chairman or Vice-Chairman ²⁴⁰ but a person at the level of a Secretary, Additional Secretary, Joint Secretary or even a person holding a post ²⁶⁰ with a scale of pay not less than that drawn by any one of them, also could be made a ²⁸⁰ member of this tribunal, and even a Vice-Chairman and a Chairman, if he satisfies certain conditions.

Here is my ³⁰⁰ objection to the appointment of such a person for obvious reason that he is the person who, during the ³²⁰ course of his service, has also take certain action against the employees working under him. Therefore, if I may submit ³⁴⁰ he has a prejudicial mind already as far as the employees are concerned, we are trying to provide an appeal ³⁶⁰ or justice rendered to a person who is aggrieved and he must feel that not merely justice is done but ³⁸⁰ that justice appears to be properly done and unless that is ensured, it is no use having these provisions. ⁴⁰⁰

The persons who constitute this tribunal have to be impartial, independent and judicial. I cannot believe that a person who ⁴²⁰ has served or who has been in service can be a person who can satisfy this qualification. The man has ⁴⁴⁰ to act not merely fairly and justly, but he should not also act arbitrarily or mechanically without application of mind. ⁴⁶⁰ This is very necessary if proper justice is to be done. Otherwise, the whole purpose, the laudable objective of this ⁴⁸⁰ Bill gets destroyed, gets nullified. That is why, the proposal which has been made for reference of the Bill to ⁵⁰⁰ a Select Committee needs to be considered with all

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seriousness and I hope the Home Minister would agree to that ⁵²⁰ proposal.

Regarding applicability of the Bill, it was stated by the Minister that persons who are governed by the Industrial ⁵⁴⁰ Disputes Act, particularly in respect of matters which are covered by the Industrial Disputes Act, are not covered by this ⁵⁶⁰ Bill. This, in my opinion, takes away a large chunk of employees, particularly the industrial employees and even the employees ⁵⁸⁰ of the local authorities who are governed by this Act. There is not a single matter which cannot become an ⁶⁰⁰ industrial dispute under the Industrial Disputes Act. Therefore, the coverage of this Bill becomes less and it does not cover ⁶²⁰ as many persons as is envisaged or as is sought to be made out by the Minister.

Then, as compared ⁶⁴⁰ to the present way of getting the grievances redressed, the means of going to the High Court and other avenues ⁶⁶⁰ will not be available now. Of course, in that respect the present Bill gives an advantage in that the time factor ⁶⁸⁰ will be reduced. But this again depends on how many tribunals are constituted and how expeditiously they are going to ⁷⁰⁰ work in practice. The whole thing depends on that. Looking to the number of complaints which, I think, is 62,000, ⁷²⁰ the number of tribunals should be in proportion to this number so that the complaints are redressed as early as ⁷⁴⁰ possible. This is as far as the period is concerned. As far as the location is concerned ⁷⁶⁰ there is no specific advantage. As far as the expenditure is concerned, there is no specific advantage except that if one is ⁷⁸⁰ required to go through the High Court he may be required to spend more.

Another aspect to which I would ⁸⁰⁰ like to refer is that whenever an application is made to the Tribunal, it has a right to reject it ⁸²⁰ summarily, if it does not satisfy certain conditions. After all the Tribunal should state the reasons for rejection of the application. ⁸⁴⁰

TRIBUNALS : judging authority;

SUMMARILY : to decide with brief account;

IMPARTIAL : independent; ARBITRARILY : random/based;

EXPEDITIOUS : to act quickly; PREJUDICIAL : not favourable;

Exercise 22

It is true that our educational institutions are fulfilling to a certain extent the first objective of education. The alumni ²⁰ of these institutions are, no doubt, being acquainted with some part of the accumulated wisdom of the past generations but ⁴⁰ the purpose for which such

acquaintance is undertaken, that is to say, to awaken and strengthen and make more capable ⁶⁰ the individual mind, is not being fulfilled. Our young men and women of the rising generation are not found to be ⁸⁰ savvy of thought. It is true that from these institutions come out, now and then, some rare individuals whose mind ¹⁰⁰ is full alert, awakened, and quite forceful. But I feel that it would not be proper to say in the ¹²⁰ name of these few and rare individuals that our present educational institutions are illumining the heart of man. In my ¹⁴⁰ view there are several reasons for failure in this direction. I may mention here some of the most important.

