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with

Eng./GK/Reasoning

**READING & DICTATION
EXERCISES FOR
SPEED DEVELOPMENT**

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

Exercise 1

Honourable Members, It gives me immense pleasure to address the Joint Sitting of the Two Houses of Parliament. In the²⁰ annals of our democracy, 2019 is an important milestone. We the **people of India**, are celebrating the⁴⁰ 150th birth anniversary of **Mahatma Gandhi**, the Father of the Nation this year. 13th April this year will also mark⁶⁰ 100 years of the tragic massacre at Jallianwala Bagh. **On behalf of the entire nation**, I bow to pay tribute⁸⁰ to all those martyrs who sacrificed their lives for a bright future for us. This year, our country will also¹⁰⁰ celebrate the 70th anniversary of the Constitution Day. It is in this historic Central Hall, that the illustrious architects of¹²⁰ our Constitution had **sculpted** the **Constitution of India**. This year, we are also celebrating the 550th birth anniversary¹⁴⁰ of Guru Nanak Devji, who taught us to lead our lives with the spirit of service and goodwill. I am glad that¹⁶⁰ our country is following the dreams of Gandhiji to build an inclusive society based on ethics and principles.¹⁸⁰ Our nation is moving ahead guided by the ideals of **social and economic** justice as enshrined in the Constitution by²⁰⁰ Baba Saheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar. The efforts of my Government clearly reflect a belief in an egalitarian society as espoused by²²⁰ Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, the torch bearer of public conscience against the politics of exploitation.

Honourable Members, Prior to the²⁴⁰ 2014 General Election, the country was passing through a phase of uncertainty. After the elections, my Government assumed²⁶⁰ charge and vowed to build a new India. A new India with no place for **imperfect**, corrupt and inertia ridden²⁸⁰ carved, shaped systems. From day one, the mission of my Government based on transparency was to improve the lives of our citizens, to³⁰⁰ **eradicate** their difficulties owing to poor governance, and to make sure that the benefit of public services reach the lowest³²⁰ strata of the society. The targets of my Government were determined by countless and helpless faces such as that poor³⁴⁰ mother who cooked in a smoke filled kitchen; that helpless sister who was compelled to postpone her own treatment³⁶⁰ due to financial worries despite serious illness; that daughter who had to wait the whole day until the cover³⁸⁰ of darkness for going to the toilet; that child who was compelled to wait for day light to study with no electricity.⁴⁰⁰

ANNALS: history; **SCULPTED:** chiseled, carved;
INERTIA: remain unchanged; **ESPOUSED:** to support belief.

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

Exercise 2

In the last four and a half years, My Government has infused new hope and confidence among the people of the²⁰ country, enhanced the country's image and has effectively brought in social and economic change. As a result, my Government⁴⁰ has been able to win immeasurable affection and trust of the people. The main goal of my Government is to improve⁶⁰ the life of every Indian. Honourable Members, For an inclusive and modern development of our country, it needs to be⁸⁰ ensured that not a single family is deprived of fundamental needs. My Government which is sensitive to the needs of the¹⁰⁰ common people and understands their pain, has prioritised provision of basic amenities, addressed health concerns of the people and¹²⁰ implemented the Government schemes at an unprecedented pace after restructuring them. Lack of toilets had forced crores of Indians, especially¹⁴⁰ our daughters and daughters-in-law to lead an undignified and unhealthy life. Under the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan, more than¹⁶⁰ 9 crore toilets have been constructed. It is the outcome of this mass movement that coverage of rural sanitation that¹⁸⁰ was less than 40 percent in 2014, has increased to 98 percent. According to an assessment, because of²⁰⁰ the toilets built, numerous poor persons have been spared of various kind of diseases and more than 3 lakh²²⁰ lives have been saved. In the year of the 150th birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi, we must remember that we have²⁴⁰ resolved in his memory to achieve Swachh Bharat by 2nd October.

Honourable Members, Many of our mothers, sisters and daughters²⁶⁰ used to suffer from various illnesses because of smoke filled kitchens, which also affected health of the entire family; and²⁸⁰ much of their effort and time were spent in collecting firewood. My Government has provided more than 6 crore cooking gas³⁰⁰ connections to such sisters and daughters under the Ujjwala Yojana. Even after decades of efforts, there were only 12 crore gas³²⁰ connections in the country in 2014. In a short period of last four and a half years,³⁴⁰ 13 crore families have been provided gas connections. We are fully aware that the burden of expenditure on medical treatment³⁶⁰ further impoverishes the poor families. My Government which empathizes with this pain has launched the "Ayushman Bharat Yojana" last year.³⁸⁰ Under the world's biggest health care scheme, 'Pradhan Mantri Jan Aarogya Abhiyan', 50 crore poor are eligible for availing treatment up to⁴⁰⁰ Rs 5 lakh per year per family in case of a serious illness. In a short period of four months,⁴²⁰ more than 10 lakh poor have already availed free treatment from hospitals under this scheme which is a remarkable achievement.⁴⁴⁰

DEPRIVED: lack of basics; UNPRECEDENTED: unexampled;
IMPOVERISHES: to grows better;
EMPATHIZES: understand others' feelings.

Exercise 3

Honourable Members, under 'Pradhan Mantri Bharatiya Jan Aushadhi Pariyojana', 4,900 Jan Aushadhi Centres have already been opened in more than²⁰ 600 districts. More than 700 different medicines are being dispensed at low cost in these Centres.⁴⁰ Similarly, reduction in the cost of cardiac stents has resulted in an annual saving of about Rs. 4,600 crore⁶⁰ to the poor and middle class. Reduction in cost of knee replacement has led to an annual saving of about Rs. 1,500 crore.⁸⁰ My Government has provided the facility of dialysis free of cost to those suffering from kidney diseases.¹⁰⁰ This has resulted in a saving of more than Rs 2,000 per session for these people. In addition, for¹²⁰ a premium of just one rupee a month under 'Pradhan Mantri Suraksha Bima Yojana' and 90 paise a day under¹⁴⁰ 'Pradhan Mantri Jeevan Jyoti Bima Yojana', as many as 21 crore poor brothers and sisters have been provided with¹⁶⁰ insurance coverage. An assistance of Rs 2 lakh in the event of an untoward incident is made available to them¹⁸⁰ under both the schemes. By disbursing more than Rs. 3,100 crore under these schemes till now, my Government has²⁰⁰ supported the people in their times of difficulty.

My Government is also striving hard to alleviate the challenge of **malnutrition**²²⁰ among poor women and children. My Government has launched the National Nutrition Mission for persons suffering from **malnutrition** and to²⁴⁰ eliminate the factors responsible for malnutrition. 'Mission Indradhanush' has been launched by the Government to provide immunization facilities to children²⁶⁰ and pregnant women living in remote and tribal areas. As a result, the country has moved rapidly towards the²⁸⁰ target of "Universal Immunization". Be it cities or villages, the Government is working at a fast pace to strengthen the³⁰⁰ healthcare related infrastructure. New medical colleges are being set up by the Government, district hospitals are being upgraded³²⁰ and Wellness Centres are being established in all major Panchayats of the country. From Madurai in **Tamil Nadu** to Pulwama³⁴⁰ in Jammu and Kashmir; and from Rajkot in Gujarat to Kamrup in Assam, new 'AIIMS' are being established. Government is setting³⁶⁰ up new Ayurveda Science Institutes and encouraging yoga for physical and mental well being. To address the shortage of doctors³⁸⁰ in rural areas, 31 thousand new seats have been added in medical education in the last four years.⁴⁰⁰

CARDIAC STENTS: to put duct in heart obstruction;

STRIVING: trying hard;

ALLEVIATE: to improve;

ELIMINATE: to end completely.

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

Exercise 4

Honourable Members, when my Government set a target that by 2022 when the nation celebrates 75th²⁰ anniversary of its independence, no family would remain homeless, many wondered how this would be possible. While completing the houses⁴⁰ under the earlier scheme, the Government has also **fast-tracked** the construction of houses across cities and villages under the⁶⁰ **Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana**, in an **unprecedented** manner. In the last four-and-a-half years, 1 crore and 30 lakh homes⁸⁰ have been constructed under the rural housing schemes of the Government, whereas in the five years preceding 2014,¹⁰⁰ only 25 lakh houses had been constructed. This five-fold increase in the speed of construction¹²⁰ of houses and handing over the house keys to the poor is rapidly **transforming** the destiny of the poor and the rural¹⁴⁰ landscape. Similarly, buying or building a house in the cities has become easier for the common person. The dream of¹⁶⁰ building one's own home had become difficult for a normal family to achieve due to black money and rising costs.¹⁸⁰ By enacting RERA law, my Government has ensured that construction of houses is completed and they are²⁰⁰ **handed over** to the buyers as scheduled so that the **hard earned** money of buyers does not get stuck.²²⁰ After enactment of this law, about 35 thousand 'Real Estate Projects' have been registered where lakhs of houses are being²⁴⁰ constructed and **handed over** to families.

Under 'Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana', the Government is also giving interest subsidy of 6 and a half per cent²⁶⁰ to the persons belonging to low income group. According to an estimate, an individual taking a²⁸⁰ **home loan** of Rs 20 lakh for 20 years, would get a benefit of about Rs 6 lakh. By providing³⁰⁰ electricity connection to every **household**, my Government is **illuminating** the life of each person. In 2014, there were³²⁰ more than 18 thousand villages which had no electricity connection. Today every village has been electrified. Under 'Pradhan Mantri Saubhagya Yojana',³⁴⁰ 2 crore and 47 lakh homes have been provided electricity connection. Now India is rapidly moving on the³⁶⁰ path where every home is electrified and no poor household will be forced to live in darkness. My Government³⁸⁰ is working hard towards realization of the dreams and aspirations of all the sections. By decreasing the burden of **income tax**⁴⁰⁰ and keeping rate of inflation under control, Government has created new opportunities for expanding the savings of the middle class.⁴²⁰ The effort of the Government is to increase the income of the **hard working middle class** and provide for growth.⁴⁴⁰

TRANSFORMING: positive change;

DESTINY: thing in future;

ILLUMINATING: to brighten.

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75th Anniversary of Independence
Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana
unprecedented manner
fast-tracked
transforming
destiny
hard working middle class
handing over
hard earned
illuminating
income tax
expanding the savings
increasing the income
providing for growth

PRESUMPTION : a reason for assuming; **YIELD** : earning;

Exercise 5

Unfortunately, the agreement arrived at was not put into practice. I was **in favour of** joint consultations between the engineers²⁰ of both sides. A thousand obstacles were created from Pakistan's side. They would not talk or allow us to go⁴⁰ on. Perhaps they thought that by raising obstacles **they would be able to** arrest our progress. They could not do⁶⁰ that. Now suddenly we are told that the 1948 Agreement was useless and that it was⁸⁰ secured under **duress**. As I told you, it so happened that I was also present at those talks and can¹⁰⁰ give personal testimony. The present Governor-General of Pakistan was also present there as one of the signatories. I cannot¹²⁰ understand how I or anybody else could **coerce** him into appending his signature. It is very undignified for countries to¹⁴⁰ argue like small lawyers. Big countries do big things with big minds, whether it is peace or war. It is¹⁶⁰ not in my nature to indulge in legal quibbling. I gave up law forty years back.

Spokesmen of Pakistan said¹⁸⁰ that they had **denounced** the 1948 Agreement. An agreement between two parties cannot be cancelled by²⁰⁰ unilateral action and so the dispute went on. Some people of the World Bank came here from America and talked²²⁰ with us and with Pakistan. They were prepared to mediate, so that our engineers and Pakistani engineers might hold discussions²⁴⁰ with their help. This was what we had been saying **from the very beginning**: that our engineers and theirs should²⁶⁰ hold joint consultations because there was sufficient water for all. So we accepted the World Bank's proposal and said that²⁸⁰ we were ready, if they could make them agree to joint consultations between the engineers. They told us that **as**³⁰⁰ **long as the** talks went on we should not reduce the supply of water to Pakistan from this side.

Please³²⁰ remember that the 1948 Agreement with Pakistan, which I just mentioned, laid down that India³⁴⁰ had a right to reduce the supply of waters, but this was to be done gradually so that Pakistan might³⁶⁰ get time. Sufficient time was given and years passed. We had thus a right to reduce the supply of water.³⁸⁰ Still we agreed to the World Bank's suggestion not to reduce the supply as long as the talks went on.⁴⁰⁰

DURESS : under pressure; **TESTIMONY** : evidence;

COERCE : to force, to compel; **DENOUNCED** : to accuse;

Exercise 6

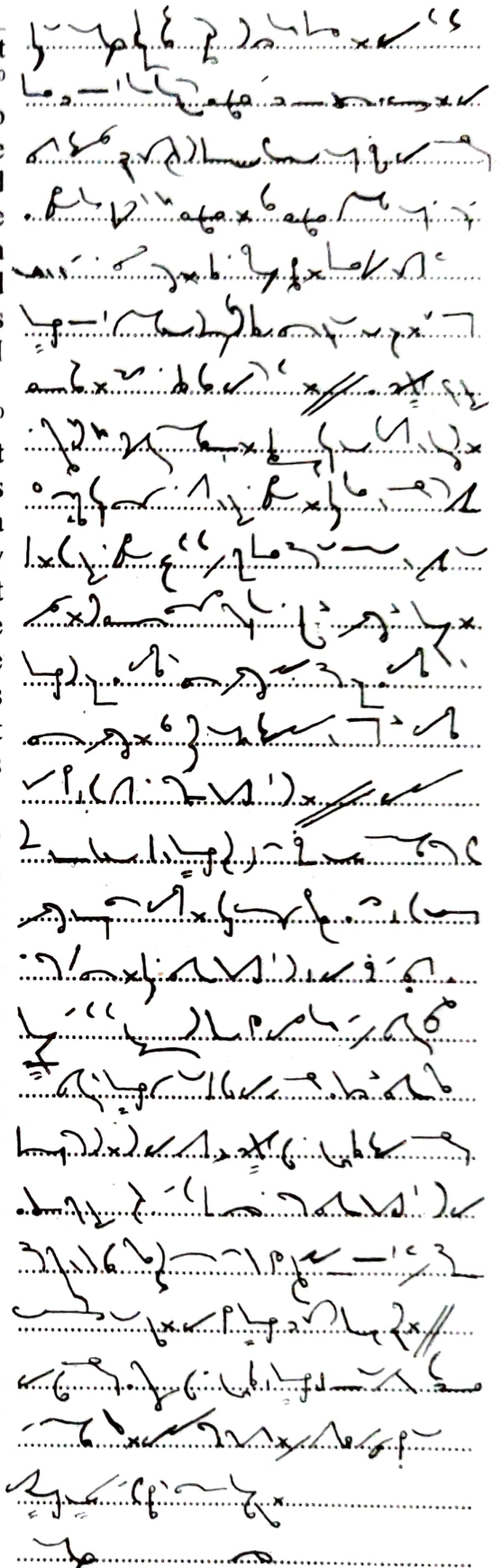
It was not **envisaged** at that time that this arrangement was meant for all times. We thought that the talks ²⁰ would go on for five or six months and would come to some conclusion. We hoped that the result would ⁴⁰ be helpful; so, taking everything into consideration, we accepted the suggestion for the duration of about six months. Those six ⁶⁰ months lengthened into a year, and now to two and a half years. It is a strange situation. Talks which ⁸⁰ are held with Pakistan go on lengthening so much that there does not seem to be any end to them. ¹⁰⁰ I get sick of this. I want a decision this way or that.

