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READING & DICTATION
EXERCISES FOR
SPEED DEVELOPMENT

June 2024

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

Exercise 1

Honourable Members, This joint sitting of Parliament which is being held during the time of the Coronavirus pandemic has great significance.²⁰ It is the beginning of a new year and a new decade. We will also be entering the⁴⁰ 75th year of India's independence this year. All the Members of Parliament present here today embody the conviction held by⁶⁰ every Indian that the toughest of challenges will deter neither us nor India. Whenever India has remained united, it has been⁸⁰ able to attain even seemingly unattainable goals. This solidarity and Pujya Babu's inspiration had given us freedom from colonial rule.¹⁰⁰ Echoing the spirit, India's grandeur is the ultimate truth. In one single consciousness, one thought, one devotion,¹²⁰ one inspiration, let us unite; let us unite. This unity and dedication of Indians has enabled the country to overcome¹⁴⁰ multiple adversities. Our country has faced every crisis with fortitude, be it the Coronavirus pandemic, floods, earthquakes or major cyclones¹⁶⁰ in several States, locust attack or the bird flu. The recent past also saw an unprecedented escalation in tension along the¹⁸⁰ border. The nation stood together, battled crises on multiple fronts and took over every challenge. During this period, we all²⁰⁰ have also witnessed the unparalleled courage, endurance, discipline and spirit of service of our countrymen. In this fight against the pandemic,²²⁰ we have also suffered the untimely loss of life of a number of our countrymen. Our beloved former President and²⁴⁰ my predecessor Shri Pranab Mukherjee too passed away during the pandemic. The untimely demise of six Members of Parliament²⁶⁰ was also due to the coronavirus. I pay my heartfelt tribute to all of them.

It has been said in our Shastras.²⁸⁰ That is, if we do our duty, success is assured. During the coronavirus pandemic, which has affected each individual and every country³⁰⁰ in the world, India has emerged on the global stage with renewed vigor. It gives me satisfaction that due to³²⁰ timely and planned decisions taken by my Government, we were able to save lives of lakhs of our countrymen.³⁴⁰ Today, there is a rapid decline in the number of new cases of coronavirus and at the same time there is³⁶⁰ a significant increase in the number of recoveries. When we think of the preceding year, we are reminded of the³⁸⁰ twin challenges that faced us, of saving lives of the citizens and protecting the economy which Government took care.⁴⁰⁰

PANDEMIC: disease that spreads in the whole world;

GRANDEUR: large & impressive;

FORTITUDE: patience shown in great suffering;

Handwritten shorthand notes in Devanagari script, corresponding to the text on the left. The notes are written in a cursive style on lined paper. Some words are underlined or marked with small symbols like 'x' or 'o'.

Exercise 2

Under the 'Pradhan Mantri Garib Kalyan Yojana', 80 crore people were provided an additional 5 kg free food grains²⁰ per month for 8 months. The Government was also mindful of the plight of migrant labourers, workers and those who were⁴⁰ away from their homes. Besides providing them with the facility of 'One Nation- One Ration Card', the Government made free food⁶⁰ grains available and organized Shramik Special trains for them. My Government also launched the Garib Kalyan Rojgar Abhiyan⁸⁰ in 6 states in order to provide employment to the returnee migrant labourers in their villages, during the pandemic.¹⁰⁰ As a result of this Abhiyan, 50 crore mandays of employment were generated. The Government also launched SVANidhi - a special scheme¹²⁰ for street vendors and hawkers. Further, an amount of approximately Rs.31,000 crore was directly transferred to the Jan Dhan¹⁴⁰ accounts of poor women. During this period, more than 14 crore gas cylinders were given free of cost throughout the¹⁶⁰ country to poor women beneficiaries, under the Ujjwala scheme. Through all its decisions, my Government has set an unprecedented example¹⁸⁰ of the collective strength of federal structure. The collaboration between the Central and the State Governments has not only strengthened democracy²⁰⁰ but also enhanced the prestige of the Constitution.

The dream of an empowered and free India, which our freedom fighters had envisioned,²²⁰ was also based on the idea of self-reliance of the country. Under the circumstances that emerged during the coronavirus pandemic,²⁴⁰ when each country was prioritizing their own requirements, we were reminded of the significance of developing a self-reliant India.²⁶⁰ During this period, India has demonstrated its scientific capabilities, technical expertise & strength of its start-up ecosystem²⁸⁰ by developing a network of over 2200 laboratories in a short time span, manufacturing thousands of ventilators,³⁰⁰ PPE kits and test kits thereby, attaining self-reliance. It is a matter of immense pride that India is conducting³²⁰ the world's largest vaccination programme. Both the vaccines rolled out under this programme are produced indigenously. By making lakhs of³⁴⁰ corona vaccine doses available to several countries India has fulfilled its obligation towards humanity in these times of difficulty.³⁶⁰ The accolades being showered on India globally for this work along with the essence of our age-old cultural tradition of and³⁸⁰ endeavour to work for human welfare is imparting strength to our efforts. The gains from the work done by my Government in the⁴⁰⁰ healthcare sector in the past 6 years were visible during the coronavirus pandemic. During these years, emphasis has been placed⁴²⁰ not only on modernizing the healthcare systems but also on prevention of diseases including Programmes such as Rashtriya Poshan Abhiyaan.⁴⁴⁰

MIGRANT: person moving out for work; UNPRECEDENTED: unexampled;
INDIGENOUSLY: local; ACCOLADES: praise for something done.

Handwritten notes in Progressive Shorthand (Monthy) June 2024, corresponding to the text on the left. The notes are written in a shorthand system and cover the entire length of the text.

Exercise 3

Honourable Members, In order to develop healthcare facilities across the country commensurate expansion in medical education is equally important.²⁰ In 2014, there were only 387 medical colleges, but today there are 562 medical colleges⁴⁰ in the country. In the last 6 years, there has been an increase of over 50,000 seats⁶⁰ at the under-graduate and post graduate levels in medical education. Under the Pradhan Mantri Swasthya Suraksha Yojana, the Government has also⁸⁰ sanctioned 22 new AIIMS. The Central Government has laid the foundation for historic reforms in the field¹⁰⁰ of medical education by establishing the National Medical Commission along with 4 Autonomous Boards. The decades' old¹²⁰ Medical Council of India has been replaced with the National Medical Commission as a part of these reforms. Atmanirbhar Bharat Abhiyan¹⁴⁰ is not just confined to manufacturing in India, but is also a campaign aimed at elevating the standard of living¹⁶⁰ of every Indian as well as boosting the self-confidence of the country.

Our goal of an Atmanirbhar Bharat will be¹⁸⁰ further strengthened by self-reliance in agriculture. With this idea, the Government has, over the last 6 years,²⁰⁰ attempted to bring positive transformation in the 'Seed to Market' system so that Indian agriculture is modernized and also²²⁰ sees growth. In pursuance of these efforts, my Government decided to implement the recommendations of the Swaminathan Committee²⁴⁰ report and increased the MSP to at least 1.5 times of the cost of production.²⁶⁰ Today my Government is not only purchasing record quantities at the MSP, but is also increasing the²⁸⁰ number of procurement centres. Widespread improvements are being brought in various sources of irrigation. Following the mantra of 'Per Drop More Crop',³⁰⁰ the Government is not only completing the pending irrigation projects, but is also delivering modern irrigation techniques to the³²⁰ farmers. In 2013-14, only 42 lakh hectares of land was under micro-irrigation whereas today, more than³⁴⁰ 56 lakh hectares of land has been brought under micro-irrigation. I am happy to say that through their hard work,³⁶⁰ our farmers are augmenting the efforts of the Government. Today, the food grain availability in the country is at³⁸⁰ a record high. From 234 million tonnes food grain production in 2008-09 it increased to 296 million.⁴⁰⁰

COMMENSURATE: in proportion to; ELEVATING: to move to higher position;
TRANSFORMATION: total change
PROCUREMENT: to possess.