Firstly, ¹⁶⁰ a great part of the accumulated knowledge or experience of the past generations with which our young people are being ¹⁸⁰ acquainted in these educational institutions, has absolutely no relation or relevance to the daily life of these young people or ²⁰⁰ to the world around them or to their collective life. Naturally this heritage of the past appears to these young ²²⁰ people, somewhat unmeaningful, useless and unassimilable. It, therefore, remains a mere burden on their mind and they forget all about ²⁴⁰ it soon after leaving these institutions. Another reason appears to be that the linguistic medium through which they are acquainted ²⁶⁰ with this accumulated experience of the past is not an element of their daily and collective life. It remains more ²⁸⁰ or less unfamiliar to them in spite of their making all efforts to master it. It is, therefore, quite natural ³⁰⁰ that this heritage of ideas, instead of being a torch to light the lamp of their mind, has become a ³²⁰ sort of absorbent which soaks up even the oil of that lamp. Whereas this heritage of the past should have ³⁴⁰ been a lever increasing a thousand-fold the capacity of the individual mind, it is in fact a sort of ³⁶⁰ growing sore rendering the latter quite impotent and ineffective. But the story does not end here. Our educational institutions are ³⁸⁰ doing almost nothing to realise the other important objective of education. Our students earn hardly for themselves after education. ⁴⁰⁰

Even this is not all. Finding their labour for years to be quite useless and fruitless for their own life, ⁴²⁰ many of our youths are becoming victims of blind discontent and anger. They are not able to see a way ⁴⁴⁰ out. Moreover they are not even able to acquire a good acquaintance of the heritage of the past with which ⁴⁶⁰ these institutions seek to familiarise them. In my view, one of the reasons for the fall in the standards of ⁴⁸⁰ education of which there

is a general complaint today, is that our youths do not benefit at all from the ⁵⁰⁰ education which is being now imparted in our educational institutions.

This poison has not only corroded our individual life but ⁵²⁰ is also now spreading into our collective life. Our present educational system does not concern itself at all with implanting ⁵⁴⁰ the essential qualities for a collective life amongst our new generation. So if in this situation our new generation remains ⁵⁶⁰ devoid of the qualities essential for collective life, there should be no reason for surprise. Indeed it appears to me ⁵⁸⁰ that our present educational system does not at all seem to concern itself with the development of those qualities in ⁶⁰⁰ our youth which are essential for a good collective life.

Our present educational system is thus as unbalanced and ill-formed ⁶²⁰ as would appear to be a man with a protruding body and skinny feet and legs. Whatever may be the ⁶⁴⁰ reason for this, the entire effort of our present-day educational institutions seems to be merely to acquaint the students ⁶⁶⁰ with a very limited aspect of knowledge and not at all to make them skilful at work or good social ⁶⁸⁰ beings. I, therefore, believe that amongst other efforts necessary in this system, it is also necessary to establish a balance ⁷⁰⁰ in its objectives.

We in this country must decide as to how many scholars and skilled workers we require for ⁷²⁰ our country. It is quite evident that for every age and for every country both scholars and workers are necessary. ⁷⁴⁰ But in the circumstances in which our country is placed today we are in need of a larger number of ⁷⁶⁰ skilled workers as compared to more scholars. We have to expand our economic production as early as possible so as ⁷⁸⁰ to meet the needs of the millions of our countrymen. I may also add that amongst the conditions that have ⁸⁰⁰ to be fulfilled for expanding production are a fairly good standard of health of our people and familiarity with modern ⁸²⁰ economic and industrial organisation and process. We have to work right now to realise these three objectives as mentioned earlier. ⁸⁴⁰