The World Bank people put forward a ¹²⁰ proposition of their own about three or four months ago. **It is clear that** they had no authority to force ¹⁴⁰ us. As mediators they had merely a right to put forward a suggestion. It was for us to accept or ¹⁶⁰ reject it. They put forward a suggestion when they thought that our direct talks were not going to yield any ¹⁸⁰ result. Their scheme more or less provided for a division of the rivers of the **Punjab**. Pakistan was to take ²⁰⁰ the waters of some rivers **and we were to take the waters of some other rivers.** That **is, there was** ²²⁰ no doubt that we were to get all the waters of our side, but they laid a very great burden ²⁴⁰ on us.

We were asked to give financial aid to Pakistan so that she might construct new canals from other ²⁶⁰ rivers to get more water. They did not clearly specify the amount but they indicated a very large sum. It ²⁸⁰ was a heavy burden on us but we considered and consulted the Punjab Government and thought that **if the matter** ³⁰⁰ was being settled once for all and our welfare as well as the welfare of Pakistan lay in it, then ³²⁰ we should accept the payment of the heavy price demanded from us. So we wrote to the World Bank within ³⁴⁰ a few days that we accepted the basic principle put forward by them and though it imposed a very heavy ³⁶⁰ burden on us, we were prepared to pay this price so that the matter might be settled peacefully and we ³⁸⁰ could go on with our work in our country in peace. We said Pakistan would also benefit thereby.

We thus ⁴⁰⁰ accepted the proposal within a few days, but Pakistan did not give any reply though weeks and months passed. We ⁴²⁰ were very perturbed. Our representatives are still sitting in Washington, New York and other cities of America **for this purpose.** ⁴⁴⁰

ENVISAGED : thought over;
IMPOSED : to levy, to charge;



Exercise 7

A long time has passed and a reply from Pakistan is still awaited. It is a strange situation. We²⁰ wanted to recall our representatives. They had no work to do, but then we thought that Pakistan might make it a⁴⁰ pretext and say that we recalled them. Therefore, we let them stay there till such time as a reply was⁶⁰ received. In the end we told the World Bank to fix some date for Pakistan's reply so that we might⁸⁰ know where we stood; otherwise a whole lifetime might pass in waiting. They accepted our suggestion and told Pakistan that¹⁰⁰ they should reply within a week whether they accepted the principle or not, with details to be settled later. When¹²⁰ they did this, Pakistan showed signs of life and began to run about. In the end their Hon. Minister undertook¹⁴⁰ the long journey to Washington. Many things were said about the issue — neither yes nor no, but that they would¹⁶⁰ consider and so on.

The World Bank told them that this reply amounted to a rejection. Should it be taken¹⁸⁰ that they had rejected the proposals or had they something more to say? Pakistan saw how the matter would end.²⁰⁰ They felt that if they rejected the proposals and India accepted them, the consequences would perhaps not be good for²²⁰ them, because the effect would have been that our interim agreement would come to an end, the discussions would end²⁴⁰ and the World Bank's suggestions to us to pay them crores of rupees would become ineffective. The rights of²⁶⁰ both sides were clear. Then the World Bank asked Pakistan to give a clear reply. We had made our²⁸⁰ arrangements for the return of our deputation, but only three or four days ago Pakistan said that they accepted the³⁰⁰ principle underlying the proposals put forward by the World Bank. But they added that they could not give a final³²⁰ reply unless the whole picture was before them. That is the same old legal quibbling. On one side they say³⁴⁰ that they have accepted the proposals and on the other they keep the door open for escape on the pretext³⁶⁰ that they have not seen the full picture. This is where matters stand at present. Meanwhile, when Pakistan did not³⁸⁰ accept the proposals we wrote to the World Bank that we had been marking time for three months or so.⁴⁰⁰

PRETEXT : excuse; INTERIM : to happen in between;

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

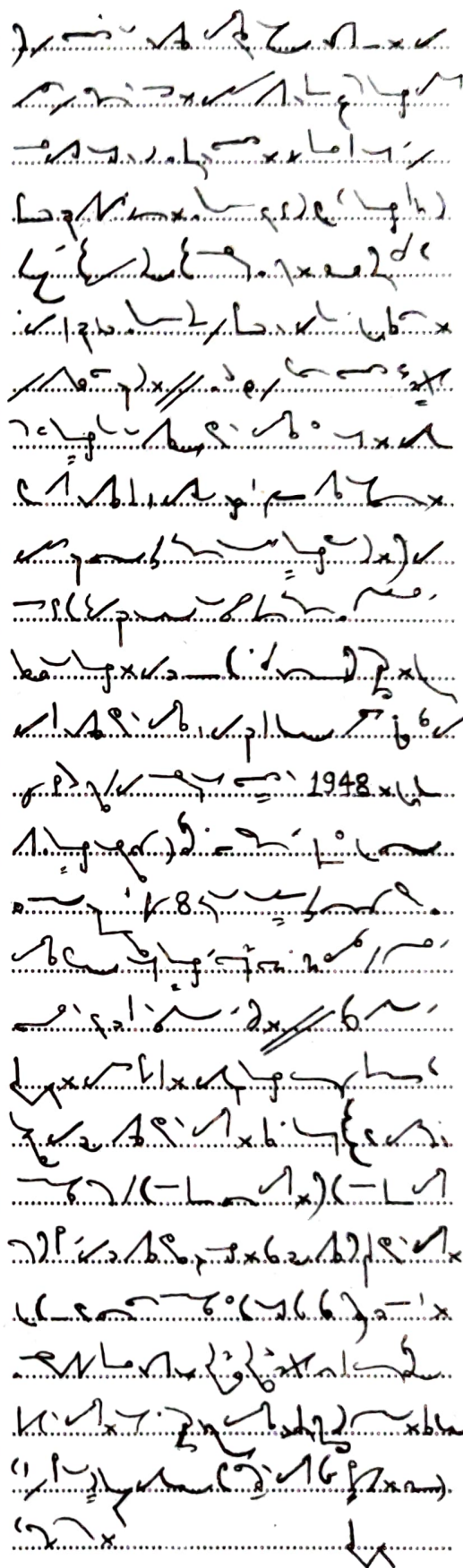
Exercise 8

Therefore our agreement not to reduce the water supply no longer held good. We resumed our freedom of action. We ²⁰ were ready to talk when they or Pakistan wanted, because we did not intend to shut the door to agreement.⁴⁰ But the talks had ended and our delegation would be returning home. The Bank people told us, however, that Pakistan's ⁶⁰ attitude was changing and that they were saying that they accepted the principle. Since there were chances that a ⁸⁰ way out would be found, the Bank asked our delegation to wait for a few days more. Our representatives agreed ¹⁰⁰ to do so.

The point is that our former agreement with the World Bank or with Pakistan for not reducing ¹²⁰ the supply of waters has ended. We have every right to reduce it, but we do not want to stand ¹⁴⁰ on legal rights in this matter. We want to do something which would harm neither Pakistan nor us. Therefore we ¹⁶⁰ again told them that we would do nothing in haste which may harm the landowners and peasants in Pakistan. We ¹⁸⁰ would give them a chance to make their own arrangements. After all we had to reduce the supply of waters ²⁰⁰ but we would do it having regard to the conditions, that is, we still stood by the principles which we ²²⁰ accepted in the Agreement of 1948. If you have read the Pakistan newspapers you will see ²⁴⁰ that there is a great storm and outcry, as if something is going to take place on July 8 here ²⁶⁰ in Nangal which would immediately stop the waters flowing into Pakistan and create a drought as a result of which ²⁸⁰ lakhs and crores of people would die of hunger and thirst.

This is wrong and **deplorable**. We cannot tolerate it. ³⁰⁰ We have told Pakistan clearly, time and again, that for the present we would not reduce the supply of water. ³²⁰ It is a fact that they have built one or two canals from which they can take some water. Therefore, ³⁴⁰ they can take water from their side and we would reduce supplies to that extent. This would not reduce their ³⁶⁰ total supply of water. If they could build some more canals as they intend, then this process would go on. ³⁸⁰ The exploratory talks held under the auspices of the World Bank made it clear that there is no dearth of water. ⁴⁰⁰ Only an arrangement to bring the waters to the desired directions was lacking. It is evident that on our side ⁴²⁰ in East Punjab, we have no other source of water than the Sutlej. You can see that from the map. ⁴⁴⁰

DEPLORABLE : to grieve for;



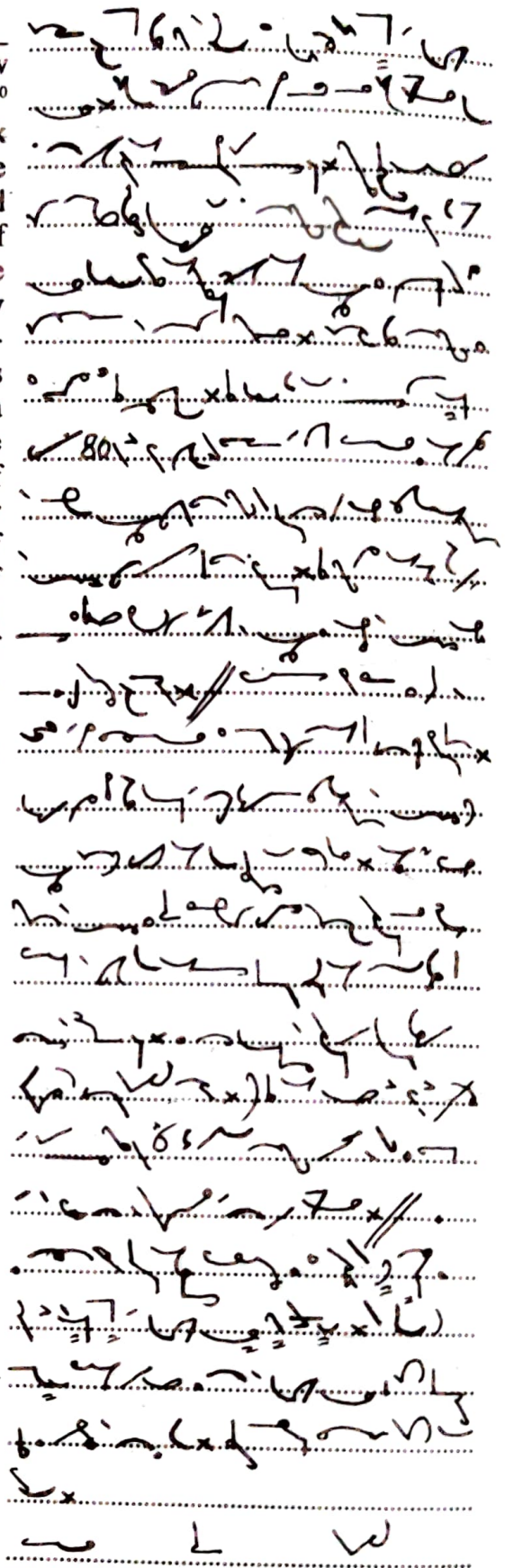
Exercise 9

I am glad to have got this opportunity of saying a few words about khadi and village industries. I have ²⁰ always welcomed such occasions because I think cottage industries have an important role to play in the economic set-up ⁴⁰ of our country today. Perhaps it would have been unnecessary to lay emphasis on this point if there was not ⁶⁰ an impression prevailing among the people that cottage industries have no place in the present-day world in which industrialisation ⁸⁰ is looked upon as the hallmark of material progress. I am afraid this impression is as groundless as it ¹⁰⁰ is misleading. It is evident that in a country like India where 80 per cent of the people live upon ¹²⁰ agriculture and allied callings, the only result of excessive industrialisation will be more production by fewer men, which instead of ¹⁴⁰ solving the problem of unemployment will render it more complicated. Its proof lies in the fact that although our country ¹⁶⁰ has advanced sufficiently on the road to industrialisation, the incidence of unemployment instead of coming down appears to have gone ¹⁸⁰ up.

In our country special significance is attached to handicrafts and such small-scale industries as can be easily managed ²⁰⁰ at home during spare time. If we lose sight of this fact and imagine that we can solve the problem ²²⁰ of unemployment through industrialisation, I am sure, we shall only have disappointment in store for us. Unless the problem of ²⁴⁰ unemployment is tackled successfully, we cannot remove poverty, because whatever the quantity of wealth available in the country, it can ²⁶⁰ be shared only among those who had some kind of work to do. The main victims of poverty are, after ²⁸⁰ all, those who are jobless or who may be partially employed. Therefore, it is in the interest of the people ³⁰⁰ of the rural areas and of our country's prosperity as a whole that the wrong impression referred to above is ³²⁰ corrected and all efforts made to popularise and improve our cottage industries.

The most important step adopted in this direction ³⁴⁰ in recent years is, as pointed out by Shri Mehta, the establishment of the All-India Khadi and Village Industries ³⁶⁰ Board by the Government of India. By doing so, Government has not only recognized the importance of village industries but ³⁸⁰ also taken upon itself the responsibility of improving them. It has been accepted as a matter of policy in planning. ⁴⁰⁰

CALLINGS : vocation; TACKLE : solve; PARTIALLY : partly;



Exercise 10

Admit that handicrafts and cottage industries can flourish only if certain concessions and facilities are offered to them. So ²⁰ far as facilities are concerned, the Government of India has accepted, in principle, to provide such concessions to these industries ⁴⁰ as are likely to help them without at the same time affecting adversely the bigger industries. I should, therefore, think ⁶⁰ that the real problem is that the question of reserving a field for khadi and **handloom industries**, Khadi has received ⁸⁰ some **impetus** by whatever direct help has been given to it by Government. Consideration has also been given to the ¹⁰⁰ question of reserving a field for khadi and handloom industries, so that the element of competition between handloom and mill-made ¹²⁰ cloth is **eliminated**. I think we have to extend this concession by reserving the fields for other cottage industries as ¹⁴⁰ well, so that in those fields bigger industries are not allowed to operate.