Handwritten notes in Urdu script, including dates like 2014, 2013-14, and 2008-09, and numbers like 387, 562, 50,000, 22, 4, 100, 120, 140, 160, 180, 200, 220, 240, 260, 280, 300, 320, 340, 360, 380, 400. The notes appear to be a shorthand or summary of the text on the left.

Exercise 4

Honourable Members, In the agricultural sector, the need of the hour is to focus our attention on the small and²⁰ marginal farmers who own only 1 or 2 hectares of land. More than 80% of the farmers in the country⁴⁰ numbering over 10 crore fall under this category. My Government accords priority to these small and marginal farmers too. In order to⁶⁰ provide expenditure support to these farmers, almost Rs.1,13,000 crore have been directly transferred to their bank accounts under Pradhan Mantri Kisan Samman Nidhi.⁸⁰ Pradhan Mantri Fasal Bima Yojana has also benefitted small farmers of this country. Under this scheme¹⁰⁰ in the last 5 years, about Rs.90,000 crore has been paid as compensation to the farmers against a premium¹²⁰ of Rs.17,000 crore. The mission for setting up 10,000 Farmer Producer Organisations by bringing together small farmers¹⁴⁰ of the country is also an impactful step. This has ensured access of small farmers to better technology, additional credit,¹⁶⁰ post-harvesting processing and marketing facilities and insurance coverage during natural calamities, on the same footing as the rich farmers.¹⁸⁰ This has also provided an alternative to farmers for securing remunerative prices for their produce and generating greater savings.²⁰⁰

After extensive consultation the Parliament approved 3 important farm reform bills 7 months ago, namely, The Farmers' Produce Trade and Commerce Bill,²²⁰ The Farmers Agreement on Price Assurance and Farm Services Bill, and the Essential Commodities Bill.²⁴⁰ The benefits of these three important farm reforms, have started reaching more than 10 crore small farmers instantly.²⁶⁰ Appreciating the advantages that these reforms would bring to the small farmers, several political parties too had, from time to time, expressed²⁸⁰ their support. The discussions over these farm reforms in every part of the country for over 2 decades and the³⁰⁰ demand for these reforms at different fora were also reflected during the deliberations in the House. Presently, the Apex Court³²⁰ has stayed the implementation of these laws. My Government respects the decision of the Apex Court and shall abide by it.³⁴⁰ My Government holds in high esteem the values of democracy and sanctity of the Constitution. It is continuously³⁶⁰ making efforts to dispel the misunderstanding created in the context of these laws. My Government has always respected freedom of³⁸⁰ expression and holding of peaceful agitations in a democratic set up. However, the recent acts of dishonouring the National Flag⁴⁰⁰ and showing disrespect to the auspicious occasion of the Republic Day are unfortunate. While the Constitution gives us the right⁴²⁰ to freedom of expression it is also expected that we abide by the laws and rules with equal sincerity here.⁴⁴⁰

CALAMITIES: great misfortunes; REMUNERATIVE: adequate compensation; FORA: founs,platforms; SANCITY: holyness.

Handwritten notes in Urdu script, likely a shorthand or summary of the text on the left. The notes are written on a grid of horizontal lines and include various symbols and abbreviations used in shorthand.

Exercise 5

As our Chairman reminded you, our neighbours now are all the countries of the world so that we cannot relate²⁰ our foreign policy just to a few countries around us, but have to think of practically every country in the⁴⁰ world and take into consideration all the possible areas of conflict, trade, economic interest, etc. It has been recognized now⁶⁰ that if there is a conflict on a big scale anywhere in the world, it is apt to spread all⁸⁰ over the world, that is, war has become indivisible and, therefore, peace is indivisible. Therefore, our foreign policy cannot limit¹⁰⁰ itself to the nearby countries. Nevertheless, the nearby countries always have a special interest in one another and India must¹²⁰ inevitably, think in terms of her relations with the countries bordering her by land and sea.

What are these countries?¹⁴⁰ If you start from the left, Pakistan, I would also include Afghanistan, although it does not touch India's borders, Tibet¹⁶⁰ and China, Nepal, Burma, Indonesia and Ceylon. In regard to Pakistan, position has been a very peculiar one owing¹⁸⁰ to the way Pakistan was formed and India was upset that²⁰⁰ you all know, but something much deeper and that is, a complete emotional upset of all the people in India²²⁰ and Pakistan because of this. It is a very difficult thing to deal with, a psychological thing, which cannot be²⁴⁰ dealt with superficially. A year and a half or more has passed, and there is no doubt at all that²⁶⁰ our relations have improved and are improving. There is also no doubt at all in my mind that it is²⁸⁰ inevitable for India and Pakistan to have close relations sometime or other in the future.

I cannot state when this³⁰⁰ will take place, but situated as we are, with all our past, we cannot really be just indifferent neighbours. We³²⁰ can be either hostile to each other or very friendly with each other. Ultimately we can only be really³⁴⁰ very friendly, whatever period of hostility may intervene in between, because our interests are so closely interlinked. As far as³⁶⁰ the other countries are concerned, our relations with them are quite friendly. Take, for instance, Afghanistan and our relations with³⁸⁰ Afghanistan are exceedingly friendly and our relations with Tibet, Nepal and all the neighbouring countries are also very friendly.⁴⁰⁰

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

INDIVISIBLE: which cannot be divided;
PSYCHOLOGICAL: mental state; SUPERFICIALLY: on the face of it.

Exercise 6

Four neighbouring countries have in a sense the first place in our minds, then the second place goes to²⁰ the other countries of Asia with whom we are also fairly intimately connected. Now, India is very curiously placed in⁴⁰ Asia and her history has been governed a great deal by the geographical factor plus other factors. Whichever problem in⁶⁰ Asia you may take up, somehow or other India comes into the picture. Whether you think in terms of China⁸⁰ or the Middle East or South-East Asia, India immediately comes into the picture. It is so situated that because¹⁰⁰ of past history, traditions, etc., in regard to any major problem of a country or group of countries of¹²⁰ Asia, India has to be considered. Whether it is a problem of defence or trade or industry or economic policy,¹⁴⁰ India cannot be ignored. She cannot be ignored, because as I said, her geographical position is a compelling reason. She¹⁶⁰ cannot be ignored also, because of her actual or potential power and resources.

Therefore, whatever our own views may be¹⁸⁰ by virtue of her practical position and other reasons, India is bound to play an important part in Asia whether²⁰⁰ it is Western Asia or the Far East of South-East Asia. It so happens, of course, that even culturally²²⁰ speaking, our bonds are very great with all these parts of Asia, whether it is Western Asia or the Far²⁴⁰ East of South-East Asia and these bonds are very old and very persistent.