UNASSIMILABLE : unabsorbable;
PROTUDING : to forward; ILLUMINING : brightening;
ALUMNI : body of old students; SAVVY : understanding;

Exercise 23

First of all, I am beholden to your Foundation, for having given me this opportunity, to be with you here ²⁰ this day. Your annual lectures have already

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become extremely popular and useful. I find that, a long line of eminent ⁴⁰ personalities have been speaking to you on the Foundation's annual day. They have presented their points of view to you, ⁶⁰ they have brought to bear their experiences on the issues of population and development. Going through some of their speeches, ⁸⁰ I found that, there is very little that has been unsaid or remains to be said on this particular subject. ¹⁰⁰ Hence I find myself, rather, in a very difficult position to propound anything new or worthwhile. It is my handicap ¹²⁰ also that, I do not belong to the profession of those who have been working very hard on this particular ¹⁴⁰ issue. And therefore, what I would speak to you today, will not be anything new. But I will try to ¹⁶⁰ minimise the torture of listening to me, by trying to be as brief as possible because, I think, that it ¹⁸⁰ is the only way to earn your goodwill.

Well friends, for some of you who are present here, you ²⁰⁰ know, that I belong to a particular school of thought in this country, which firmly believes, that we have a ²²⁰ great future ahead, and I am bullish, I would say on India. But certainly, there is one subject on which ²⁴⁰ I feel cowed down, and I do not feel strong enough to defend our records. And that is the question ²⁶⁰ of population. I think some of us have been guilty of not giving the same prominence to this subject, which ²⁸⁰ it deserved. Not that there were no proponents of this particular thought or idea, that population is a very important ³⁰⁰ dimension of a country's growth problems. Not that there were no people, who were telling us why we should give ³²⁰ more importance to it.

But somehow, most of us were so carried away by the ideas of sheer economic growth ³⁴⁰ and development, that we thought that this is a problem of number, which could easily be solved. But then, when ³⁶⁰ I look in retrospect and think of the days which were given to us to do something, I feel that ³⁸⁰ it was one of the ironies of life, that we wanted to serve the people, we forgot about the numbers. ⁴⁰⁰

We belong to a civilisation, a culture which celebrates marriages. We have a fascinating concept of weddings and wedding ceremonies. ⁴²⁰ We spend lots of money on sweets and laddus when babies are born. Yet, at the same time, we discover ⁴⁴⁰ what a horrifying figure the people become, when the numbers become unmanageable and therefore, we felt that, perhaps, the developmental ⁴⁶⁰ side would remain gloomy and dark, unless and until the population side is brightened up and looked into in a ⁴⁸⁰ very

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different manner, from where we have been looking at it.

In fact, when you look at the prospects of ⁵⁰⁰ India, with 850 million people already in position, and we are marching towards a mark called billion number ⁵²⁰ people on this earth, we find that, perhaps we will not really be able to take care of the ⁵⁴⁰ welfare of those great numbers. That is where we feel that, we are perhaps caught in a trap. In the ⁵⁶⁰ language of the economists, it is the Malthusian trap. That is, the power of earth to grow, to produce what ⁵⁸⁰ you call, the needs of the people, will be totally overtaken by the power of the people to expand in ⁶⁰⁰ numbers. About 200 years ago, when the 18th Century was coming to an end, Europe witnessed a similar situation, ⁶²⁰ hundreds and thousands of people were sleeping in absolute discomfort in the lanes and bylanes of London, Paris and other ⁶⁴⁰ places. There was a wave of unrest all over. There were disturbing factors all over there was a tide, which ⁶⁶⁰ was running so high, that people did not know and could not understand as to what its meaning was. But ⁶⁸⁰ one thing was clear, that throughout Europe there was uneasiness, there were convulsions, there were revolts to which they could ⁷⁰⁰ not attribute one single cause to explain it.

In France, of course, they found some sort of an answer in ⁷²⁰ the failure of its economy and the collapse of its finances. But in the rest of Europe, they were becoming ⁷⁴⁰ victims of swelling numbers of people in that, they would not understand as to what was motivating these people to ⁷⁶⁰ call and to question their status quo, to shake the roots as one would say, the institutions of Europe.