Till such concessions are given to cottage ¹⁶⁰ industries and as long as heavy industries are permitted to compete with them, it is difficult, if not impossible, for ¹⁸⁰ cottage industries to grow. But at present it is the bigger industrial undertakings which are being afforded facilities like concessional ²⁰⁰ railway freights, etc. These are having a bad effect on the growth of village industries. I am afraid the process ²²⁰ has not only to be stopped, but in some cases at least, it has to be reversed. Let us understand ²⁴⁰ it clearly that financial subsidies alone will not mean much for **small-scale industries**. I know that Government has been ²⁶⁰ helping the bigger industries to the tune of crores of rupees, and to be able to do so it had ²⁸⁰ to impose the burden of heavy taxation on the people. Take sugar, for example. To save sugar factories from the ³⁰⁰ competition of foreign producers, Government has been subsidizing Indian sugar industry for a number of years **at the cost of** ³²⁰ many crores. Similarly, steel industry in India has had to be subsidized heavily. I see no reason why Government should ³⁴⁰ not extend similar help, on the same scale, to village industries, when millions of people benefit from them and get ³⁶⁰ employment because of them. It is no argument to suggest that it is useless to manufacture an article on a ³⁸⁰ small scale when the same article can be manufactured and offered at a cheaper price by bigger industries. Our hesitation ⁴⁰⁰ to offer certain articles at a slightly higher price would virtually mean growing unemployment for millions and consequently forcing them ⁴²⁰ to starve. We have, to choose between unemployment on the one hand and a slightly higher cost on the other. ⁴⁴⁰

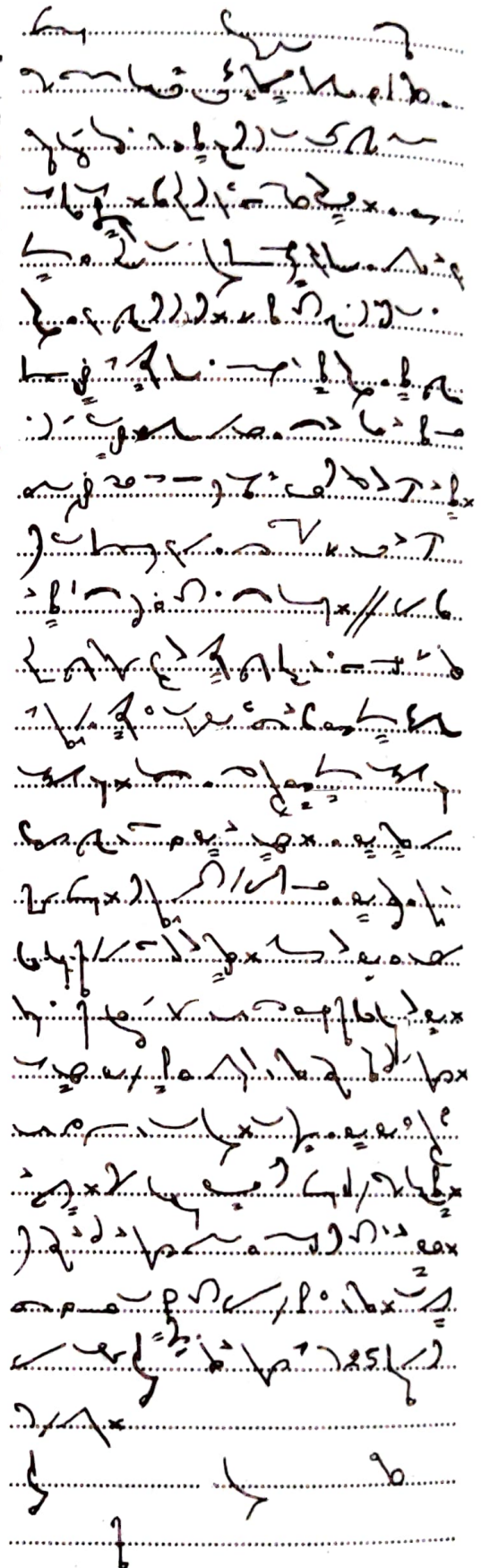
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ELIMINATED : delated, ended;**FLOURISHING** : to prosper; **IMPETUS** : encouragement;**Exercise 11**

Sir, the more important function that the Upper House performs is that it **suppresses** the separatist forces and affords an opportunity ²⁰ to the States to have their say in national legislation and in fact in the debates in **the Constituent Assembly**. ⁴⁰ This aspect was put with great emphasis by the hon. Members. The second Chamber is essential in a **federal structure** ⁶⁰ because the House of people being the representative of the people obviously the people will have their say there. But ⁸⁰ the States also should have a say of their own in a democratic Constitution and the Rajya Sabha, being a ¹⁰⁰ Council of States, obviously the States will have a say and in our Constitution we have recognised the importance of ¹²⁰ the voice of the States because certain constitutional amendments cannot go through unless they are passed by the majority of ¹⁴⁰ the States. Therefore, in our democracy people are the main criteria but the opinion of the majority of the States ¹⁶⁰ on important issues is also an important factor.

Whether this aspect will be properly fulfilled by the Rajya Sabha will ¹⁸⁰ be dependent to a great extent on the composition and the powers which the Rajya Sabha has in **comparison with** ²⁰⁰ some of the other Second Chamber that we have in the world today. For example, the most powerful Second Chamber ²²⁰ in the world today, everyone will have to agree is the Senate of the United States. The Senate Members are ²⁴⁰ directly elected. Their powers are also much wider because the Senate possesses the power of even vetoing treaties which are ²⁶⁰ agreed upon by the President. Ratification by the Senate is necessary before a treaty comes into force and upto now ²⁸⁰ more than 60 treaties have been vetoed by the Senate. In the United States Senate each State is represented by ³⁰⁰ two Members irrespective of its size and population. Now let us look to another federal. In Australia, the Senate ³²⁰ is not as powerful as that of the USA. There are 50 Senators and they are elected ³⁴⁰ ten each from the five States. Therefore, irrespective of the size of the population, uniformity is maintained there also of ³⁶⁰ all the Senates. Same is the case in Switzerland also where each State has two Members. In Russia where in ³⁸⁰ spite of the **divergence** and composition of the population and the area 25 Deputies are there from each Republic. ⁴⁰⁰

DIVERGENCE : deviation from normal way;**FEDERAL** : set up when States also have independent rights;**SUPPRESSES** : to crush down; **TREATIES** : agreements between countries;

Exercise 12

The only country where this principle is not followed is Canada and we are following to a certain extent that ²⁰ pattern. In Canada, 120 Members are nominated by the Governor-General and four Provinces have 24 Members each ⁴⁰ and other Provinces have got varying number of Members with a minimum of four. We have to a **certain extent** ⁶⁰ followed the pattern of Canada and because we have accepted the principle of both nomination and indirect election and ⁸⁰ also the principle of not having uniform representation. Our principle has been to provide one representative for every additional five millions ¹⁰⁰ of the population and one for every additional two million or part thereof. Why I am objecting and asking for ¹²⁰ an amendment and asking this House to **consider** the necessity of changing the present structure. I will just now come ¹⁴⁰ to that.

In the House of the People obviously the House being representatives of the people, the populous States will ¹⁶⁰ have more representatives. Nobody can deny it and that should be the first and basic principle. But unless there is ¹⁸⁰ another Chamber where the smaller States may feel that they are not overwhelmed by the populous States, I think to ²⁰⁰ a **certain extent** a situation may arise some day when the smaller States may feel that their problems are not ²²⁰ being discussed in the proper perspective as it should be discussed. Obviously at this moment, I will concede that not ²⁴⁰ only the quantity but quality also counts. But in a democracy the number also counts very much. Nobody can deny ²⁶⁰ and in fact this is one of the reasons probably which prompted all other federal democratic countries like the United ²⁸⁰ States, Russia and Switzerland to have uniformity of the number representing their States.

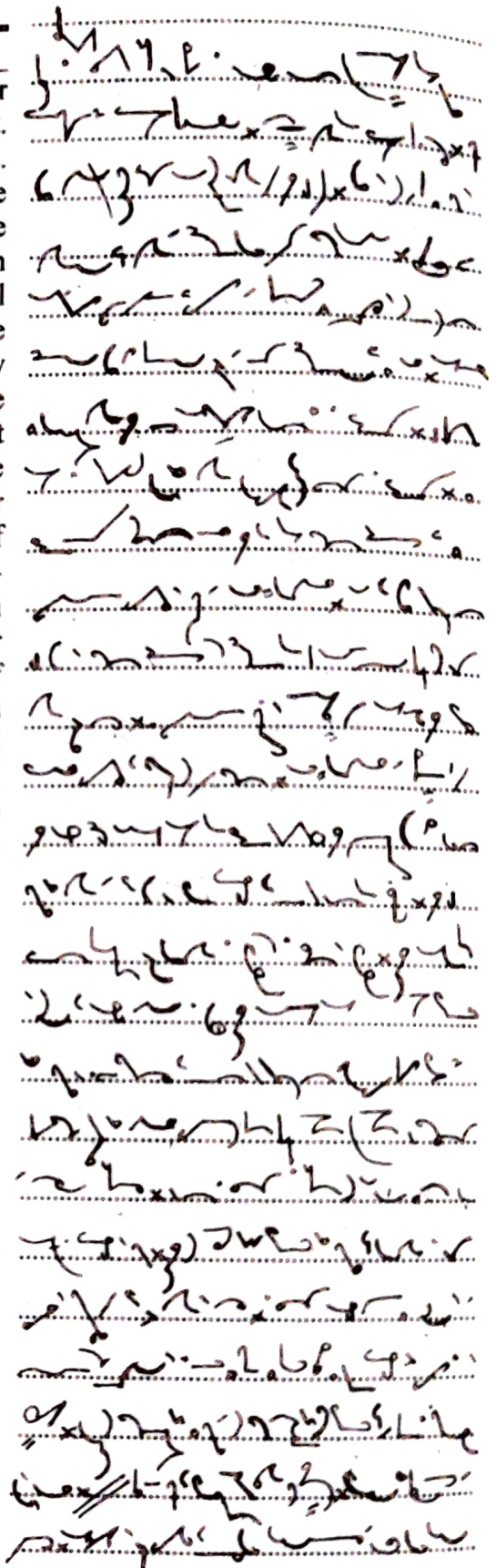
In the United States ³⁰⁰ we find that the Senate and House of Representatives try to strike a balance of conflicting interests through different compositions ³²⁰ conflicting with one another. For example, in the United States we find that they have got eight farming States and ³⁴⁰ these States have 47 representatives in the House of Representatives whereas there are industrial States and the number of their ³⁶⁰ representatives in the House of Representatives is 174. In the House of Representatives the disparity is there. The ³⁸⁰ industrial States may have a dominating voice and much more time may be taken in discussing the industrial matters. But ⁴⁰⁰ that has been balanced in the Upper House. I feel we should have also a fresh view as to whether ⁴²⁰ the composition of the Rajya Sabha should be changed because of this first principle alone. This should be considered very carefully. ⁴⁴⁰

Handwritten shorthand notes corresponding to the text, including numbers 120, 24, 100, 160, 180, 200, 220, 240, 260, 280, 300, 320, 340, 360, 380, 400, 420, 440.

DISPARITY : inequality;**Exercise 13**

It was a happy idea to start an institution named after Gandhiji for the purpose of cultural advancement. Mahatma Gandhi ²⁰ lived for nearly eighty years. During this long period there was hardly any aspect of life which he did not ⁴⁰ touch. Those of us who had the opportunity of living when he lived and worked have been really very fortunate. ⁶⁰ Generations yet unborn will recall with wonder and admiration how millions of us could see him walking this land, talking ⁸⁰ to people and actually working with his hands. **In the course of** his eventful life he gained unparalleled fame as ¹⁰⁰ a political leader. But it will be only a partial view of his life if we think that he was ¹²⁰ merely a political leader. His political career assumed importance because he fought for the freedom of the country with his ¹⁴⁰ unique weapons of truth and non-violence. Not that others before him did not think of freedom of the country ¹⁶⁰ or work for it; in fact, many devoted their whole life to this mission. The unique contribution of Gandhiji's lay ¹⁸⁰ in the fact that he placed in our hands weapons that brought us our freedom. Non-violence and Satyagraha, on ²⁰⁰ which he insisted, were not intended only for political purposes; he looked upon them as the fundamental principles of his ²²⁰ life and applied them to every question that came up to him for consideration. He did not claim, at any ²⁴⁰ time, to have evolved a philosophy or a system of philosophy. He was never tired of saying that instead of ²⁶⁰ writing a thesis, he was engaged in the actual application of his principles to concrete problems that came up before ²⁸⁰ him : and if we turn over the pages of his writings, we can see time devoting column after column to ³⁰⁰ very small and minor items. To him a small item was not unimportant if it involved a question of principle. ³²⁰ He was so cautious about the application of his principles that he evolved a whole series of propositions which applied ³⁴⁰ to the life of man. A small incident like the shooting of a monkey or the killing of a calf ³⁶⁰ would attract his attention as much as the big question of the winning of Swaraj. If he was so very ³⁸⁰ careful about his principles and so very methodical about their application, that he should take a comprehensive view of things. ⁴⁰⁰

It is quite true that every problem cannot be solved through Ahimsa. Everything has its own action and reaction. In ⁴²⁰ the world of today, we find that countries have been fighting countries and nations have been fighting



one another for ⁴⁴⁰ many a long years. Within our generation we have seen two World Wars fought **for the purpose of** ending war. ⁴⁶⁰ Can anyone in his senses claim that war has ended or that all this violence which has been there for ⁴⁸⁰ ages succeeded in ending violence? Whether in the sphere of religion, economics or politics, violence has never solved any question. ⁵⁰⁰ If it had solved problems, there would have been no problem left for us to solve. But the fact that ⁵²⁰ there still are problems today shows that they have not been solved by the methods so far pursued by Governments. ⁵⁴⁰ Can ahimsa solve our problems? The answer is none too simple. The application of ahimsa to our present day problems ⁵⁶⁰ is no doubt difficult, but perhaps it is not more difficult than ahimsa. Take the example of an army which ⁵⁸⁰ fights. If there is a war in one generation the army is prepared throughout the period for fighting. Every soldier ⁶⁰⁰ has to prepare himself from day to day and hour to hour for the fight; and apart from the actual ⁶²⁰ soldier, the whole nation has to prepare itself to support the soldiers, and this process has gone on for ages ⁶⁴⁰ and from generation to generation.