A very curious thing happened when,²⁶⁰ roughly speaking British power came to India and British dominion was established here. This was the reason why we were²⁸⁰ cut off from our neighbouring countries of Asia. Our contacts were then with England across the seas, and while to³⁰⁰ some extent we struggled against that domination and resented those contacts, nevertheless, they were there and we saw the world³²⁰ more and more through that window, the British window. Very few people went to the other Asian countries from India³⁴⁰ and very few came here from there. And even those few people from Asia we met, we met in Europe³⁶⁰ and not in Asia. Now in recent years that process has been reversed or is being reversed for a variety³⁸⁰ of reasons. Initially, I suppose, the one major factor was air travel. Air travel brought us immediately into close contact⁴⁰⁰ with our neighbours, because if we went to Europe, we passed through Baghdad and Tehran and other places. Air travel⁴²⁰ not the only factor, there are also political reasons that are now bringing about these changes for future development.⁴⁴⁰

CURIOSLY: strangely; POTENTIAL: capacity;
REVERSED: to put back.

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

Exercise 7

Some people talk rather loosely, and if I may say so, rather foolishly, of India becoming the leader of this²⁰ or the leader of that or the leader of Asia. Now, I do not like that at all. It is⁴⁰ a bad approach, this business of leadership. But it is true that, because of the various factors I have mentioned⁶⁰ a certain special responsibility is cast on India. India realizes it, and other countries realize it also. The responsibility is⁸⁰ not necessarily for leadership, but for taking the initiative sometimes and helping others to co-operate.

Now, foreign policy is normally¹⁰⁰ something which develops gradually. Apart from certain theoretical propositions we may lay down, it is a thing which, if it¹²⁰ is real has some relation actuality and not merely to pure theory. Therefore, we cannot precisely lay down our¹⁴⁰ general outlook or general approach, but gradually it develops. We are as an independent country a fairly young country at¹⁶⁰ present, although we are a very ancient country, and we have all the advantages and disadvantages of being an ancient¹⁸⁰ country. Nevertheless, in the present context of foreign policy we are a young country and, therefore, our foreign policy is²⁰⁰ gradually developing and there is no particular reason why we should rush in all over the place and do something²²⁰ that comes in the way of this gradual development.

As I said, our general policy has been to try to²⁴⁰ cultivate friendly relations with all countries, but that is something which anyone can say. It is not a very helpful²⁶⁰ thought. It is almost outside, if I may say so, of politics. It may be just a verbal statement or²⁸⁰ a moral urge. It is hardly a political urge. Nevertheless, something can be said for it even on the political³⁰⁰ plane. We cannot perhaps be friendly always with every country. The alternative is to become very friendly with some and³²⁰ hostile to others. That is the normal foreign policy of a country, very friendly with close relations with some, with³⁴⁰ the consequence that you are hostile to others. You may be very friendly to some countries and you cannot just³⁶⁰ be equally friendly with all countries. Naturally, you are more friendly with those with whom you have closer relations, but³⁸⁰ that great friendliness, is good, but if it merely reflects hostility to some other country, then it is something different.⁴⁰⁰

Handwritten shorthand notes in Urdu script, corresponding to the typed text on the left. The notes are written in a cursive style on a grid background.

PRECISELY: accurate; ANCIENT: very old.

Exercise 8

May I say that I do not for an instant claim any superior vantage point for India to advise or²⁰ criticize the rest of the world. I think we are merely trying not go get excited about these problems and⁴⁰ anyhow there is no reason why we should not try. It follows, therefore, that we should not align ourselves with⁶⁰ what are called power blocs. We can be of far more service without doing so and I think there is⁸⁰ just a possibility that at a moment of crisis our peaceful and friendly efforts might make a difference and avert¹⁰⁰ that crisis. If so, it is well worth trying. When I say that we should not align ourselves with any¹²⁰ power blocs obviously it does not mean that we should not be closer in our relations with some countries than¹⁴⁰ with others. That depends on entirely different factors, chiefly economic, political, agricultural and many other factors. At the present moment¹⁶⁰ you will see that as matter of fact we have far closer relations with some countries of the Western¹⁸⁰ world than with others.

It is partly due to history and partly due to other factors, present-day factors of²⁰⁰ various kinds. These close relations will, no doubt, develop and we will encourage them to develop, but we do not²²⁰ want to place ourselves in a position where, politically speaking, we are just lined up with a particular group or²⁴⁰ bond upto it in regard to our future foreign activities. India is too big a country herself to be²⁶⁰ bound down to any country, however big it may be. India is to be and is bound to be²⁸⁰ a country that counts in world affairs, not I hope in the military sense, but in many other senses which³⁰⁰ are more important and effective in the end. Any attempt on our part, that is the Government of the day³²⁰ here, to go too far in one direction would create difficulties in our own country. It would be resented and³⁴⁰ we would produce conflicts in our own country which would not be helpful to us or to any other country.³⁶⁰ While remaining quite apart from power blocs, we are in a far better position to cast our weight at the³⁸⁰ right moment in favour of peace, and meanwhile our relations can become as close as possible in the economic or⁴⁰⁰ other domain with such countries with whom we can easily develop them. So it is not a question of our⁴²⁰ remaining isolated or cut off from the rest of the world but we do not wish to be isolated.⁴⁴⁰

AVERT: to avoid; ISOLATED: separated.

Handwritten notes in Urdu script, likely a shorthand or summary of the text, written on lined paper.

Exercise 9

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, by moving this Bill for consideration, my Honourable friend has raised a very important question affecting²⁰ public life. There could be absolutely no matter of doubt that the corruption in public life has become rampant. As a⁴⁰ result of this, people in public life have become great suspects. In a seminar which I was attending, on Code of⁶⁰ Conduct for publicmen somebody observed that once a man becomes a Minister, occupies a seat of power, for⁸⁰ generations his economic problems are solved. It may be an exaggerated statement, but it has been our sad experience that¹⁰⁰ people who have occupied high positions in public life, who have become Ministers, Members of Parliament or Members of Legislatures¹²⁰ have overnight become affluent persons. This may not be true of all Members of Parliament, this may not be true of¹⁴⁰ all Members of Legislatures, this may not be true of all Ministers but quite a large number of them have¹⁶⁰ overnight become so affluent that it becomes really difficult for any man to understand how the man become so affluent.¹⁸⁰

The whole thing becomes a mystery to the common man and the character and integrity of the person concerned becomes²⁰⁰ highly suspect. I know, Sir, that it would be too much to expect the same standard of public behaviour as²²⁰ we had during the days of Ramayana. Those who were in charge of administration, those who were occupying the highest²⁴⁰ office, put themselves to the highest form of test, the highest form of ordeal. Can there be any doubt that²⁶⁰ public life if so much corrupted today that we have all become suspect?

In fact, the people have also become²⁸⁰ jealous of the Members of Parliament. They say, somehow one has got to become a Member of Parliament or a³⁰⁰ Member of the Legislature, or somehow come closer to the corridors of power. Why do they say this? Because they³²⁰ see the sudden change in the outlook, the behaviour, the kind of living of a particular individual. But, Sir, the³⁴⁰ solution in this problem of corruption in public life may not be like instant coffee. The solution may be very³⁶⁰ difficult. In fact, this was pointed out by the Santhanam Committee itself. In its report it made certain recommendations that³⁸⁰ a certain code of conduct should be there and that shall be a solution to end corruption in public life.⁴⁰⁰

Handwritten notes in shorthand script, likely representing the original text or a summary, covering the right side of the page.