Then, ⁷⁸⁰ there came a discerning man by name Malthus, and he said that this is all happening, because the power of ⁸⁰⁰ the population has overtaken the power of the earth to produce the needs of the people. He saw them coming ⁸²⁰ into the streets of London, he saw them sleeping on the naked earth, without any support or without any cover. ⁸⁴⁰

CONVULSIONS : violent disturbance;

SWELLING : to fill in; STATUS QUO : in present state;

PROPOUND : to produce; RETROSPECT : a survey of the past;

MALTHUS : economist who gave the theory of population, population growth overtakes product growth;

Exercise 24

There can be no doubt that a reduction in the number of years of married life in a woman's reproductive ²⁰ cycle, would be dramatically reflected in the number of children she is likely to bear. This measure was indeed adopted ⁴⁰ in 1978 when the legal age of marriage

for women was raised from 15 to 18 and 21 ⁶⁰ for men, but this law, from the start, been perhaps the most flouted one in our country - a ⁸⁰ large proportion of girls still get married well before the legal age for want of effective social pressure against early ¹⁰⁰ marriages, which have serious health consequences for the mother and the child besides pushing up fertility.

This is, admittedly, a ¹²⁰ difficult problem but one which must be faced. The continued toleration of its violation on the part of the public ¹⁴⁰ encourages disregard of other laws as well and undermines the very concept and framework of a society based on the ¹⁶⁰ rule of law.

The second point concerns the critical importance of female education and literacy as a crucial determinant of ¹⁸⁰ fertility amongst women in India. All the statistics prove that. We all know, for instance, that Kerala, with the highest ²⁰⁰ female literacy create in the country, also enjoys the lowest birth-rate, while Rajasthan's **appallingly** low female literacy rate is ²²⁰ more than fully reflected in the highest birth rate in the country. This should surely suffice to convince the central ²⁴⁰ and state Governments that concentrating on literacy programmes, particularly amongst girls and young women, would be a most effective instrument ²⁶⁰ in reducing the birth-rate. Literacy and primary education programmes are primarily the responsibility of state Governments, and the levels ²⁸⁰ of achievement in each state depend largely on the degree of interest and determination on the part of the respective ³⁰⁰ governments and on the priority given to education in their allocation of funds. If a shortage of funds proves to ³²⁰ be the main impediment, then the means must be found, with the intervention of the Central Government, if necessary, to ³⁴⁰ supplement them.

A major cause of our failure to achieve fuller and quicker results in our family planning and health ³⁶⁰ programmes has been because of a failure of communications. The Act that large sections of our rural population have up to ³⁸⁰ now been almost inaccessible, except to their immediate neighbours because of their remote location and with no means of communication. ⁴⁰⁰

With some variations, the nature of the problem in poverty-stricken Africa and latin America must be the same. Although ⁴²⁰ all population strategies have to relate to specific cultural contests, historical background and contemporary economic imperatives basically the central plank ⁴⁴⁰ of a successful population stabilisation strategy

should be awareness of the risks, commitment to small family norm and determination to ⁴⁶⁰ achieve desired results in a reasonable time-frame. Otherwise, the snow-balling effect of exploding numbers will set at naught ⁴⁸⁰ all tidy plans.

The two scourages we still face are hunger and environmental degradation. Both are of global character and, ⁵⁰⁰ therefore, demand global solutions. It is a dismal thought that 750 million of the world's poorest people yearn to ⁵²⁰ meet basic needs. In the words of activist, former Prime Minister of Japan : "hunger takes the lives of 13 ⁵⁴⁰ to 18 million people annually. Three quarter of these are children under the age of 5. It is appalling that ⁵⁶⁰ as we sit here now, 18 children die every minute because of hunger. Can we be complacent about this tragic ⁵⁸⁰ fact?"