Nobody can say that ahimsa has been tried out to the same extent in any ⁶⁶⁰ country or by any people. The great service that Mahatma Gandhi rendered to mankind was that he gave it a ⁶⁸⁰ trial in this country. He had to deal with such material as was then available to him. I cannot claim ⁷⁰⁰ that we were very good material; yet, even with this indifferent material he was able to achieve his objective. It ⁷²⁰ should not require much effort to imagine that if it is tried on a bigger scale, we can achieve other ⁷⁴⁰ nobler objectives also. It is a fact that the world today is beginning to turn towards Gandhiji. With the atom ⁷⁶⁰ bomb and the hydrogen bomb, they have practically come to the end of the **tether** as far as the other ⁷⁸⁰ method is concerned. Thoughtful and far-seeing people have recognised that. They are on the look-out for an alternative, ⁸⁰⁰ and naturally their thought turns to Mahatma Gandhi's method. But, unfortunately, there is so far no complete understanding of that ⁸²⁰ method. It will not be right to think that other people are unable to understand Gandhiji. This is not correct. ⁸⁴⁰

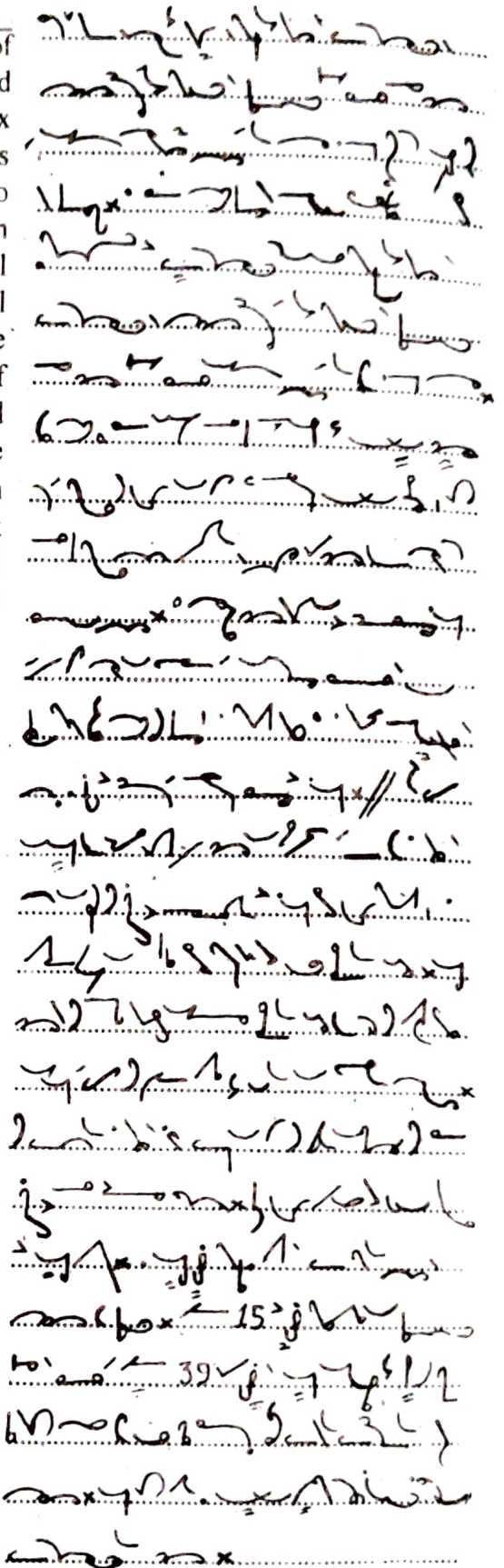
ADMIRATION : to praise; COMPREHENSIVE : detailed;

Exercise 14

Sir, I beg to move that the Bill to provide for the payment of equal remuneration to men and women workers²⁰ and for the prevention of discrimination on the ground of sex against women in the matter of employment and⁴⁰ for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto be taken into consideration. A significant measure taken by Government in recent months⁶⁰ has been the promulgation of the Equal Remuneration Ordinance providing for the payment of equal remuneration to men and women⁸⁰ workers and for the prevention of discrimination against women on the ground of sex in the matter of employment and¹⁰⁰ for other connected matters. This measure is significant not only because it coincide with the International Women's Year and brings¹²⁰ us fully in line with accepted international standards but also because it brings immediate relief to millions of our women fold¹⁴⁰ employed or seeking employment. As most of these women belong to the weaker sections of the community and are largely¹⁶⁰ employed in agriculture and unorganised sector of industry it is only appropriate that this measure was taken on a priority¹⁸⁰ basis as a part of the Government's policy of improving the condition of the weaker and exploited sections of the²⁰⁰ community.

Although we in India have always held our women in high regard and given them a position of importance²²⁰ in society their contribution to the economic life of the community has been fully appreciated but a radical²⁴⁰ change in attitudes has been brought about by the nation's struggle for Independence. India women by there active participation in²⁶⁰ the country's struggle for Independence have earned their rightful place in the community and won their legal rights without the²⁸⁰ need for any aggressive movement. Their claim for a position of complete equality in law was justified in terms³⁰⁰ of their significant contribution to the cause of the country freedom. It was fully recognised by the founding fathers³²⁰ of the Indian Republic. The Indian Constitution provide the right of equal opportunity for employed men and women without³⁴⁰ distinction. Article 15 of the Constitution prohibits any discrimination on grounds of sex and Article 39 of our Constitution³⁶⁰ of India envisages that the State shall direct its polity amongst other things towards securing that there is equal pay³⁸⁰ for equal work for both men and women. India also ratified the International Labour Organisation Convention concerning equal remuneration for women.⁴⁰⁰

The Act does not specifically provide that wages to be paid to men and women workers should be equal. Consequently,⁴²⁰



different rates of wages were laid down in several cases at the time of initial fixation of minimum wages. Besides,⁴⁴⁰ there is no restriction on the fixation of different rates of wages for men and women in the sectors not⁴⁶⁰ covered as a result of bipartite or tripartite negotiations⁴⁸⁰ or arbitration awards could be different for men and women for similar jobs.

While over the years there has been⁵⁰⁰ some narrowing down of the difference in wages of men and women workers wages disparities on grounds of sex still⁵²⁰ exist in the country even after years of the ratification of the International Labour Organisation Convention. The National Commission⁵⁴⁰ on Labour while noting that the fixation of statutory minimum wages has tended to narrow the gap between men and⁵⁶⁰ women observed that wages discrimination between men and women still prevails in certain sector like agriculture and unorganised industries the⁵⁸⁰ Committee on Status of Women in India also strongly recommended legislative action in this regard to provide for equal pay⁶⁰⁰ for equal work. Hon. Members of this august House have on several occasions expressed their feelings on this matter and⁶²⁰ have urged immediate and effective remedial action. The matter was discussed at the 25th Session of the Labour Ministers Conference⁶⁴⁰ held in September last year. It was unanimously agreed that the States which had not so far implemented fully the⁶⁶⁰ International Labour Organisation Convention both in letter and spirit should do so by taking appropriate measure to fix wages accordingly⁶⁸⁰ to occupations within a period of three months by not later than six months. It was also suggested that statutory⁷⁰⁰ provision be made to prevent bipartite agreements fixing different wages rates for men and women workers.

To give effect to⁷²⁰ the Constitutional provision as well as ensure stricter conformity to the International Labour Organisation Convention, the Equal Remuneration Ordinance⁷⁴⁰ was promulgated by the President. It was much needed and overdue measure designed to benefit a large number of⁷⁶⁰ women labour and it was felt that any delay in promulgating the Ordinance would affect adversely the interests of women⁷⁸⁰ workers. It was also felt that it will be in the fitness of things to bring forward this measure to⁸⁰⁰ implement the provision of the Constitution in the year 2012 which was being celebrated as the International⁸²⁰ Labour Year. It is proposed to replace the Ordinance by an Act of Parliament. So the Bill was introduced in the Rajya Sabha.⁸⁴⁰

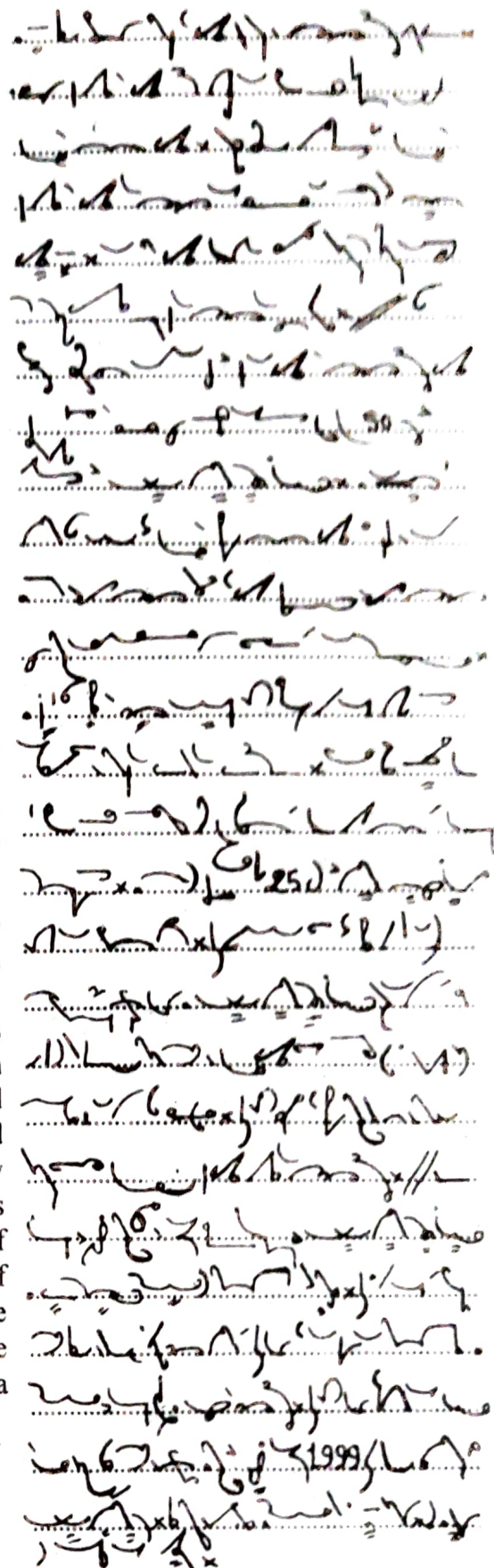
DISCRIMINATION: favoring one over other;

RAETIFIED: to make valid.

BIPARTITE/TRIPARTITE: two/three parties;

PROMULGATION: to declare, to proclaim;

UNANIMOUSLY: total agreement.



Exercise 15

I am very happy to have this opportunity to meet you. Great responsibility vests on the shoulders of our Civil Services,²⁰ particularly, the Indian Administrative Service. Ours is a large country characterised by great diversity, great complexity and the unity⁴⁰ and integrity of India has to be the primary concern of all those involved in processes of governance. This does⁶⁰ not mean that we should lose sight of the peculiar circumstances in which your respective States may be placed.⁸⁰ I think ours is a unique administrative set up, it's a federal set up and Services like the Indian Administrative Service¹⁰⁰ perform, that twin combination of concern with local circumstances and at the same time, wider concern that these local¹²⁰ problems are resolved in a manner which strengthens the bonds of unity and strengthens the nation's integrity. Of all the¹⁴⁰ Services in our country, the Indian Administrative Service has performed its role with greatest efficiency, integrity and commitment to national values.¹⁶⁰

I said that ours is a country of great diversity and great complexity. We have in our country¹⁸⁰ religions all the great religions represented in our society. We have also large number of groups of people who are²⁰⁰ under privileged and who have been discriminated against for centuries and when the Constitution of India was being drawn up,²²⁰ the founding fathers of our Republic took it upon themselves to make up for those centuries of inequity by giving²⁴⁰ them a privileged position when it comes to admission to Civil Services are concerned, when it comes to giving them²⁶⁰ a share in processes of governance through participation in the State Legislatures and Parliament. It is, therefore, very essential that²⁸⁰ our civil servants should be aware of the extreme complexity of managing an entire country of India's diversity. I would,³⁰⁰ therefore, urge all of you that though you must specialize in acquiring a deep understanding of the problem faced by³²⁰ your respective States, you must also dwell deep into the whole process of nation-building in a country of India's size,³⁴⁰ India's diversity and India's complexity. I would also say that we are living in a world where human knowledge³⁶⁰ is growing at an unprecedented pace. Therefore, your stint at the academy cannot and should not involve an end of the³⁸⁰ thirst for acquisition of knowledge. I think our training modules suggest that life has to be one of continuous process.⁴⁰⁰

Our country has been growing at a handsome rate in the last 15 years ever since the reform programme was launched.⁴²⁰ Our growth rate has averaged above 6 to 6.5 per cent. In recent years, we have improved upon that performance.

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⁴⁴⁰Our growth rate is now around 7.5 to 8 per cent and we can increase this growth rate and we need⁴⁶⁰ that growth because it is only in a rapidly expanding economy that we can find meaningful solutions to the problems⁴⁸⁰ of acute poverty, deprivation which still characterizes many parts of our country. And if growth is not there, the whole⁵⁰⁰ process of redistribution of incoming wealth becomes a **zero-sum-game** and when social processes become **zero-sum-games**,⁵²⁰ they give rise to great degree of anger, frustration and therefore, we need this vibrant growth to provide the wherewithal⁵⁴⁰ in which redistributing processes can become a positive-sum-game and not a **zero-sum-game**. And therefore understanding of the⁵⁶⁰ process of growth, particularly paying attention to the need of rural development, paying particular attention to the delivery of basic⁵⁸⁰ social services such as health, education or the management to the municipal and **panchayati raj** institutions, all these are integral⁶⁰⁰ to our understanding of the processes of growth, processes of change and I sincerely hope that you will take permanent⁶²⁰ interest in all these processes of nation building.