AFFLUENT: wealthy; RAMPANT: unrestrained.

Exercise 10

What has actually troubled us is the variance between precept and practice in this country.²⁰ When we discuss philosophy, we rise to Himalayan heights. And when it is a question of personal life, we go to the abysmal depth of⁴⁰ the Arabian Sea. There is so much variance between precept and practice in this country that even if a particular⁶⁰ individual might be trying to adhere to the precepts, he also becomes suspect because the general atmosphere is one of⁸⁰ suspicion. In that context Sir, I feel that something has got to be done to restore the confidence of the¹⁰⁰ people in the Members of Parliament, in the Members of Legislatures and in the ministers. Now my friend made¹²⁰ a suggestion that after all, we are all answerable to the people in this country and when representatives come through¹⁴⁰ elections and people vote for them, that is a sure proof of the people's confidence in those elected representatives. I¹⁶⁰ would respectfully differ from my friend on this kind of a diagnosis or analysis of the problem, that electorally everything¹⁸⁰ can be solved. The problem of human character, human integrity, human behaviour, morality, cannot be solved by an electoral process. There have²⁰⁰ been men in the world who are of great moral stature, men of great character and integrity, but they never²²⁰ won an election. Are we not aware of Mr. Rajagopalachari who was a man of great character and integrity? Nothing²⁴⁰ can be said against him. He was a man of high moral stature, but he never won an election, he²⁶⁰ was also defeated in an election

Let us not try to beguile ourselves by saying that by our being electorally²⁸⁰ established, our character is established, our integrity is established, our moral standard is established. After all, the kind of electoral³⁰⁰ system that we have in this country itself corrupts the entire political system, the entire politics in this country. How³²⁰ many of us can claim that we limit ourselves to the amount prescribed in the Representation of the People Act³⁴⁰ when we contest an election? Which Member of Parliament does not spend above that amount? How many of us file³⁶⁰ a true return in compliance with the provisions of the Representation of the People Act? Most of the candidates file³⁸⁰ false returns. And this has been taken as an accepted way of life. Therefore, we should not expect that once⁴⁰⁰ it is electorally established that somebody has been elected, he must automatically be deemed to be a man of character,⁴²⁰ a man of integrity, and so on and so forth. Such a proposition, at least, I personally cannot accept.⁴⁴⁰

EXAGGERATED: to blow up; ORDEAL: severe trial;
PRECEPT: idea; ABYSMAL: vast depth; BEGUILE: to deceive.

Handwritten shorthand notes in a cursive style, corresponding to the printed text on the left. The notes are written on a set of horizontal lines and include various symbols, dots, and strokes representing the shorthand system.

Exercise 11

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I appreciate and welcome the various steps taken by the Government so far to arrest the²⁰ increasing trend in the prices of several commodities. At the same time, Sir, I feel that I would be failing⁴⁰ in my duty if I do not bring to the notice of the Government the fact that the people at⁶⁰ large are not satisfied with the results. No one can dispute the fact that there is general discontent among all⁸⁰ sections of the community.

Sir, in the last two Budgets, our Finance Minister granted a number of concessions to the¹⁰⁰ various industries. But I wish to point out that none of these benefits were passed on the consumers. Let us¹²⁰ take the recent example. The tea planters of the country, particularly from the South, made a big hue and cry¹⁴⁰ and got certain concessions from the Government. But I do not think there is any reduction in the price of¹⁶⁰ tea available in the shops. Let us also take the example of edible oil. Sir, there is no justification for¹⁸⁰ the increase in the price of edible oil, particularly when we take note of the point that a huge quantity²⁰⁰ of oil has been imported in the country, and also in view of the prevailing prices of oil seeds. Sir, the²²⁰ Finance Minister was good enough to invite suggestions from the Members of this House. I would like to make one²⁴⁰ or two suggestions for his consideration.

Sir, for a very long time, the organised sector of the employees in this²⁶⁰ country to whichever political ideology they belong, have been demanding that all industrial establishments in the country should be compelled²⁸⁰ to open fair price shops and sell essential commodities to their workmen at subsidised prices. It is these salaried employees³⁰⁰ some times who are prepared to pay any price demanded by traders and as a result the prices are shooting up.³²⁰ If at least this section of the community was supplied with essential goods at reasonable prices, it will work as³⁴⁰ a means of arresting further increase in prices. In some cases, the producers feel it will be profitable for them³⁶⁰ to suppress the production and sell those essential articles in black market and get enough profit.³⁸⁰ The producers should not be allowed to raise the prices unnecessarily where in a area there are short supplies.⁴⁰⁰

DISCONTENT: dissatisfied; IDEOLOGY: based on ideal;
SUPPRESS: to crush's to press down.

Handwritten notes in Urdu script, likely a shorthand or shorthand notes, covering the right side of the page.

Exercise 12

There is also another point I would like to bring to the notice of the Honourable Minister, Sir, The Excise Inspectorate is not as effective as it should be.²⁰ I am coming, Sir, from an area where nearby there are a large number of oil mills which produce oil,⁴⁰ particularly groundnut oil. Almost all these oil mills are allowed to suppress their production by 30 to 40 per cent⁶⁰ and all the suppressed production is sold in black market. If they⁸⁰ are brought to the regular production list and regular market and regular sales, the pressure on oil prices may not¹⁰⁰ be that much as we are having today.

Sir, I would urge upon the Government to continue to be vigilant¹²⁰ and take further necessary steps to hold the price line. Before concluding, Sir, I would like to appeal to all¹⁴⁰ my colleagues, particularly those in the Opposition, not to support any action which disrupts production leading to shortage and consequently¹⁶⁰ further increase in price. Far from helping the Government in bringing down the prices before the bye-elections in the¹⁸⁰ States for Lok Sabha, they were praying for increase in prices in the hope that this increase in prices will²⁰⁰ have an effect on the election results. The last bye-elections were fought more on the basis of the prices²²⁰ than ruling. But in spite of the increase in prices, our Party candidates were returned to power. This does not²⁴⁰ mean that the people are satisfied with the prices that were prevailing. But in spite of their difficulties and in²⁶⁰ spite of the higher prices, the people of this country believed our leader and our Party. They also believed in²⁸⁰ our capacity to hold the price line. They also believed that this can be done and controlled only by the Government³⁰⁰ led by the Prime Minister and by no other person.

At the same time, I would like to give a³²⁰ word of caution to my own leaders. This comparison with the other countries does not satisfy anybody. We cannot be³⁴⁰ compared with the developed countries where the inflation is higher. There is no other country in the world which is³⁶⁰ having half of its population under the poverty line. Therefore, what is needed now is not statistical comparison, but action³⁸⁰ and nothing but action. Therefore, Sir, the simple question of managing the economy is very important. The same thing has⁴⁰⁰ happened in the case of sugar. Even when the Government had ample sugar stocks, they did not care to release⁴²⁰ the stocks to bring down the price when the sugar was selling at Rs. 14 to Rs. 16 per kg.⁴⁴⁰

STATISTICAL: relating data /figures.