In the mid-forties several demographers thought that by the year 2000 A.D., the world would have ⁶⁰⁰ a population of three billion. These estimates have had to be revised upwards. It is estimated now that by the ⁶²⁰ year 2020, that is, in just another three decades, the world may have to cope with eight billion! ⁶⁴⁰

It seems that since 1975, the decline in fertility in some of the third-world countries has almost ⁶⁶⁰ levelled off. In India, the world's second most populous country, for instance, the fertility rate has got stuck at ⁶⁸⁰ 4.8. That means that India will overtake China by the middle of the next century. In Indonesia too, after ⁷⁰⁰ the initial successive reduction of fertility to 4.3, the downward trend has been arrested. During my last visit ⁷²⁰ to China, when I complimented China on her achievement in slowing down growth-rate of population, senior leader, of ⁷⁴⁰ China voiced anxiety at the slowing down of the process of reduction of fertility, because rapid growth might well ⁷⁶⁰ threaten China's elaborate development and modernisation strategies.

Are we not overstretching the Earth's natural resources? There are fears that production ⁷⁸⁰ of food may not keep pace with the needs of the growing population. There may not be enough water for ⁸⁰⁰ all. The environment will further deteriorate, resulting in more frequent visitations such as seasonal droughts and floods. Shelter remains a ⁸²⁰ critical problem; it can certainly get worse as is visible from rapidly-mushrooming slums in all big or small cities. ⁸⁴⁰

CRUCIAL : essential; DETERMINANT : effecting factor;
FLOUTED : express contempt by word or act; IMPEDIMENT : hurdles;
FERTILITY : power to bear/reproduce; INACCESSIBLE : cannot be reached;

Handwritten shorthand notes corresponding to the text on the left, covering the same paragraphs and the legend.

Exercise 25 (Legal)

In other words, if the argument of the appellant therein was accepted, it could have resulted in confining the transfer²⁰ of the raw material from the ship by pipeline to the port area but it could not be taken⁴⁰ to a refinery located outside the port area. But the provision did contemplate transporting of the material from the ship to the⁶⁰ refineries as also to terminals and vice versa. It was in this context that the Court proceeded to hold⁸⁰ that a purposive construction was needed to avoid a situation of absurdity. Much turned on the presence of the words¹⁰⁰ 'in the port area'. Therefore, keeping in mind the clear object of the Notification, which was self-evident, the Court¹²⁰ added the words 'or through' to the words 'in the port area'. This facilitated the transfer of the raw material¹⁴⁰ from the ships to a refinery or a terminal which need not have to be located in the port area.¹⁶⁰ We must understand the decision of this Court in the aforesaid context. The rationale and principle appear inapposite to the¹⁸⁰ cases before us.

We also do bear in mind that in paragraph 8(I), construction of pipelines, inter alia, was²⁰⁰ permitted. It is thereafter that in paragraph-8(II), under CRZ-II, Clause VI contemplated permitting of storage²²⁰ of non-hazardous cargo, such as edible oil, fertilizers and food grain 'in' notified ports. We may broaden our inquiry into²⁴⁰ the relevant contents of CRZ- III. CRZ-III of the 2011 Notification was divided²⁶⁰ into area 'A', which, inter alia, dealt with areas up to 200 meters from HTL on the²⁸⁰ landward side in the case of sea front. The said Clause proclaimed further that the said area would be a³⁰⁰ No Development Zone. We notice that in CRZ-III the NDZ was not to be applicable³²⁰ in 'such areas' within any port limits. Thus, the expression 'within' made its appearance in relation to notified port limits again.³⁴⁰ In the permitted activities in the NDZ under area 'A', viz., up to 200 meters as aforesaid,³⁶⁰ we find Clause (e), which permitted facilities for receipt and storage of petroleum products and liquified petroleum gas as specified³⁸⁰ in Annexure-II. Area B of CRZ-III is described as the area comprised from 200 meters to 500 meters.⁴⁰⁰