When I look at the civil servants in the British time,⁶⁴⁰ there is one thing which strikes me - many of them although they came to our country from far away distant land, many⁶⁶⁰ of them spent **lot of time** in understanding the sociology and economics of how India's rural dynamic works. I think⁶⁸⁰ of late, probably because people don't stay in jobs long enough, therefore I think that depth of knowledge that our⁷⁰⁰ civil servants need to understand processes of change particularly in the rural sector, the problems of disadvantaged community,⁷²⁰ **Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes**; they do not receive the attention that they deserve, that's why you have tensions in rural India⁷⁴⁰ the **naxalite** problems, these are problems which have several dimensions. A law and order dimension is important, and no⁷⁶⁰ State can really neglect the enforcement of **law and order** and also enforcement of the rule of law in our country.⁷⁸⁰ But you must also recognize that there are I think underlying tensions **arising out of the fact that not all sections**⁸⁰⁰ of our society get an equitable share or the benefits of growth, benefits of development and therefore, I think you⁸²⁰ have to pay particular attention to being the custodians of the well being of the weaker sections.⁸⁴⁰

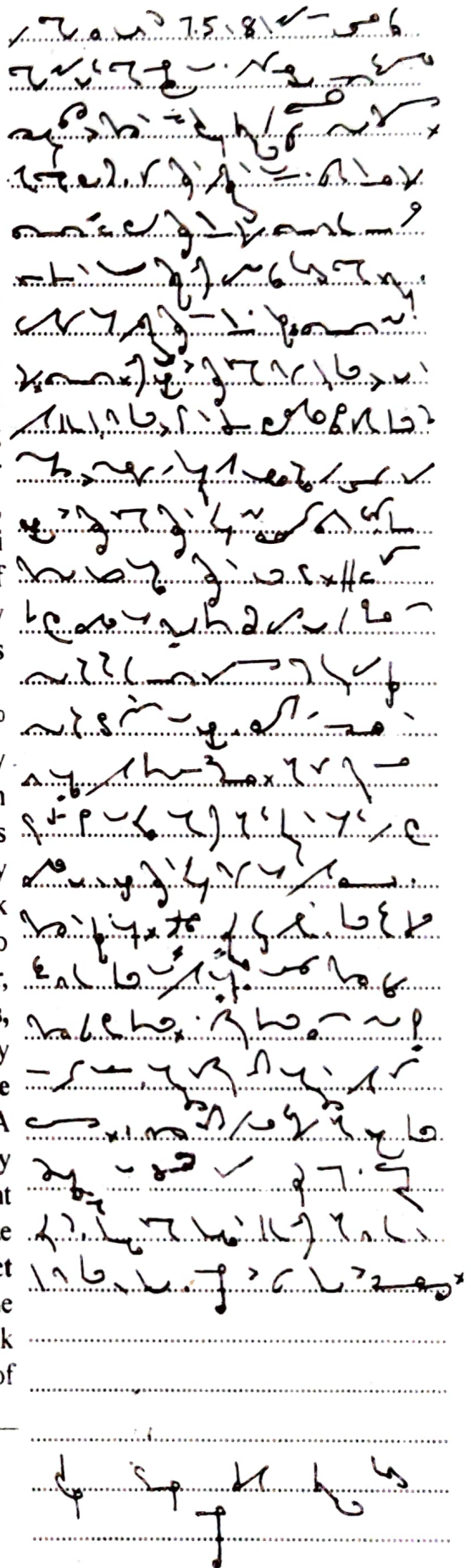
DIVERSITY: range of different things; variety;

COMPLEXITY: consisting of different parts;

DWELL: to speak about; **DEPRIVATION:** absence, lack of;

VIBRANT: fast moving;

CUSTODIANS: person responsible for protecting.



Exercise 16

Sir, during this debate, it was interesting and educative to listen to our constitutional experts. I must say that it seems ²⁰ to me that the question at issue is not merely a legal or a constitutional one. The constitutional amendments which ⁴⁰ we have introduced, contain and reflect the urges of our people. **For some time** there has been a deliberate inflation ⁶⁰ of fears which, to me, seem to be unreal. A controversy has been generated as regards the supremacy of Parliament ⁸⁰ against the supremacy of the Constitution as if these two were distinct concepts, mutually exclusive and even perhaps opposite. Those ¹⁰⁰ who describe the issue in this manner conveniently forget that our Constitution was drafted on the fundamental assumption that our ¹²⁰ people have firm faith in the principles of democracy. This faith in our people reflects in our Constitution.

Several hon. Members ¹⁴⁰ have spoken of the confrontation between Parliament and the Judiciary. There need not be a confrontation and I think that ¹⁶⁰ to create an atmosphere of confrontation does not do us much good. I do not think that there is any ¹⁸⁰ real confrontation either, because each institution has its assigned place and role. We all know that there can be no ²⁰⁰ third chamber and that no Constitution can be frozen into a static position. What do we see when we look at ²²⁰ the world around us? It would not take us long to discover that many an institution has collapsed, many a ²⁴⁰ Constitution has been scrapped because it ceased to be an effective instrument for orderly change. That our Constitution and our ²⁶⁰ democratic institutions have survived, when all around us there is a climate of tension and violence, is a tribute to ²⁸⁰ the faith of our people in democratic ideals and also to the flexibility and responsiveness of our Constitution and our ³⁰⁰ political institutions to the urges of our people.

While introducing this Bill, my colleague spoke of the arguments of those ³²⁰ who opposed this Bill as being based on fear and nervousness. **I should like to dispel** that fear and nervousness ³⁴⁰ in the minds of our minorities in so far as their rights are concerned. I believe that protection to them can be ³⁶⁰ guaranteed only by this Parliament. Mere constitutional devices cannot give guarantee. History is full of examples of constitutions being overthrown ³⁸⁰ or frustrated. Therefore, a wider and deeper democracy is a more durable guarantee of the rights of our minorities. ⁴⁰⁰

My endeavour has not been to **defeat parties** but to educate the public and strengthen the people so that they ⁴²⁰ themselves will not permit any curtailment of their rights. The protection of the rights of the minorities can be ensured ⁴⁴⁰ only when the majority itself is convinced that its well being and progress is linked with a sense of security ⁴⁶⁰ amongst the minority communities. In the ultimate analysis, it is only a sensitive and strong public opinion which can give ⁴⁸⁰ real protection to the minorities. The major premise of democracy is the will of the people as expressed through Parliament. ⁵⁰⁰ As my hon. friend said in his excellent speech, if our democracy had gone violent and had become an instrument ⁵²⁰ of oppression, it would have failed and something else would have taken its place. If such anarchy were to take ⁵⁴⁰ place in our country holding the Constitution against the flood waters of right reaction or of violent revolution would not ⁵⁶⁰ divert the tide. There is an unending attempt by vested interests to divide the people and to mislead the minorities. ⁵⁸⁰ I am confident that our people are committed to democracy. They understand and respond to the need for a secular ⁶⁰⁰ approach, the need for change within a democratic framework, and the need to prevent narrow vested interests from obstructing the ⁶²⁰ processes of changes. We all know that change is a fact of life, whether we like it or not. We ⁶⁴⁰ all know that the clever arguments cannot bind us to the past.

If you look at the circumstances ⁶⁶⁰ of life as it is in India, I see no reason in a denial of radical change. Whatever is made ⁶⁸⁰ rigid ceases to be living and organic and many becomes less and less reflective of the needs of a vital ⁷⁰⁰ and dynamic people. So what are the choices before us? Can we adhere to the status quo? There is a ⁷²⁰ crisis in the social order not only in India but in every country of the world and the choice in ⁷⁴⁰ every country is whether changes can come about peacefully or whether they must be driven to violent means. I heard ⁷⁶⁰ several Members from the Opposition saying that I was twisting the meaning. I think all those who have read newspapers ⁷⁸⁰ in the past few months and all those who have followed the election campaigns know where the twisting has taken ⁸⁰⁰ place, how everything we have said has been twisted and misconstrued. We believe in the commitment, and we shall continue ⁸²⁰ to believe in it. I think in today's world this is a word which has great significance for the future. ⁸⁴⁰

STATUS QUO : former & present existing position;

PREMISE : to state in introduction; **ANARCHY** : disorder;

DISPEL : to disperse; **MISCONSTRUED** : interpret wrongly;

Exercise 17

I am most happy and grateful for the opportunity you have given me to meet you all this evening. As ²⁰ you know the Government of India and the Provincial Governments concerned have taken great pains and incurred heavy expenditure this ⁴⁰ year to improve the approaches and also the localities where the sacred Buddhist places are situated. The total amount spent ⁶⁰ may add up to a crore of rupees in the course of this year. That indicates the interest which the ⁸⁰ Government of India and the people of India are taking in Buddhism and its sacred places.

You have been good ¹⁰⁰ enough to mention some points which I shall have looked into. I will try to see that as far as ¹²⁰ possible no complaints are left unattended. You have mentioned Bodha Gaya. I have been personally connected with the Bodha Gaya ¹⁴⁰ affair for a pretty long time. More than 25 years ago a deputation of Buddhists from Ceylon and Burma ¹⁶⁰ came here. It wanted to have control of the Bodha Gaya temple. At that time though the Congress had nothing ¹⁸⁰ to do with the Government, it took up the matter and appointed a committee to make suggestions as to how ²⁰⁰ best the Bodha Gaya temple could be managed in the interests of all and to the satisfaction of the Buddhists. ²²⁰ The Committee, of which I happened to be Secretary at the time, recommended that the management of the temple should ²⁴⁰ be placed in the hands of a committee on which Buddhists as well as Hindus should be represented. That was ²⁶⁰ because the Hindus also worshipped the Buddha. Their method of worship may differ from that of the Buddhists but they ²⁸⁰ held Lord Buddha in great veneration as one of the Avatars. We could not do anything at that time as ³⁰⁰ there was a Mahant in actual possession of the temple and he did not agree to part with his right. ³²⁰ In 1937, however, when the Congress for the first time formed Government in Bihar, it took up the ³⁴⁰ question of the appointment of a temple committee once again. Unfortunately, however, the Ministry lasted only a short time and ³⁶⁰ nothing much could be achieved. In 1946, the Congress again came to power. The matter was then reopened ³⁸⁰ and a law was passed by virtue of which the management of the temple was taken away from the Mahant. ⁴⁰⁰

You have said in your Address that there is no suitable platform for offering lights in the temple. I do ⁴²⁰ not see any difficulty in meeting this request. You have also mentioned that there is no arrangement for lights in ⁴⁴⁰

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front of the image all the 24 hours of the day and night, and that facilities should be given ⁴⁶⁰ to pious pilgrims to stick gold-foils to the image. I shall refer these matters to the Temple Committee, though ⁴⁸⁰ personally I do not see any difficulty in accepting these suggestions.

You have also said that you require land for ⁵⁰⁰ building dharmshalas and resthouses for pilgrims who come for worship. I believe that in all these places, including Bodha ⁵²⁰ Gaya, some dharmshalas have been built which are pretty big and well furnished. Some houses have also been built by ⁵⁴⁰ the well-to-do people. If more dharmshalas are needed, they can certainly be built with the help of philanthropic ⁵⁶⁰ organizations and individuals. Being a thickly populated area, the availability of land may present some problem, but the Government can ⁵⁸⁰ always acquire land for an essential purpose.

About Kushinara, you said that you saw some people digging out bricks from ⁶⁰⁰ the stupa. As you know, all sacred places including Kushinara have been taken over by the Archaeological Department. They are, therefore, ⁶²⁰ protected monuments, and anyone found damaging them is liable to prosecution under the ordinary law of the land.

You have ⁶⁴⁰ also mentioned that there should be facilities for the study of the Tibetan language and its ancient literature. I may ⁶⁶⁰ tell you that at Nalanda, which was at one time a great seat of Buddhistic learning, I, as President, laid ⁶⁸⁰ the foundation-stone of an institute for the study of Buddhistic literature about four years ago. Since then the Institute ⁷⁰⁰ has started functioning and some 30 or 40 students from **various countries** are already engaged in research work there. I ⁷²⁰ do not know whether there are any facilities in this institute for the study of Tibetan literature, but I shall ⁷⁴⁰ refer this matter to the Director and see whether anything can be done to encourage the study of Tibetan by ⁷⁶⁰ the students as also of Indian languages by Tibetans and others. Regarding the other small matters mentioned in your Address, ⁷⁸⁰ I would request you to give me the points in writing so that I might ask the authorities concerned to ⁸⁰⁰ look into them. I am glad that you have had an opportunity of going round the country and seeing things ⁸²⁰ for yourselves. I have no doubt that there is a great revival of interest in Buddhistic studies everywhere and throughout the country. ⁸⁴⁰

PHILANTHROPIC : based on charity;
VENERATION : reverence, great respects;

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

Exercise 18

Sir, we are deeply committed to changing the condition of living of millions of our people, the vast majority of whom ²⁰ live in great poverty. When we talk of the most urgent problems in the country which are the removal of ⁴⁰ poverty and the lessening of disparities, our slogans have been made the matter of jokes and of ridicule. Any subject, ⁶⁰ any question, any debate has evoked the taunt as to what about garibi hatao? Surely, poverty is too agonising a state to ⁸⁰ be joked about except by those who have no idea what it is and have no real sympathy with those ¹⁰⁰ who live in the state of poverty. If you want to look at the question seriously and sincerely, we know ¹²⁰ that the poverty of ages cannot be wiped out in a few weeks, a few months or even a few ¹⁴⁰ years. Anybody who pretends that he can do so is obviously trying to mislead the public.

We have never said ¹⁶⁰ that we can achieve this by a miracle, we have never said that it can be done by magic. We ¹⁸⁰ have always said that certain steps have to be taken, deliberate, determined steps, and by those steps we can remove, ²⁰⁰ we will remove, the poverty of this country. But this also requires a change in social outlook. There is talk ²²⁰ of compensation. Even today we have heard some of it. Everyone knows that this is a subject about which ²⁴⁰ I feel very strongly and I would like to put my views before the House as I have put them ²⁶⁰ on previous occasions. When we talk of compensation, it is compensation for land, compensation for a palace or a big ²⁸⁰ house. **I should like to ask hon. Members,** what about compensation for injustice? What about compensation for forced labour, for ³⁰⁰ the eviction of landless people, for land unfairly grabbed? What happens when a mill is closed, its machinery run down, ³²⁰ its reserves eaten away, even provident funds diverted to private purposes? A small man's business is closed and a partner ³⁴⁰ driven to the street and other such things of the capitalist system? I remember there is a small group of ³⁶⁰ people in Bihar. They were among the first who came forward ³⁸⁰ in the freedom struggle. Their lands were taken away by the Britishers and uptil now we have not given them that land. ⁴⁰⁰

We believe that the necessary social, political and economic processes which are involved in changing poverty must be carried out ⁴²⁰ within a democratic framework. The vested interests have, as usual, raised a hue and cry, either through lack of understanding ⁴⁴⁰ or deliberate

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mischievous. As I said earlier, they have misinterpreted many of the words which we use. I talked earlier ⁴⁶⁰ of commitment. What I mean is that we are committed to the upholding of the freedom of speech, of assembly, ⁴⁸⁰ of worship of every citizen of this vast and varied land. Our commitment to secular democracy is non-negotiable. There is ⁵⁰⁰ nothing negative in our approach. **I am not against** a class or a section of society. I am for the ⁵²⁰ Indian people. I know that they cannot be strong while poverty is deep and widespread. I know that they cannot ⁵⁴⁰ be united while there are disparities and while all sections, including the minorities, do not have a full sense of ⁵⁶⁰ security and a full sense of participation in the development of the country. Democracy is not worth much if it ⁵⁸⁰ does not involve all the people.