Handwritten notes in shorthand script, likely representing the typed text on the left. The notes are written in a cursive style with many abbreviations and symbols. Some legible words include 'There is also another point', 'I would like to bring to the notice', 'The Excise Inspectorate is not as effective', 'I am coming, Sir, from an area', 'where nearby there are a large number of oil mills', 'which produce oil', 'particularly groundnut oil', 'Almost all these oil mills are allowed to suppress their production by 30 to 40 per cent', 'and all the suppressed production is sold in black market', 'If they are brought to the regular production list and regular market and regular sales, the pressure on oil prices may not be that much as we are having today.', 'Sir, I would urge upon the Government to continue to be vigilant and take further necessary steps to hold the price line.', 'Before concluding, Sir, I would like to appeal to all my colleagues, particularly those in the Opposition, not to support any action which disrupts production leading to shortage and consequently further increase in price.', 'Far from helping the Government in bringing down the prices before the bye-elections in the States for Lok Sabha, they were praying for increase in prices in the hope that this increase in prices will have an effect on the election results.', 'The last bye-elections were fought more on the basis of the prices than ruling. But in spite of the increase in prices, our Party candidates were returned to power. This does not mean that the people are satisfied with the prices that were prevailing. But in spite of their difficulties and in spite of the higher prices, the people of this country believed our leader and our Party. They also believed in our capacity to hold the price line. They also believed that this can be done and controlled only by the Government led by the Prime Minister and by no other person.', 'At the same time, I would like to give a word of caution to my own leaders. This comparison with the other countries does not satisfy anybody. We cannot be compared with the developed countries where the inflation is higher. There is no other country in the world which is having half of its population under the poverty line. Therefore, what is needed now is not statistical comparison, but action and nothing but action. Therefore, Sir, the simple question of managing the economy is very important. The same thing has happened in the case of sugar. Even when the Government had ample sugar stocks, they did not care to release the stocks to bring down the price when the sugar was selling at Rs. 14 to Rs. 16 per kg.'

Exercise 13

Sir, a time has come when we should reconsider and revise our attitudes towards the problem of agriculture and agricultural²⁰ development. If agriculture does not develop, our country cannot make any progress and we can neither become an agricultural power in⁴⁰ the world, nor we can become an industrial power. Sir, there are large potentials in our country to become an⁶⁰ agricultural power in the world, and we can not only meet our own requirements but we can also be one⁸⁰ of the major exporting countries in Asia. For this purpose, it is necessary for recasting the priorities and also for¹⁰⁰ a proper allocation in budget. Sir, only Rs. 200 crores was budgeted for rural employment. It is a very¹²⁰ small figure and it cannot even give employment to a few thousands in the rural side. The allotment for irrigation¹⁴⁰ and other purposes is also not sufficient.

But, Sir, in order to give proper emphasis to the Department, in my¹⁶⁰ opinion, it is necessary to have a separate Budget for the Agriculture Ministry as we are having for the Railways.¹⁸⁰ I do not know why a separate Budget has been provided for the Railways, although traditionally, this system is being²⁰⁰ followed. But for Agriculture on which 70 to 80 per cent of our population depends and which is the major²²⁰ stay of our economy there is no separate Budget. It should be given the pride of place and we should²⁴⁰ have a separate Budget for Agriculture. Similarly, there is no reason why the Department of Co-operation should be tagged²⁶⁰ on to the Agriculture Ministry. The Report itself says that it is a very important aspect of our making progress²⁸⁰ in every department of life, be it industry, co-operative marketing or any other sphere. The Report says, that the³⁰⁰ co-operative movement in the country has been considerably expanded during the last about 55 years, that the activities of³²⁰ the co-operatives now cover different sections of the economy more especially, agricultural credit, marketing, processing, storage and distribution of agricultural³⁴⁰ inputs and also consumer goods in rural areas. It goes on to say that the value of operation of all³⁶⁰ types of cooperatives is estimated to exceed Rs.1,600 crores, involving over³⁸⁰ million members. But, Sir, the Report says that the managing committee of large number of co-operative societies in the States were superseded by the Government.⁴⁰⁰

Sir, it is necessary to have a separate Ministry for Co-operation if we really want that this cooperative movement ⁴²⁰ is to become successful. I, therefore, suggest through you, Sir, that the Government should seriously consider having a separate Ministry⁴⁴⁰ for Co-operation. Sir, co-operative movement is spreading all over.

Handwritten notes in Urdu script, likely a shorthand or summary of the typed text, covering the entire length of the typed text.

Incidentally, I would like to say that even the workers⁴⁶⁰ co-operatives in the newspaper industry are given a raw deal. In my place there is a workers cooperative running a⁴⁸⁰ newspaper but even they are not getting all the facilities. Therefore, if we really want to reach the commanding heights⁵⁰⁰ of production, which is our objective, it is necessary that the workers cooperatives are promoted and for that purpose my⁵²⁰ suggestion is that there should be a separate Ministry of Co-operation.

Then, Sir, this Report contains a catalogue of ⁵⁴⁰ events. The Report says that in 1995 the major cause of severe set-back to agricultural production was unprecedented⁵⁶⁰ drought in 1995-96. And when it comes to how we have made progress in 1996-97⁵⁸⁰ it says because the weather was comparatively fair and there was no drought to that extent. What is the achievement⁶⁰⁰ we have made? Therefore, the whole report is very disappointing. It does not disclose what all the radical changes have⁶²⁰ taken place or what steps have been taken to improve agriculture with expedition. And from point of view, if ⁶⁴⁰ you really examine this report, you will find that the Government has not taken major steps about land reforms, about ⁶⁶⁰ rural employment or the integrated rural development programme. For that purpose, a separate department was constituted for rural reconstruction and⁶⁸⁰ the Ministry in this report admits that benefits of investment on agriculture have not reached poorer sections of rural population.⁷⁰⁰

The report begins like this. It was felt therefore, that exclusive special programmes for the exclusive benefit of poorer sections⁷²⁰ of rural population are required if the objective of distributive justice was to be achieved, and then after giving the⁷⁴⁰ number of agencies which are working, the report has not revealed what rural employment was given in the year ⁷⁶⁰ 1995-96. I would like to know from the Minister in view of investment and so many⁷⁸⁰ programmes of integrated rural development going on, what was the increase in rural employment in the year 1995-96. ⁸⁰⁰ The report itself is astonishing in another aspect. It says that land reforms are being implemented but the land reforms ⁸²⁰ implementation paragraph in the Report is interesting. It is only the lipsympathy which has been shown by the Government.⁸⁴⁰

SUPERSEDED: to overstep; EXPEDITION: campaign;
ASTONISHING: surprising; POTENTIAL: hidden power;

Handwritten notes in Urdu script, including the years 1995-96 and 1996-97, and various symbols and characters.

Exercise 14

Sir, the price situation in our country is only a mirror of the economy as a whole and the policies²⁰ which are driving the economy. So, there is no use either complementing our Finance Minister or running him down. Ever⁴⁰ if the same Finance Minister was the Minister of Industry in Tamil Nadu now, as he was before, I do⁶⁰ not know what he would have done. It is not an individual's capacity or efficiency or inefficiency, Sir, but it⁸⁰ is the policy. What is the policy towards our economy, towards the trade, towards distribution, towards production and so¹⁰⁰ on? All these, combined together, have resulted in this situation. The more important thing is our policy towards our exports¹²⁰ and imports. If the House examines carefully our policy and analyses our exports and imports and the price structure of¹⁴⁰ our exports and imports, it will come to the inevitable conclusion that the imperialist countries are looting our country much¹⁶⁰ more than what the Britishers did during their rule in this country.