Under the same we notice that again facilities for receipt and storage of petroleum products and liquified natural gas as⁴²⁰ specified in Annexure-II was permitted. We may bear in mind that the very same activity had also been contemplated⁴⁴⁰ in area A of CRZ-III, viz., the area comprised

to 200 meters of the high tide line¹⁶⁰ of the landward area in the case of the sea front, inter alia. Interestingly, when it comes to storage of⁸⁰ non-hazardous cargo, such as edible oils fertilizers and food grain 'in' the notified ports, it was permitted activity in area 'B'⁵⁰⁰ of CRZ-III under Clause 4 thereof, that is, an area located between 200 metres⁵²⁰ to 500 metres. It must be noticed that CRZ-III had been classified in paragraph-7 essentially as⁵⁴⁰ relatively undisturbed area, which did not belong to either CRZ-I or II, which included the coastal zone⁵⁶⁰ in rural areas, both developed and undeveloped and also areas within municipal limits or in other legally designated urban areas,⁵⁸⁰ which were not substantially built up. We have already noticed the classification of CRZ-II earlier, as⁶⁰⁰ areas which had been developed up to or close to the shore line. Can it then be said that storage⁶²⁰ of non-hazardous cargo, such as edible oil, fertilizers food grain, permitted in the notified ports in CRZ-III,⁶⁴⁰ Area 'B', be also permitted in CRZ-III Area 'A'? Going by the contents of CRZ-III⁶⁶⁰ under activities which were permitted in the NDZ, we are unable to find any clause which permitted such⁶⁸⁰ storage of non-hazardous cargo including edible oil, inter alia. Therefore, in the NDZ area falling under area 'A'⁷⁰⁰ of CRZ-III, it may have been impermissible.

We have made this discussion only to remind ourselves that⁷²⁰ in interpretation of the Notification we are concerned with, a pursuit of a purposive interpretation or a search for a⁷⁴⁰ rationale which the Court finds fair may meet with limitations which flow from the object of the maker of the notification⁷⁶⁰ being confined to the plain meaning of the words used. No doubt, a situation found in the facts of the⁷⁸⁰ case reported in may call for a different approach. Reverting back to the controversy, projected from the difference between the words⁸⁰⁰ 'within' and 'in', we may notice the following discussion of the NGT, which is a specialised Body consisting⁸²⁰ of a Judicial Member and a Technical Member in a statutory appeal under the Act, in compact Oxford English Dictionary.⁸⁴⁰

- CONTEMPLATE: to think about;
- ABSURDITY: not based on reason;
- RATIONALE: based on logic;
- INTER ALIA: in relation to;
- HAZARDOUS: dangerous to life.

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

Exercise 26 (Legal)

The Learned counsel, while referring to Sinha Commission Report, has submitted that the report, on the basis of which the³⁰ amendment was enacted, itself stated that economic criteria would not result in homogenous class. Learned counsel has argued that in the⁴⁰ absence of quantifiable data, one could not create a class for which protective measures are to be taken.⁶⁰ The said Report concluded that if poverty is kept as a base-line for reservation, then it should have in its⁸⁰ ambit all, irrespective of their class, more so because the poor of SCs, STs and OBCs¹⁰⁰ are worse-off than those of general category. He has further argued that the condition precedent for a protective clause¹²⁰ is existence of discrimination. Hence, protective action for a class that is neither a homogenous class nor is discriminated against,¹⁴⁰ is violative of the basic structure of the Constitution. Learned counsel has relied upon the decision of this Court in Indra Sawhney case,¹⁶⁰ to submit that economic criteria cannot be the sole basis for classification. He has further argued, in the¹⁸⁰ alternative, that even if reservation on grounds of economic criteria is to be given, EWS ought to include those who are²⁰⁰ living below the poverty line.