I can assure this House and the country that our commitment to upholding in ⁶⁰⁰ every possible way the fundamental rights of our citizens remains absolute. Even when we speak of imposing certain restrictions on ⁶²⁰ property rights, our intention is not to abolish property. Only where property rights are in conflict with public purpose the ⁶⁴⁰ public purpose must hold sway. Our people understand this. In the last elections every possible attempt was made to scare ⁶⁶⁰ the people and to mislead them into believing that all property would straight away be taken away. Those who indulged ⁶⁸⁰ in such a propaganda miscalculated and under-estimated the wisdom of our people, a wisdom based not on formal education but on ⁷⁰⁰ personal experience.

Some of us have joked and some have shown temper and some have sincerely pleaded their cause, but ⁷²⁰ I would urge all Hon. Members to approach the issues involved in our amendment with calm and sober reflection. These ⁷⁴⁰ amendments have significantly social and political import which we must try to understand in all seriousness. The measures which we ⁷⁶⁰ have taken, and are taking, are milestones in the progress of millions of our people. They have come to be ⁷⁸⁰ regarded by the people as marking a new stage in their struggle to build a social, more humane and just ⁸⁰⁰ society. As their elected representatives, it is our duty to reflect their urges and I am sure this will bring us ⁸²⁰ more near to the people. It is in that spirit that I commend to you the acceptance of this Bill. ⁸⁴⁰

ABOLISH : to end;

AGONISING : distressing;

COMMEND : to appreciate;

Exercise 19

India lives very largely in villages. Although during recent times the urban population has been increasing very rapidly, about 80²⁰ per cent of our people still live in the villages. Anything done to bring about an all-round improvement of⁴⁰ the villages and those who inhabit them should not only be welcomed, but given all possible encouragement by the State⁶⁰ and the people at large. Mahatma Gandhi therefore, attached the greatest importance to the welfare of villages. It is a⁸⁰ happy idea to inaugurate the Community Development Programme on his birthday.

The terms "Community Development" and "Community Project" may be¹⁰⁰ new, but the concept is very old. Basically, this concept means many-sided development of villages as distinguished from development¹²⁰ relating to particular aspects. Experience in the working of the Grow More Food programmes as well as the programmes¹⁴⁰ undertaken by various State Governments and private agencies functioning in the sphere of village uplift, has established that all aspects¹⁶⁰ of rural life are inter-related, and that no lasting results can be achieved if individual aspects of it are¹⁸⁰ dealt with in isolation. This does not mean that particular problems should not be given prominence, but the plans for²⁰⁰ them should form part of, and be integrated with, those for achieving the wider aims. This can be achieved only²²⁰ if the energies of the administrative machinery of the States and the best unofficial leadership and enthusiasm of the masses,²⁴⁰ are all enlisted in its favour and concerted action is taken for the all-round improvement of agriculture, education, health,²⁶⁰ sanitation, welfare of cattle, provision of employment, etc. etc. Under the inspiration given by Gandhiji, a large amount of selfless²⁸⁰ work has been done by his followers in various parts of the country, and other organisations and individuals have also³⁰⁰ done considerable work in that direction. The resources, however, both in money and technical personnel, available to these have been³²⁰ limited and the progress consequently has not been as rapid or extensive as one would have wished. The Indo-United³⁴⁰ States Technical Co-operation Agreement of January 1952 has, I am happy to say, opened up new possibilities of³⁶⁰ advance along these lines. I have always believed that the Indian peasant is no novice in agriculture and has practical³⁸⁰ experience which goes back to many generations. The Bihar peasant, has taken to the cultivation of new varieties of sugarcane.⁴⁰⁰

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The most serious problem facing the country today is the one relating to insufficient production of food in the country. ⁴²⁰ Even before the last Great War, India had been importing about two million tons of rice every year from Burma. ⁴⁴⁰ The deficit has increased as a result of partition in consequence of which the surplus areas of West Punjab and ⁴⁶⁰ Sind have gone over to Pakistan. The increase in annual demand for foodgrains on account of increase in population has ⁴⁸⁰ also been appreciable. To augment internal supplies it has been necessary for Government to import large quantities of foodgrains, the ⁵⁰⁰ imports in the year 1991 reaching the figure of 47 lakh tons.

Our Planning Commission, the Government ⁵²⁰ and all thoughtful people have been anxiously considering ways and means of increasing the food production for the purpose of ⁵⁴⁰ closing this gap between production and requirement. The big river valley projects, some of which are already taken in hand, ⁵⁶⁰ and others which are under contemplation, will take time to be completed, and are not expected to yield immediate results. ⁵⁸⁰ For meeting the present deficit, we shall have to rely very largely on the minor irrigation projects, such as wells, ⁶⁰⁰ tanks and tube-wells. Water available from small rivers, rivulets and channels can also be utilised. I am convinced, there ⁶²⁰ is a great deal of scope for these small projects and I have no doubt that, if these are satisfactorily ⁶⁴⁰ handled, we shall be able to close the existing gap in our food supply. I am therefore happy to notice ⁶⁶⁰ that in a community project area covering approximately 300 villages and 1,50,000 acres of cultivable land, ⁶⁸⁰ nearly a third of the expenditure will be on minor irrigation works. If these are carried out through co-operative societies ⁷⁰⁰ and the people living in these areas contribute in labour, which absorbs nearly 80 to 90 per cent of the ⁷²⁰ expenditure on these small irrigation projects, the amount made available for this purpose will be very much more than would ⁷⁴⁰ otherwise be the case. I am hoping that this voluntary labour will be coming forth in an abundant measure to ⁷⁶⁰ make these projects not only successful but also more extensive than if they were to be carried out only with ⁷⁸⁰ the help of the money made available.

Next to water, comes manure. This may be either chemical or organic or ⁸⁰⁰ rather a combination of both. For chemical manure, provision has been made for 108,000 tons of fertilizer ⁸²⁰ in the Agreement with the T.C.A. This will be supplemented by supplies from the output of the Sindri Factory. ⁸⁴⁰

RIVULETS : small rivers, CONTEMPLATION : to plan;
ISOLATION : to put in a detached position; NOVICE : new;

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Exercise 20

Sir, the scheme contemplated in Section 13 of the Banking Companies Acquisition and Transfer of Undertakings Act is under preparation. Government ²⁰ officials are consulting the Reserve Bank and the Chief Executives of nationalised banks. Whatever constructive suggestions you may make will ⁴⁰ be taken into consideration. Government is also examining how to give a fair share of the work relating to Government ⁶⁰ treasuries and allied matters and of the accounts of public sector enterprises to the 14 nationalised banks. In the weeks ⁸⁰ immediately following July 19, it was rumoured in some circles that the nationalization of the 14 banks would lead to ¹⁰⁰ the denial of loans to large productive enterprises. Nothing could be farther from the truth and I am sure ¹²⁰ that you know this. The production of goods and services useful to the community must expand fast. Otherwise, grave distortions ¹⁴⁰ arise in the economy, leading to unemployment. You should have no hesitation in assisting all genuine productive enterprise of ¹⁶⁰ medium and large size.

However, please do remember that in India bank finance has not always been measured by lenders ¹⁸⁰ against actual production needs and there has not been any effective check on the end-use of bank money. Naturally, ²⁰⁰ you should be more alert in this sphere so that very big enterprises or houses do not have to be ²²⁰ given larger assistance than is actually warranted in terms of the needs of production and distribution. The Reserve Bank should ²⁴⁰ be able to advise you in detail in this matter.

Similarly, in lending against shares and commodities, you would be ²⁶⁰ well-advised to be vigilant so that allegations of cornering of shares or of goods in short supply for unsocial ²⁸⁰ purposes with bank money do not arise. The devices to ensure this are matters of detail which, for the present, ³⁰⁰ with the advice of the Reserve Bank, you should be able to work out. There are a few other ³²⁰ points to which I should like to draw your attention. Most of the term-financing institutions working in the fields of ³⁴⁰ industry and agriculture are in the public sector. As there is a Government representative on the Board of every ³⁶⁰ financial institutions there is greater opportunity than before to co-ordinate our actions and attitudes with term-financing bodies, particularly ³⁸⁰ at the State-level, so that the short-term and long-term needs of development are adequately taken care of. ⁴⁰⁰

As I have mentioned earlier, it would be useful to be actively in touch with the State and ⁴²⁰ Union Territory Governments so that they do not remain in ignorance of

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what you can do and what you cannot, ⁴⁴⁰ and they may so trim and adopt their expectations as to get the best out of the monetary system for ⁴⁶⁰ the good of the public without nationalised banks having to depart from sound canons of wise financing. Incidentally, this might ⁴⁸⁰ mean your subjecting governmental projects to constructive but careful scrutiny, advising the Governments what particular precautions they should take in ⁵⁰⁰ their own and the public interest and you discontinuing the hitherto frequent practice of leaning heavily on Government guarantees.

You ⁵²⁰ are aware of the current tensions in the minds of the rising generation and the main causes of these. One ⁵⁴⁰ of the irregularities we must correct is the complaint of neglect and incomprehension which the student community appears to make ⁵⁶⁰ against established authority. It is good to learn that some of you have schemes for financial assistance to students in ⁵⁸⁰ need. These schemes deserve wide publicity. Those like you who have knowledge and experience of business, industry and the monetary ⁶⁰⁰ system can also usefully establish closer touch with the student community. Perhaps you and your senior officials could occasionally arrange ⁶²⁰ meetings with young people and also with other sections of the public.

I am glad to know that some of ⁶⁴⁰ you are trying to use Hindi and regional languages in your contacts with your customers and the public. I think ⁶⁶⁰ it is necessary to evolve some positive attitude to the language problem over which there are strong feelings in the ⁶⁸⁰ country. I should like to assure you that the Government has no intention of forcible amalgamation of one nationalised ⁷⁰⁰ bank with another or of upsetting the management of any bank which does its best to achieve well-known objectives. ⁷²⁰ If structural changes in banks are felt to be necessary in the light of working experience wherever possible, these should ⁷⁴⁰ come about through consultation and coordination. The fear was expressed to me by some smaller banks whether their voice would ⁷⁶⁰ be heard equally along with bigger banks. I am sure that his will be so. The misunderstanding which arose in ⁷⁸⁰ some uninformed circles after nationalisation, is settling down. I am sure that soon it will disappear altogether. The nationalised banks, ⁸⁰⁰ the Reserve Bank and the Central Government will, however, be judged by the country mainly by quality and depth ⁸²⁰ of the endeavour they make towards ensuring social and economic justice, and for upliftment of the weaker sections of society. ⁸⁴⁰

DISTORTIONS : to twist out of natural shape;

CANONS : principles; **SCRUTINY** : close examination;

AMALGAMATION : to bring together; **GENUINE** : real, authentic;

Exercise 21

Let me, at the outset, extend my heartiest congratulations to the recipients of the President's Police Medals for distinguished service.²⁰ I commend you for your dedication and devotion to the cause of National Security and effective policing. I would also⁴⁰ like to offer my heartfelt condolences to the families of your brave colleagues who sacrificed their lives in the service⁶⁰ of the Nation. I give you my assurance that our government will spare no effort to ensure that their needs⁸⁰ are met and their futures secured. As I address you all here today, my mind goes back to some of the¹⁰⁰ key issues I had raised in the same conference last year. I had spoken of the challenges facing the¹²⁰ police forces today; of equipping the police forces with the necessary material and intellectual resources to meet these challenges; of the¹⁴⁰ need to generate professionalism, honesty, integrity and efficiency in the police; of the need to improve the public image¹⁶⁰ of the police whereby a policeman can be seen as a friend of the people; of addressing the material needs¹⁸⁰ of policemen, particularly of those at the cutting edge grassroots level; and of reforming the police system so as to²⁰⁰ make it a more effective and humane organization. Periodic conferences like this are a good occasion to reflect on the²²⁰ progress made in achieving these goals. I had also asked the Home Ministry to quickly examine the recommendations of earlier²⁴⁰ committees on police reforms and suggest easily implementable measures. I am happy to note that some progress has been made.²⁶⁰

Police forces across the world continue to face an increasingly complex environment. New security threats have come to the fore,²⁸⁰ bringing in their wake new challenges. Governments across the world are trying to grapple with them to formulate suitable responses.³⁰⁰ In a large, diverse country of continental dimensions undergoing social, economic and political change, your job is even more challenging.³²⁰ At a recent meeting with the Superintendents of Police, I was impressed by the seriousness with which young officers³⁴⁰ were applying their mind to the problems at hand. I had spoken to them of the changes that have taken³⁶⁰ place since the Police Act was passed in 1861. Today, police forces have to serve the interests of the people, not rulers.⁴⁰⁰

In a democratic framework as we are in today, there is a need to have in the police forces a⁴²⁰ managerial philosophy, a value system and an ethos in tune with the times. I had

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emphasized the need to ensure⁴⁴⁰ that police forces at all levels change from a feudal force to a democratic service. The spirit of public service,⁴⁶⁰ of respect for the rights of individuals, of being just and humane in one's actions must permeate the entire police force.⁴⁸⁰ I was impressed by the response of the young officers to the challenge I had outlined and I am⁵⁰⁰ convinced that in them, you have a group of officers who can transform policing in the country. They look up⁵²⁰ to you for professional leadership. You have to set an example to them, so that they set an example⁵⁴⁰ to society. What are the key challenges facing the police force today? Clearly, the threat of terrorism and of organized⁵⁶⁰ crime are the two most important. But there are other challenges of equal importance to our people. The attacks on⁵⁸⁰ weaker sections, on dalits, on minorities, and on women. Our police force must be equal to the task in dealing with⁶⁰⁰ each one of them. We need a combination of force and intelligence in dealing with each of these⁶²⁰ challenges. In dealing with social and gender based violence, there must be compassion for the victim and firm resolve⁶⁴⁰ to deal with the perpetrator of the crime. I call upon you to devote particular attention to crimes against all⁶⁶⁰ vulnerable sections of society such as members of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, women, children and senior citizens.⁶⁸⁰

With economic progress, some of the fault lines in society have also become wide. This has brought additional responsibility on the⁷⁰⁰ police forces to ensure that law and order is maintained and no segment, no matter how meek, is oppressed.⁷²⁰ It is true that on account of a variety of factors, the fruits of developments have not reached certain sections⁷⁴⁰ of the society. The government is committed to providing equal opportunity to every community and every section of the population.⁷⁶⁰ The police must also be viewed as a fair, efficient and honest service. The people must have confidence in your⁷⁸⁰ professionalism. While instilling fear in those breaching the law and threatening the security of the country, the police, at the same time⁸⁰⁰ must be perceived as friends by the law abiding common citizens. I have repeatedly said that no grievance, real⁸²⁰ or imaginary, can justify resort to terror, violence or any other anti-social activity. Democracies provide legitimate means to express dissent.⁸⁴⁰

ETHOS : ideas associated with a group.