A few days ago, Sir, the Honourable Minister¹⁸⁰ of Commerce and the Leader of this House, was giving us some details with regard to tea. Whether it is²⁰⁰ tea or coffee or any other consumer goods that we export, we only export at the cost of the consumers²²⁰ of this country. For every kilogram of tea that is exported, our country is losing about four to six rupees.²⁴⁰ Who is bearing the burden? The burden is shifted to the consumer. Every man or every woman or every child²⁶⁰ who takes tea in our country has to pay for the export. The export earning is going down. The same²⁸⁰ is the case with regard to coffee.

Now, Sir, we are exporting all sorts of things, meat, fish fruits, everything³⁰⁰ we export. All consumer goods are being exported to earn dollars to pay for foreign debts. This is one of³²⁰ the main reasons for this increase in prices of consumer goods. The basic policy must be changed. We should fight³⁴⁰ for a reversal of the price structure in the international market. That is where the role of our country becomes³⁶⁰ very important being one of the biggest countries in the world. We are playing an important role in international politics. Our³⁸⁰ country plays an important role in the non-alignment. The same role must be played here for the world peace.⁴⁰⁰

Whatever is produced is partly consumed for export and partly for hoarders and black-marketeers. Hoarders and black-marketeers are⁴²⁰ responsible for high prices. How to check this menace, I spoke about the essential articles such as foodgrains,

Handwritten shorthand notes in a cursive style, corresponding to the printed text on the left. The notes are written on a set of horizontal lines and cover the right half of the page.

sugar, etc. ⁴⁴⁰ Is this the strategy to tackle high prices and hoarding. The hoarders will not part with the hoarded stock and ⁴⁶⁰ the Government is so powerless to take over the hoarded stock. They have to import. But how much can you ⁴⁸⁰ import and who will pay for these imports? There is more than 26 lakhs tonnes of sugar available with the ⁵⁰⁰ millers. I do not know the figure about foodgrains that is lying hoarded. You have no courage or the policy ⁵²⁰ or the moral strength to take that. The entire people will support you if such a bold decision is taken ⁵⁴⁰ to bring out the hoarded stock. Particularly the working class and the rural poor will support such a policy.

Yesterday, ⁵⁶⁰ we discussed about cement in this House. The Government says that the price of cement is Rs. 129. But it ⁵⁸⁰ sells for Rs. 170 a bag. Building workers are going without employment. Only black-marketeers are purchasing cement at that ⁶⁰⁰ price. So, the black-marketing, black money and high prices are the symptoms of a disease. This disease is deeper ⁶²⁰ in our economy because our policy is to make the rich richer. Have any of these monopoly houses suffered due ⁶⁴⁰ to high prices? Take the accounts of the monopoly houses. Their assets have grown and their profits have increased. Their ⁶⁶⁰ investments have increased. The Finance Minister will try to excuse himself by saying that I am speaking about the ideology. ⁶⁸⁰ But ideology is necessary. Our nation has an anti-imperialist ideology. We have an anti-capitalist ideology. Our ideology is the not ⁷⁰⁰ pro-capitalist, pro-imperialist. Our ideology is the ideology of the Indian people, the working people. It is so from ⁷²⁰ the Karachi Resolution. As nation, we have evolved that policy. That is what I am asking you.

So, I ⁷⁴⁰ do not want you to use this thing for politics. You have to decide which class you are going to ⁷⁶⁰ defend and which class you are going to attack. Unless we are clear about it, which party rules is not ⁷⁸⁰ the point. If they pursue the same policy, nothing is going to happen and the situation will be worse. I ⁸⁰⁰ will appeal again to do something to strengthen the public distribution system. At least save the people from starvation. Immediately ⁸²⁰ he will say that there are no starvation deaths because no death is reported as starvation death in the country. ⁸⁴⁰

INEVITABLE: ultimately; MENACE: great danger;
STRATEGY: policy in war; IDEOLOGY: based on ideal;
STARVATION: death due to hunger.

Handwritten notes in Urdu script, likely a shorthand or summary of the printed text, covering the same topics of sugar, cement, and ideology.

Exercise 15

Sir, the point I am trying to make is, even if it is necessary to amend the Constitution, we have²⁰ to make a bold venture. Can the body called the Election Commission have executive power, legislative power and judicial power⁴⁰ also? This is one point I want to make. No institution under this parliamentary system has all the three powers⁶⁰ combined in one. As friends know, the Constitution gives the Chief Election Commissioner the status of a Supreme Court Judge,⁸⁰ that is if he is to be removed, the same process has to be adopted even though he may have¹⁰⁰ been appointed in a different way. The Election Commission should have been a multi-member Commission. This is the recommendation¹²⁰ made by the Parliamentary Committee in its report of 1972, that the Commission should be a full commission¹⁴⁰ and Parliament should enact a law.

Mr. Law Minister, I would request you to examine how many Articles of the¹⁶⁰ Constitution, Parliament has failed to take note of and give shape of a statutory form. This is one of those¹⁸⁰ Articles, wherein a full-fledged commission is visualised. It cannot be a single member commission. Even remotely I do not²⁰⁰ want to cast any aspersion on any Chief Election Commissioner. That is not my purpose. There is scope for error²²⁰ of judgement. It is not a question of motive or intention. If the Election Commission declares an election null and²⁴⁰ void, what can be done? What the Supreme Court held was that if a wrong decision has been given and²⁶⁰ a repoll has taken place, then the aggrieved person could go to the High Court for relief through an election²⁸⁰ petition.

There is no other way for relief. I do not know how my friend is happy with the decision³⁰⁰ of the Commission. He claims it as a victory for him, I am sorry for the lack of depth of³²⁰ understanding or political vision in the matter. My friend requested for repoll only in 56 polling booths. But the³⁴⁰ Election Commission generously ordered repoll in 800 polling booths. What is happening in the country? This is a basic³⁶⁰ question. The Supreme Court said, natural justice has to be kept in mind while making the decision to declare an³⁸⁰ election null and void. But to ask the whole constituency should go for a repoll how much it costs the Government?⁴⁰⁰

It is not for the Election Commission to annul an election according to me. This is a fundamental matter. But / this was not debated

Handwritten notes in Urdu script, appearing to be a transcription or commentary on the typed text. The notes are written in a cursive style on lined paper. Some words like '1972' and '800' are clearly visible in the notes.

in the House. It should have been debated. Secondly, take the propriety, forget the law for⁴⁴⁰ a moment. There is an aggrieved candidate in Garhwal bye-election. Polling was disturbed in 65 polling booths. The⁴⁶⁰ Election Commission ordered repoll in all the booths. What has been the argument? Induction of outside police. It is a⁴⁸⁰ very strange argument? Does the Election Commission enjoy so much of executive power as to deploy police and to deploy⁵⁰⁰ services? I have got the Election Commission's recommendations before me. Not even one recommendation refers to deployment of police or⁵²⁰ maintenance of law and order. It speaks only of transfer of officers. I request all the members to study these⁵⁴⁰ recommendations. I am not holding any brief either for Haryana Chief Minister or Punjab Chief Minister. The present Ministers and⁵⁶⁰ Chief Ministers must know their limitations. In fact, in Nehru's time we had a convention that the Ministers never went⁵⁸⁰ to do election propaganda in bye-election. We used to restrain ourselves and so there was no question of⁶⁰⁰ involvement in a bye-election. What has the Haryana Chief Minister done? It might be a Party matter.