Learned counsel, while adding on to the submissions already advanced by the preceding²²⁰ counsel for petitioners, posed that the originalist understanding of reservation is that it can solely be granted as an anti-discriminatory²⁴⁰ measure and not as an anti-deprivation measure. Hence, the amendment in question cannot sustain itself, as it addresses the deprivation²⁶⁰ faced by an individual and not discrimination. The learned counsel would further argue that even if it is assumed that²⁸⁰ reservation can be granted as an anti-deprivation measure, still the amendment violates the Equality Code as it excludes the³⁰⁰ SCs, STs and OBCs, who are poorer than the poor of forward class, without any intelligible differentia³²⁰ and its nexus with the object sought to be achieved. Opposing the justification that these classes are already protected by way of³⁴⁰ Articles 15(4) and 16(4), he has submitted that the purpose of Articles 15(4) and 16(4)³⁶⁰ is to protect a 'group' and to counter the historical oppression done to them. Whereas, the amendment in question³⁸⁰ deals with situational deprivation, mainly economic criteria, and is intended to protect an individual. Purposes and entities of both the protections being different.⁴⁰⁰

The learned counsel has re-emphasised on the submissions that statistically, the backward class poor are worse off than forward class⁴²⁰ poor and their poverty is deeper, more intense and likely to be stickier and persistent. He has relied on Sinha Commission Report,⁴⁴⁰ NITI Aayog Multi-dimensional Poverty Index, along with other reports;

Handwritten notes in Progressive Shorthand (P.S.) script, corresponding to the printed text on the left. The notes are written in dark ink on lined paper. Some words are underlined in the shorthand, such as 'EWS', 'SCs', 'STs', 'OBCs', '15(4)', and '16(4)'. The shorthand is a cursive, abbreviated form of the Devanagari script used for legal shorthand.

and has argued that the question⁴⁶⁰ before the Sinha Commission was whether there could be reservation for general category people not covered in any other category.⁴⁸⁰ The Report itself stated that the backward class poor are poorer than the upper-class poor. He would underscore the point⁵⁰⁰ that poverty is deeply linked to the caste of an individual and the perception surrounding that status. The learned counsel⁵²⁰ has further submitted that grant of reservation as a measure of affirmative action is a way for reparation and does not⁵⁴⁰ lead to economic upliftment. The object of economic upliftment of deprived sections of society can be achieved through other⁵⁶⁰ measures of poverty alleviation but reservation is not the answer. While contending that Articles 15(1) and 16(1) are⁵⁸⁰ part of the basic structure of Constitution and that it is only in furtherance of substantive equality that formal equality⁶⁰⁰ can be breached, he has submitted that exclusion on the basis of caste straightaway breaches formal equality. Further, exclusion of those who⁶²⁰ are arguably more impacted by this criterion violates substantive equality too, hitting the Equality Code, and resultantly violating⁶⁴⁰ the basic structure of the Constitution.

In another line of arguments, the learned counsel has put forth the proposition that the words⁶⁶⁰ "other than" in Articles 15(6) and 16(6) should be read as "in addition to", thereby including⁶⁸⁰ SCs, STs and OBCs within them and furthering the basic structure. He has placed reliance on the⁷⁰⁰ decision of this Court to submit that if two interpretations are possible one which destroys the basic structure and the⁷²⁰ other which enhances it then purposive approach enhancing the basic structure of the Constitution is to be taken and not⁷⁴⁰ the literal approach. He has concluded the submissions while quoting from the judgment of this Court in K.C. Vasanth Kumar case⁷⁶⁰ that lower the caste, the poorer are its members. Learned counsel, while stressing upon the Equality Code and it being⁷⁸⁰ part of the basic structure, has argued on two facets. First, as to whether the inclusion of new class of reservation⁸⁰⁰ solely on the basis of economic criteria was constitutionally permissible; and second, as to whether the exclusion of⁸²⁰ SCs, STs and OBCs from this newly created class, was constitutionally permissible. She mapped the historical background of reservations.⁸⁴⁰

HOMOGENOUS: with common features:

NON-DEPRIVATION: no-dispossession:

OPPRESSION: to press down, to harass:

REPARATION: compensation:

ALLEVIATION: to uplift.

Handwritten notes in shorthand script, likely corresponding to the text on the left. The notes include references to Articles 15(1), 16(1), 15(6), 16(6), and SCs, STs, OBCs, as well as the names of the commission and the court case mentioned in the text.