FEUDAL : working for landlords.

PERMEATE : pass through porous matter.

VULNERABLE : easy to be hurt; **OPPRESSED** : to deny freedom & rights.

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Exercise 22

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to lend support to the Resolution moved by my friend with full-heart were.²⁰ It is very correct that the present legal system of India is not an effective instrument of social change. As⁴⁰ it is not a very effective instrument of social change, naturally it cannot provide social economic justice to the weaker⁶⁰ sections of people to the underprivileged people who form the majority in India. Sir, we all know that the⁸⁰ old order change yielding place to new. Change is the only unchanging thing in this constantly changing universe. It is¹⁰⁰ not a very happy thing that although we attained Independence in 1947, till today we are guided by¹²⁰ Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence. We all know that India is a socialist country and goal of socialism has also been embedded¹⁴⁰ in our Constitution. Can you achieve this socialistic goal through the present legal system? This is my question. I am¹⁶⁰ sure none can give an affirmative answer. It is a very common complaint among the poor sections of the people¹⁸⁰ of India, the down-trodden masses, the toiling masses, the people who cannot pay for costly litigation that they are very²⁰⁰ scared of going to the court. First, they are ignorant. Then they have no money. They are very poor.²²⁰ The court of law for them is a sort of jigsaw puzzle.

Whenever they go to a court to fight²⁴⁰ out a case for the redressal of their grievances, they always have the psychological fear. What is that fear? What²⁶⁰ is the use of going to the court? If I go to the court to fight out a case for it²⁸⁰ will take three years to ten years or may be 20 years, who knows? So, this inordinant delay in³⁰⁰ the dispensation of justice is a great hurdle for the poor people who cannot fight our costly cases. And even³²⁰ when they go to the court, the poorer sections of people have to pay high fees to the lawyers. In³⁴⁰ the process they lose all their property lock, stock and barrel and what ever they already have. There is a very³⁶⁰ interesting story. Two poor people were fighting out a case in the court over land. They had been paying fees³⁸⁰ to the lawyers for a long time. If a man gets justice after twenty years, what is the use of this?⁴⁰⁰

Now, as far back as 1928, Pandit Motilal Nehru laid great emphasis on judicial reforms, and in the⁴²⁰ fifty also, the chip of the old block, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, harped on the same string. Now when people go⁴⁴⁰ to the court day after day they have to wait, and why? Because some of the people do not know⁴⁶⁰ the actual procedures. Some people are afraid of going to the court and poor people have got a sort of⁴⁸⁰ sentiment that these courts are meant for the rich people, for the affluent section of the society, for people with money⁵⁰⁰ and fortune and it is not meant for the poor. If we introduce this sort of judicial reforms by appointing a⁵²⁰ Commission by which this sort of misgivings and apprehensions are totally remove the minds of the poor people of⁵⁴⁰ India, the earlier is done the better it is for our country.

Now when we speak in terms of⁵⁶⁰ separation of powers of the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary, all the pundits and all the scholars take part⁵⁸⁰ in this sort of discussion and debates and all of them lay great emphasis on the separation of the Judiciary from⁶⁰⁰ the other two. There is a great reason behind it. It is very important to know that the judiciary must⁶²⁰ be kept separate from the Executive and the legislature. But the judiciary must be free not in words but in⁶⁴⁰ reality. The judiciary has got to be free.

Now our beloved Prime Minister has introduced the one new Programme, there⁶⁶⁰ are many schemes under this programme and I have found that under this one new programme lands have been distributed⁶⁸⁰ free to the landless people. But what happened the moment the new regime came? All the landlords came, swooped on⁷⁰⁰ them and took away the lands and those poor people did not get any justice anywhere. So, if justice remains⁷²⁰ just on paper, if justice is not carried into the field, to the poor people of our country, what is⁷⁴⁰ the value of this justice? I don't find any meaning in it. So, justice has got to be made effective,⁷⁶⁰ substantial and cheap and its dispensation must be very fast. Now I have gathered this knowledge that the⁷⁸⁰ National Law School of Bangalore has recommended that the law course should be for five years. I do not understand⁸⁰⁰ the reason behind it. Five years is a very long time and most of the poor parents cannot afford to⁸²⁰ defray the educational expenses of their sons and daughters who will have to pursue their studies for five long years.⁸⁴⁰

INORDINATE: extra-ordinary, **DISPENSATION:** to get rid of,
CHIP: Small piece; **JURISPRUENCE:** judicial system.

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Exercise 23

At the outset I would like to join my colleague the honourable Raksha Mantri to pay tribute to our jawans and officers²⁰ who valiantly defend our borders. I also express our Nation's deep gratitude to the men and women in uniform who⁴⁰ helped in rescue, relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction in the wake of a variety of natural disasters. The humanism and efficiency⁶⁰ of our armed forces in responding to the tsunami disaster, to floods in various parts of our country, to cyclones⁸⁰ and earthquakes, especially the recent quake in Jammu and Kashmir, have made us all proud of our gallant armed forces.¹⁰⁰ The security challenge facing India is diverse, complex and evolving. That is to be expected given our size,¹²⁰ our location, our historical legacy and, increasingly, our expected role in the emerging multi-polar world. The end of the¹⁴⁰ Cold War, increasing global interdependence and the trans-border nature of many threats have made strategic concepts developed in¹⁶⁰ a bi-polar world somewhat irrelevant. The United States is today the dominant economic, military, technological and cultural power.¹⁸⁰ However, it can be anticipated that the European Union, Russia, China, Japan and India will consolidate their individual positions to play²⁰⁰ a global role. We must evolve a new paradigm of security cooperation relevant to an emerging multi-polar world in which²²⁰ global threats obtain global responses.

This is precisely what India has sought to do. We have entered into strategic²⁴⁰ partnerships with the United States, Russia, Japan and the European Union and are pursuing strategic cooperation with China.²⁶⁰ Today, nations are engaged simultaneously both in competition and cooperation. While the international community has made some progress in evolving a²⁸⁰ rule-based order for managing the economic and commercial dimensions of globalization, the absence of an effective, rule-based order³⁰⁰ is acutely felt in addressing contemporary security threats, such as terrorism and the increase of weapons of mass destruction.³²⁰ Simultaneously, globalization has sharpened the threat posed to us by instability in both our immediate and our proximate neighbourhood.³⁴⁰ Along with this, we must also be mindful of the desire of extra-regional powers to keep us engaged in low-intensity³⁶⁰ conflicts and local problems, to weigh us down in a low-level equilibrium. To meet these challenges,³⁸⁰ based on three broad pillars. First, to strengthen ourselves economically and technologically; Second, to acquire adequate defence capability.⁴⁰⁰

With this in perspective, India too is reciprocating positively to overtures of other major players in the global balance of power.⁴²⁰ No doubt this involves sophisticated bargaining with each of them. It is unrealistic to expect nations to act⁴⁴⁰ for altruistic reasons.

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International relations are in the final analysis, power relations. This balance of power politics in international relations⁴⁶⁰ is more sophisticated than during the Cold War era. We must learn to deal with this new reality and plan⁴⁸⁰ our long-term security based on a proper appreciation of these evolving trends. Consequently, we should develop friendly interactive relations⁵⁰⁰ with as many major powers as possible. For the armed forces, such interaction should encompass weapon and equipment acquisition,⁵²⁰ joint development of systems and evolution of defence doctrines. This will help in securing wider international support when we need⁵⁴⁰ it most. In the Arthashastra, Kautilya wrote that a healthy economy is a sound foundation for well-funded armed forces.⁵⁶⁰ "From the strength of the treasury", he said "the army is born". But it is not only for fiscal reasons that the⁵⁸⁰ health of our economy is important for our national security. A healthy, growing and stable economy in itself enhances security.⁶⁰⁰ New notions of "Comprehensive National Power" give high weightage to economic, social, scientific, technological, educational and cultural aspects of power.⁶²⁰ Military strength alone no longer guarantees a nation's security. Knowledge power and economic capabilities are equally important.

I am sure that⁶⁴⁰ our defence community recognizes that economic progress has enabled accelerated equipment modernization. Today's international climate enables us to draw⁶⁶⁰ on world financial flows for development and to offer our skills in exchange for other countries outsourcing services and manufacturing⁶⁸⁰ to India for mutual benefit. Our armed forces have always been assured that our Government will never shy away from⁷⁰⁰ finding funds for our defence requirements and I endorse what the Defence Minister has said in his address.⁷²⁰ It should be obvious, however, that any Government will find it easier to find the required resources if the economy⁷⁴⁰ grows faster and generates the incomes and revenues required. If our economy grows at 8% per annum it will not be⁷⁶⁰ difficult for us to allocate about 3% of our GDP for our national defence. This should⁷⁸⁰ provide for a handsome defence budget. Hence, our priority is to pursue policies to generate faster economic growth and mobilize⁸⁰⁰ more resources. Critical to our effort to step up the rate of economic growth is the assurance of energy security.⁸²⁰ This requires a broad-based energy policy based on rational economic and strategic considerations. rational domestic pricing policies, etc.⁸⁴⁰

LEGACY: property/ ideas from ancestors;

PARADIGM: complete/important change; **SIMULTANEOUSLY:** at the same time; **CONTEMPORARY:** in present day; **ALTRUISM:** Caring others more; **RATIONAL:** based on reason.

International relations are in the final analysis, power relations. This balance of power politics in international relations⁴⁶⁰ is more sophisticated than during the Cold War era. We must learn to deal with this new reality and plan⁴⁸⁰ our long-term security based on a proper appreciation of these evolving trends. Consequently, we should develop friendly interactive relations⁵⁰⁰ with as many major powers as possible. For the armed forces, such interaction should encompass weapon and equipment acquisition,⁵²⁰ joint development of systems and evolution of defence doctrines. This will help in securing wider international support when we need⁵⁴⁰ it most. In the Arthashastra, Kautilya wrote that a healthy economy is a sound foundation for well-funded armed forces.⁵⁶⁰ "From the strength of the treasury", he said "the army is born". But it is not only for fiscal reasons that the⁵⁸⁰ health of our economy is important for our national security. A healthy, growing and stable economy in itself enhances security.⁶⁰⁰ New notions of "Comprehensive National Power" give high weightage to economic, social, scientific, technological, educational and cultural aspects of power.⁶²⁰ Military strength alone no longer guarantees a nation's security. Knowledge power and economic capabilities are equally important.

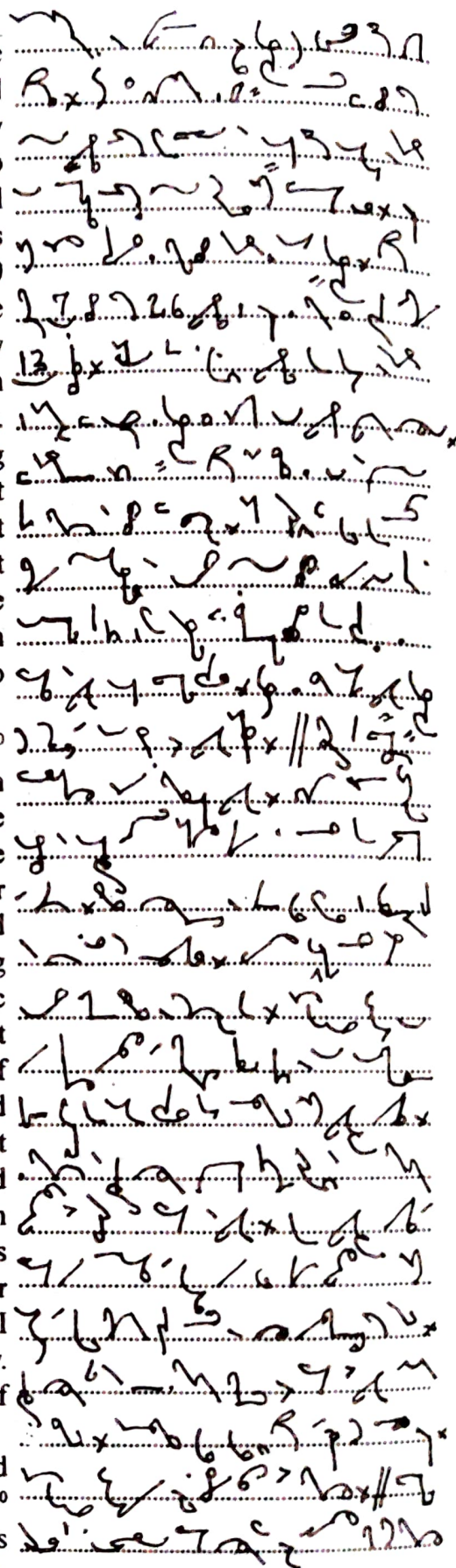
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Exercise 24

I am very happy to welcome you to this Festival whose foundations were laid last year. That was as²⁰ you will remember the first occasion when students from many universities and from every corner of India were invited to participate⁴⁰ in activities covering many aspects of their cultural needs. Today I see almost twice the number of students participating in the⁶⁰ Festival. Last year there were 700 students from 26 universities but today the number is double and⁸⁰ there are 1,300 contestants. I do not know why a few universities have failed to participate but I hope that¹⁰⁰ when next year the Festival is held no university will be missing. When I spoke to you last year¹²⁰ I stressed the need of looking at the problem of students with sympathy. I had pointed out that even if¹⁴⁰ occasionally there are manifestations of unrest among students we should not adopt a negative attitude but offer positive and constructive¹⁶⁰ suggestions for diverting the energies of youth into creative channels. This was the spirit in which the Youth Festival was¹⁸⁰ organized and in speaking to the youth I had said.