Mr. Law⁶²⁰ Minister, do not think it is a Party matter. You are not here permanently. We are not here permanently. But⁶⁴⁰ the nation is permanent. This is the time to do some introspection when we are at the cross-roads. The⁶⁶⁰ Janta Party did not learn the lesson from the Congress defeat in 1977. Therefore, the Janata Party failed.⁶⁸⁰ The Congress also did not learn from the Janta Party's collapse. We can learn not only from our own mistakes⁷⁰⁰ but also from other's mistakes. On the other side also they seem to have done it. If my friend also has⁷²⁰ done, those who indulge in violence they are actually the enemies of democracy. I condemn it. We should be serious⁷⁴⁰ about it, we must know where the Election Commission should actually stop.

Free and fair elections cannot be conducted easily.⁷⁶⁰ The Election Commission has to plan everything in advance. In our own State, Mr. Law Minister, people were ready for⁷⁸⁰ election to the Legislative Council. It is the Election Commission which has to fix date. We are now told that⁸⁰⁰ the elections are postponed. Periodical elections or elections in time strengthen the political system. Timely election, therefore, is very important.⁸²⁰ During Nehru's time elections used to take place as per schedule. This has to come about as our political culture.⁸⁴⁰

STATUTORY: legal; ANUL: to cancel; DEPLOYMENT: to put up;
INTROSPECTION: self examination.

Handwritten notes in Hindi script, likely a shorthand or summary of the printed text, covering the same topics of election administration, political parties, and democratic principles.

Exercise 16

Sir, I am grateful to the Honourable Member who have made their contribution while discussing the performance of the Ministry²⁰ of Commerce. Sir, this House has its own limitations, particularly in regard to the discussion of a subject with reference to⁴⁰ the Demands for Grants. But we have been able to have a discussion on this particular Ministry after quite a⁶⁰ few years. And the advantage is that when the Demand was discussed in the other House, after that the Import⁸⁰ Export Policy for the year 1998-99 was announced, the Honourable Members had the opportunity also¹⁰⁰ to keep that policy at the back of their minds while making their observations on the functioning of the Ministry.¹²⁰

Sir, it is known to the Honourable Members, so far as our international trade is concerned, the year which we¹⁴⁰ just passed, was really a difficult year. Naturally, the Members have expressed their concern over the widening trade gap, the¹⁶⁰ growth in imports being in the neighbourhood of more than 20 per cent and growth in exports much less than¹⁸⁰ that. In absolute terms, it is not yet possible to indicate the firm figures. But the trade gap worked out²⁰⁰ to be anywhere between Rs. 4500 crores and Rs. 4800 crores. The reason is also known to the²²⁰ Honourable Members. So far as petrol and petroleum products are concerned, the full impact of the price hike was felt²⁴⁰ this year. Nearly two-thirds of total export earnings are being spent on importing petroleum and petroleum products alone.²⁶⁰ There, too, the scope of manoeuvrability is extremely limited. As the Honourable Members are aware, the total import of petrol²⁸⁰ and petroleum products is almost inelastic for the last few years. In absolute terms, we are keeping the quantum almost³⁰⁰ at the same level, though we are paying much more, and that, too, according to my assessment, is also irreducible³²⁰ minimum because we want to maintain our agricultural programme, we have to energise our pump-sets and diesel is a³⁴⁰ must. It is necessary to maintain the national transport service, and at the same time to provide kerosene oil to³⁶⁰ the large number of villages. Import of fertilizers is absolutely a must if we want to maintain our agricultural programme.³⁸⁰ Therefore, the scope of extremely limited to reduce the import of petrol and petroleum products during the current financial year.⁴⁰⁰

And in that context, the strategy which has been worked out is to have a vigorous export effort, reduce our⁴²⁰ dependence

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

on imports for the areas where we can, and, thirdly give encouragement to import substitution. So far as⁴⁴⁰ exports are concerned, it is known to the Honourable Members, even up to 1995-96, we were⁴⁶⁰ having a reasonable growth rate, in the neighbourhood of 24 to 25 per cent, particularly, for the last three years;⁴⁸⁰ but we could not maintain that growth rate in the next three years. Again, it has started picking up. In⁵⁰⁰ this connection Sir, I would like to mention one particular point which has been very often quoted to show that⁵²⁰ India's performance on the export front is quite insignificant, and very often an argument is put forward that our share⁵⁴⁰ in the foreign trade is almost negligible. I do not deny it. From the early 50s when our share in the⁵⁶⁰ international trade was roughly 2 per cent, it has come down to almost half a per cent today. But it⁵⁸⁰ is because of certain factors, and one of the important factor is that deliberately we took a policy of import⁶⁰⁰ substitution. Secondly, the share of a particular country in the international trade and world trade is not so much relevant,⁶²⁰ what is more relevant is the percentage of exports. And if we look it from that angle, we⁶⁴⁰ will find and if I understand the figure correctly and I hope, I have the figure with me. Therefore, there⁶⁶⁰ has been a qualitative change. We are not happy. We want much more growth. The level of growth is not⁶⁸⁰ satisfactory and it is not up to the necessity which we require. But, at the same time, we shall have which we require. But, at the same time, we shall have⁷⁰⁰ to acknowledge the fact that there has been growth. And in this connection, very often it is pointed out that⁷²⁰ whatever growth is there, it is mainly because of the inflation, in value it has increased and in quantity it⁷⁴⁰ has not increased. I would like to quote some figures to point out that there has been an upward trend⁷⁶⁰ in value and there has been an upward trend in volume also. Secondly, Sir, as the Honourable Members have pointed⁷⁸⁰ out, and I do share their concern the growing protectionism in the international trade is standing in the way of⁸⁰⁰ expansion of exports from the developing countries. And almost at all international forums we have taken it up. And here⁸²⁰ we have been able to identify the areas and tried to impress upon the developed countries without getting any result.⁸⁴⁰

Handwritten notes in Urdu script, appearing to be a shorthand or summary of the printed text on the left. The notes are written on lined paper and cover the right half of the page.

IMPACT: effect; INELASTIC: unstretchable;
 SUBSTITUTION: to replace; IDENTIFY: to mark.

Exercise 17

Sir, I was trying to say that the Resolution as my friend has referred, to three aspects consequent on²⁰ the various polling. The Resolution seeks to condemn certain statements made by the leading Members of the Government, and the⁴⁰ statements are attributed to as though encroaching upon the jurisdiction of the Election Commission, as the Mover of the Resolution⁶⁰ put it, the independence of the Election Commission. That is the second aspect. And the third aspect is a suggestion⁸⁰ flowing from the erosion, as he calls it, or the independence of the Election Commission, so that a Parliamentary Committee¹⁰⁰ could be set up to review the election laws and suggest appropriate reforms. The issue of electoral reforms has also¹²⁰ been discussed at length and many a speaker has generally spoken about the electoral reforms. While I will make my¹⁴⁰ submissions with reference to the electoral reforms in general, with reference to some of the speakers who have adverted to¹⁶⁰ the various aspects of the reforms, I feel it duty bound to also meet some of the points which have¹⁸⁰ been raised by the Honourable Members here, particularly with reference to the Election Commission and also about certain irregularities which²⁰⁰ they have brought to the notice of this House that had taken place in the repoll at several places. Sir, the²²⁰ Mover of the Resolution, while highlighting the aspect of the independence of the Election Commission has chosen to speak on²⁴⁰ a broader aspect and painted a picture on the wider canvas as to the erosion of all the parliamentary democratic²⁶⁰ institutions in this country. I would not like to become emotional as he did. But I would certainly advert²⁸⁰ to the aspects on which I feel that he was very much uncharitable. Sir, what was stated was that the³⁰⁰ Cabinet system of the Government was sought to be stifled, the institution of judiciary was sought to be tampered and³²⁰ cramped. And it was also said that the entire parliamentary system was sought to be totally negated by us. And³⁴⁰ in the ultimate analysis he proceeded to concentrate on the erosion of the authority of the Chief Election Commissioner. But³⁶⁰ I never expected from the Mover of the Resolution, whom I had heard a little, that he would go to³⁸⁰ the extent of saying that actions that we on this side are seeking to resort, only to negative parliamentary democracy.⁴⁰⁰