There has been much criticism in recent times of our²⁰⁰ present-day youth. You will all agree that there have been instances of indiscipline and lack of ideals which are²²⁰ a cause for regret and shame. Steps must be taken to check these evils, but this cannot be done by²⁴⁰ mere commands or exhortations. We must find out the causes of such unrest and take steps to remove them.²⁶⁰ I am convinced that if the young are at times restless and turbulent, it is not due to any intrinsic defect²⁸⁰ in them. Their restlessness is largely due to the fact that they do not have enough channels for the expression³⁰⁰ of their youthful urges. The problem of discipline must be looked at from the point of view of proper utilisation³²⁰ of the abundant energy of youth. If youthful urges and energy are canalised and fields are found which will utilise³⁴⁰ all their enthusiasm and devotion, there will be little occasion to impose restrictions from above. Discipline must be achieved by³⁶⁰ giving proper direction to the energy of the youth and not by suppression. I expressed these views last year and³⁸⁰ would do so again today. I am convinced that if we are to find a satisfactory solution of the problems.⁴⁰⁰

Creative openings on an increasing scale must be offered to them and we must treat their problems with sympathy and⁴²⁰ imagination. While I hold to these convictions as strongly as before, I feel that I would be failing in my duty if I do not draw



your attention to another aspect of the situation.⁴⁴⁰ I must say with great regret that I have been shocked by certain manifestations of student activity during the last few months.⁴⁶⁰ They have been such that I have felt that my views on the problems should be expressed⁴⁸⁰ with even greater clarity and firmness. I confess with deep regret that the behaviour of a section of the students⁵⁰⁰ has disappointed my hopes about them. What happened recently in Patna and Allahabad makes me ashamed. Demonstration of violence and⁵²⁰ lawlessness had been exhibited by a group of students which I am sure you will all condemn.

It is said⁵⁴⁰ that the incidents in Bihar were due to some general grievances of the people against the State Government.⁵⁶⁰ Even if this is true, it does not offer any excuse for what the students did. I concede readily that people⁵⁸⁰ have a right to represent about their grievances and if anything is wrong, it is the duty of the Government⁶⁰⁰ to rectify it. Nothing can, however, justify the line of action adopted by some students in Patna. If there were the⁶²⁰ complaints of the general public, it was hardly proper for the students to make themselves their agents. If students had⁶⁴⁰ any special complaints they should have placed these before their Principal and the Principal, if he thought it necessary, could have⁶⁶⁰ referred them to the Government. In no case had the students the right to take the law⁶⁸⁰ into their own hands and organize a campaign against the Government. Their action led to general hooliganism and violence⁷⁰⁰ a conduct totally unworthy of the students. Even if they had a just cause, they spoiled it by the mode⁷²⁰ of action they chose. In Allahabad a group of students behaved in a most objectionable manner during the convocation.⁷⁴⁰ A Committee was appointed to look into the affair and some students were punished on the report of the Committee.⁷⁶⁰ This led to a fresh outburst and the formation of an Action Committee and hunger strike by a group of students.⁷⁸⁰ I should like all of you to think carefully what are the consequences of this type of activity. There seems⁸⁰⁰ to be a uniform pattern of action everywhere. There are a few complaints against the university authorities or the Government.⁸²⁰ A demand is then made and opposition to the university or Government built up an action committee is formed with the result.⁸⁴⁰

MANIFESTATION: proof, discovery;
SUPPRESSION: to conceal;
GRIEVANCES: serious complaints.

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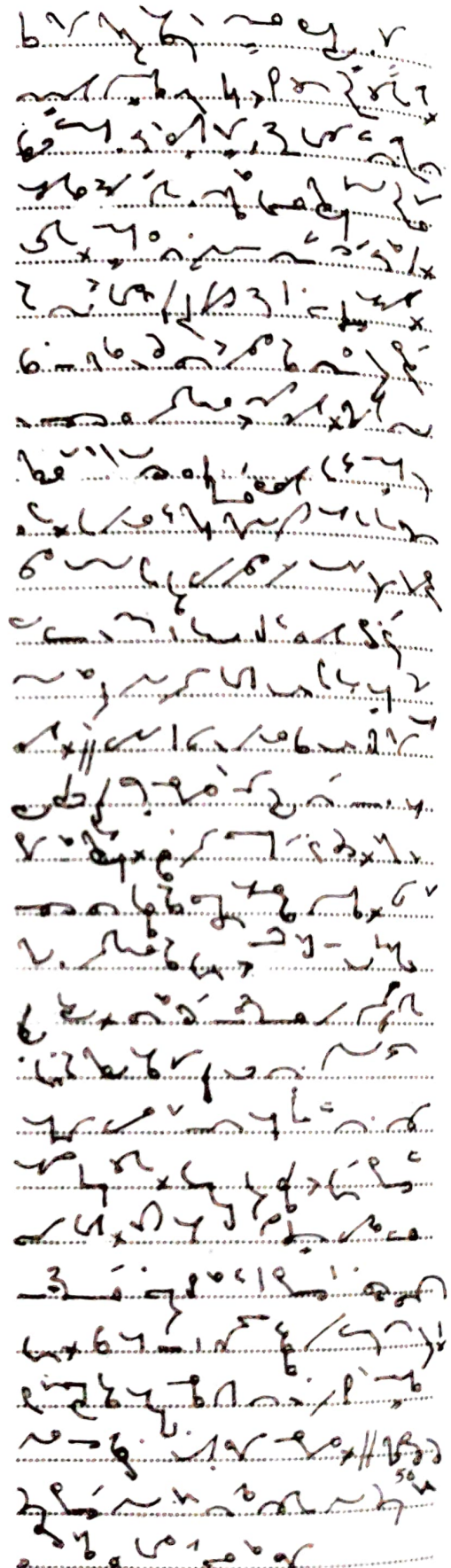
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Exercise 25

It is particularly appropriate that, in this year of Mahatma Gandhi's Centenary, the Patel Memorial Lectures should be devoted to the²⁰ study of some aspect of his life and thought. This would have gladdened the heart of Sardar Patel who worked⁴⁰ valiantly, with him and after him in the service of the country and left the impress of his vigorous personality⁶⁰ on many aspects of our national life. Gandhi has made a unique impact on the mind and heart of his age,⁸⁰ although many of the values which he deeply cherished were at a great discount in the world.¹⁰⁰ This is a good opportunity for us to assess some of the results of this impact as objectively as possible and to examine his¹²⁰ relevance to the modern world. There are many persons not all, by any means, his detractors who sincerely think that the¹⁴⁰ Gandhi era is over. They recognize that he provided brilliant leadership in the fight for freedom as well as¹⁶⁰ in many other fields, where results are neither easily perceptible nor quick to mature-but, having done that, his role¹⁸⁰ has been completed and many of his teachings are not really valid now either for India or the world.²⁰⁰

We would do well to recognize this new trend, particularly in the younger generation which did not have the stirring experience²²⁰ of actually seeing him and coming under the spell of his personality. Is this a really correct and complete assessment?²⁴⁰ I hope to examine some facets of this criticism in the course of these lectures. While I appreciate the relevance of this²⁶⁰ theme to the occasion, I do not quite know why I have been chosen for the honour. Some of his friends²⁸⁰ and co-workers are luckily still alive, a few of them present in this hall -who had known him longer³⁰⁰ and more intimately whereas I came into contact with him mostly in the last decade of his life.³²⁰ They could have done fuller justice to the theme and spoken with greater authority. Also, only last December,³⁴⁰ one of his close co-workers and a careful student of his thought, had spoken on a somewhat similar theme. This is, indeed,³⁶⁰ good but you will agree that this does rather queer my pitch! However, I am grateful for this invitation³⁸⁰ because it has led me to a restudy of Gandhi's writings again and this has been an enriching spiritual experience.⁴⁰⁰

During the last fifty years, so much has been spoken and written about him and he has himself written so much⁴²⁰ about his ideas, his values and the course of his spiritual



growth that it is difficult to find something original⁴⁴⁰ to say about him. Original ways of doing so, yes; original interpretation of his ideas possibly, but originality of content,⁴⁶⁰ hardly, unless, of course, like Arthur, who has the dubious gift of being able to see "darkness at noon,"⁴⁸⁰ one set out to prove that India would have been a better and healthier country if Gandhi had not existed!⁵⁰⁰ However, having been offered the challenge of this responsibility and having accepted it in a moment of mental illucidity, I shall⁵²⁰ endeavor to do my best. As you know, my first lecture is entitled 'The lovable personality of Gandhi', the second,⁵⁴⁰ 'Gandhi's concept of religion' and the third, 'Gandhi's concept of culture', I consider the last two to be particularly significant⁵⁶⁰ facets of this thought, both for India and the rest of the world. I have not considered it necessary to⁵⁸⁰ detail his political and economic ideas because they have already received adequate attention and their roots really lie in his⁶⁰⁰ religious and cultural ideas.

The best commentary on Gandhi's provided by Gandhiji himself and therefore I have preferred to rely⁶²⁰ mainly on his writings and speeches and made them the starting point of my thinking. Particularly his deeply moving⁶⁴⁰ autobiography, 'My Experiments with Truth' which provides an authentic account of his chequered unfolding, told with a courage, simplicity and⁶⁶⁰ frankness rare in such documents of personal history. Many years ago I had read the book and it gave me⁶⁸⁰ a glimpse of his mind, simple and intricate, modern and yet steeped in tradition. Some months ago, when I was⁷⁰⁰ in Canada, I happened to read it again and it opened new vistas which I had missed at the first⁷²⁰ reading. Perhaps this is true to all great books; they do not yield their full treasures without the labour⁷⁴⁰ of thought and some assimilated experience of life. In the very introduction to the book, he has set the mood⁷⁶⁰ needed for its understanding; It is not my purpose to attempt a real autobiography. I simply want to tell the⁷⁸⁰ story of my numerous experiments with truth and, as my life consisted of nothing but these experiments, it is true that the⁸⁰⁰ story will take the shape of an autobiography. I believe or, at any rate, flatter myself with the belief,⁸²⁰ that a connected account of all these experiments will not be without benefit to the reader living in any part of the world.⁸⁴⁰

VALIANTLY: fearlessly; **PERCEPTIBLE:** formal;
FACETS: sides; **QUEER:** strange or unusual;
ILLUCIDITY: not easy to understand.

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

Exercise 26 (Legal)

As discussed earlier, the notices issued had raised similar allegations against Express Newspapers in respect of which the judgment of the²⁰ Supreme Court has already been rendered. The mere fact that permission was granted by the Supreme Court to the⁴⁰ Union of India for filing of a civil suit for the purpose of conversion charges and additional ground rent cannot⁶⁰ mean that the Union of India was permitted to raise all the issues once again by way of a civil suit.⁸⁰ The entire evidence consisting of letters, the perpetual lease deeds, the letters, approvals, etc., have all been discussed in¹⁰⁰ detail in the decisions of the Supreme Court. The decision in Dara and Others holds that decisions in writ petitions¹²⁰ would also bind the parties as res judicata though evidence may not have been led. The relevant extracts of the¹⁴⁰ said decision are set out as: This Court had occasion to consider the application of the rule of res judicata¹⁶⁰ to a petition filed under Article 32 in M.S.M. Sharma v. Dr Shree Krishna Sinha. In that case¹⁸⁰ the petitioner had moved this Court under Article 32 and claimed an appropriate writ against the Chairman and the²⁰⁰ Members of the Committee of Privileges of the State Legislative Assembly.

The said petition was dismissed. Subsequently he filed another²²⁰ petition substantially for the same relief and substantially on the same allegations. One of the points which then arose for the²⁴⁰ decision of this Court was whether the second petition was competent, and this Court held that it was not because²⁶⁰ of the rule of res judicata. It is true that the earlier decision on which res judicata was pleaded was²⁸⁰ a decision of this Court in a petition filed under Article 32 and in that sense the background of the³⁰⁰ dispute was different, because the judgment on which the plea was based was a judgment of this Court and³²⁰ not of any High Court. Even so, this decision affords assistance in determining the point before us. In upholding the³⁴⁰ plea of res judicata this Court observed that the question determined by the previous decision of this Court cannot be reopened³⁶⁰ in the present case and must govern the rights and obligations of the parties which are substantially the same.³⁸⁰ In support of this decision Sinha, C.J., who spoke for the Court, referred to the earlier decision of this Court.⁴⁰⁰

We must now proceed to state our conclusion on the preliminary objection raised by the respondents. We hold that if a writ petition filed by a⁴²⁰ party under Article 226 is considered on the merits as a contested matter⁴⁴⁰ and is

Handwritten shorthand notes corresponding to the text on the left, including phrases like "MSM Sharma", "Article 32", "res judicata", and "M.S.M. Sharma v. Dr Shree Krishna Sinha".

dismissed the decision thus pronounced would continue to bind the parties unless it is otherwise modified or reversed⁴⁶⁰ by appeal or other appropriate proceedings permissible under the Constitution. It would not be open to a party to ignore⁴⁸⁰ the said judgment and move this Court under Article 32 by an original petition made on the same facts⁵⁰⁰ and for obtaining the same or similar orders or writs. If the petition filed in the High Court under⁵²⁰ Article 226 is dismissed not on the merits but because of the laches of the party applying for the⁵⁴⁰ writ or because it is held that the party had an alternative remedy available to it, then the dismissal of the⁵⁶⁰ writ petition would not constitute a bar to a subsequent petition under Article 32 except in cases where⁵⁸⁰ and if the facts thus found by the High Court may themselves be relevant even under Article 32.⁶⁰⁰ If a writ petition is dismissed in initially and an order is pronounced in that behalf, whether or not the dismissal⁶²⁰ would constitute a bar would depend upon the nature of the order. If the order is on the merits⁶⁴⁰ it would be a bar; if the order shows that the dismissal was for the reason that the petitioner was guilty⁶⁶⁰ of laches or that he had an alternative remedy it would not be a bar, except in cases which we have⁶⁸⁰ already indicated.

If the petition is dismissed in initially without passing a speaking order then such dismissal cannot be⁷⁰⁰ treated as creating a bar of res judicata. It is true that, prima facie, dismissal in limine even without passing⁷²⁰ a speaking order in that behalf may strongly suggest that the Court took the view that there was no substance⁷⁴⁰ in the petition at all; but in the absence of a speaking order it would not be easy to decide⁷⁶⁰ what factors weighed in the mind of the Court and that makes it difficult and unsafe to hold that such⁷⁸⁰ a summary dismissal is a dismissal on merits and as such constitutes a bar of res judicata against a similar petition⁸⁰⁰ filed under Article 32. If the petition is dismissed as withdrawn it cannot be a bar to a⁸²⁰ subsequent petition under Article 32, because in such a case there has been no decision on the merits by the Court.⁸⁴⁰

LACHES: neglect of duty;

RESJUDICATA: based on earlier decision.

6 9 4

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