Sir, I do not know what he meant by a big phrase of

Handwritten shorthand notes in Devanagari script, corresponding to the printed text on the left. The notes are written in a cursive style on a grid of horizontal lines.

"stifling by us the Cabinet system of⁴²⁰ the Government." Well, phrases could be coined but the realities must speak for themselves. I was trying to understand from⁴⁴⁰ him as to whether he was going to paraphrase his expression so that I could meet it squarely on the⁴⁶⁰ points that he would put forth. I must say and I will say with a little authority that is at⁴⁸⁰ my command that in no form did we try at any point of time to stifle the Cabinet system of⁵⁰⁰ Government in this country and I am on record, Sir, in this House itself, when the debate did crop up⁵²⁰ twice on the basis of the statement of one ex-Chief Minister and the other Chief Minister that I had⁵⁴⁰ categorically stated that there was nothing so far as this Government was concerned to think in terms of the Presidential⁵⁶⁰ form of government.

Notwithstanding my statement, a person who is a part and parcel of the present Government or a⁵⁸⁰ person who is a spokesman of the Government apparatus of the day, if the Mover of the Resolution would still⁶⁰⁰ like to do a little bit of idle flying on the basis of some of the statements of persons who⁶²⁰ do not have their own contribution in the formulation of the policies of the Government of India, I cannot help⁶⁴⁰ it. I beg to leave the matter there if he wants to use it and he has used it⁶⁶⁰ by way of a spice in his argument, that is a matter for him to taste it and see how much⁶⁸⁰ it tastes.

As far as we are concerned, we did not and I should say that so far as our⁷⁰⁰ leader is concerned, at no point of time did he either encourage or speak on this issue at all. If⁷²⁰ you would like to read too much, if you would like to believe only in the propaganda,⁷⁴⁰ nobody can help you in the matter. You are to express yourself or repeat like a parrot whatever you would. I⁷⁶⁰ would not like to answer on what I have already said on this issue. Sir, a very vague expression, an⁷⁸⁰ expression which could perhaps attract the attention of some of the intellectuals and also the newspapers⁸⁰⁰ namely, the tampering of the judicial independence was also raised. I am not sure, I would have made a little enquiry which I did⁸²⁰ not. I must, frankly confess that it was merely a propagandist approach, raise the issue and say whatever you like.⁸⁴⁰

ATTRIBUTED: to ascribe; ENCROACHING: to trespass;
 JURISDICTION: area (legal); STIFLED: to blunt;
 TAMPERING: to break in.

Handwritten notes in shorthand script, likely corresponding to the typed text on the left. The notes are written in blue ink on a grid background.

Exercise 18

Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Seventh Five Year plan presented to us, I very humbly submit, is not even worth the paper on which it is printed. About the direction my Honourable friend has spoken and I do not want to repeat the same. A plan which has no direction, a plan which is only meant for status quo, not only status quo, a plan which increases disparity and inequality, a plan which takes the country back economically, cannot be said to be a plan at all. The Planning Commission has expressed some pious hopes and said inflation is the main obstacle. Yes, you have identified it. But unfortunately, if I may make a little digression the Planning Commission is a dumping ground for unwanted ministers. A man who is not doing good work, has been dumped there. So you can see the seriousness of it. You have identified inflation. But how do you solve it?

The Finance Ministry which is in charge is taking steps towards increasing inflation. The Industry Ministry, the Agriculture Ministry, they are following policies which will increase inflation. So for what purpose are you identifying a malady for which you have no remedy? Already the Budget of this country is dependent on 75 per cent loans from outside and we have to go begging to the World Bank and other international monetary institutions. How can you plan when your budget is dependent to that extent on foreign resources? Only the other day, we were told that Rs. 5,000 crores are coming from the International Monetary Fund with all their conditions to which we have agreed. And these conditions have not been disclosed. All these will lead to further inflation.

Then we have an economy of shortages. When you are following a policy of economy of shortages, do you think that inflation can be contained? Who does not know that there is economy of shortages? Then there is black money. After the Supreme Court decision on the black bonds, even in black bonds there is black market. Yes, there is black market in black bonds. Do you think that with all these phenomena and all these policies and steps you will be able to contain inflation? And if you cannot contain inflation and if inflation is allowed to go on then as my friend asked, what is the plan worth for the poor of our country?

My friend said that today it is thirty seven per cent, and I say it will go on increasing. In the industrial sector you have put some targets. But what is your Industrial Policy Resolution

Handwritten notes in Urdu script, appearing to be a transcription of the printed text on the right side of the page.

of 1985? Your⁴⁴⁰ Industrial Policy Resolution provides for automatic expansion, regularisation of excess capacity and export-oriented economy. Tell me, Mr. Planning Minister,⁴⁶⁰ with all these policies you are following, do you think you can achieve your targets? Can anybody plan with these⁴⁸⁰ policies of automatic expansion? I would like to have an answer to this from the Planning Minister when he replies⁵⁰⁰ to the debate, if there is automatic expansion, where is your target? If there is regularisation of excess capacity, what⁵²⁰ will happen to your target? With an export-oriented economy how can you plan? That depends on the vagaries of⁵⁴⁰ international supply and demand position and to a certain extent international political situation. How can you forecast these?

Now come⁵⁶⁰ to agricultural sector. After you have completed the Sixth Five Year Plan successfully, you are going in for massive import. What will⁵⁸⁰ happen to your target in this sector? In the Plan where is the provision for flood, drought and other vagaries⁶⁰⁰ of nature? The whole Gangetic plain is floating on water. It can be turned into the world's bread basket. But⁶²⁰ how can you do it with the priority you have given for irrigation? If you have a plan to tackle⁶⁴⁰ this region, then you would have contained drought to some extent.

Coming to flood, you have a flood committee report.⁶⁶⁰ I do not know whether this fact has been brought to your notice because I do not find any reflection⁶⁸⁰ of it in this Plan document. They are in three or four volumes and they are gathering dust somewhere.⁷⁰⁰ Not a single thing has been noted from them nor is there any direction to implement the programmes or to⁷²⁰ do anything to control the floods. They do not find any reflection here. Then, Sir, I come to the question⁷⁴⁰ of energy.

Sir, today, it is agreed that if you want a forward economy, if you want a developed economy,⁷⁶⁰ you will have to go in for fusion energy. Your plan is for some solar energy at the most and⁷⁸⁰ for some pretty things of course, other things are there. But, as I said, those things will keep your economy⁸⁰⁰ move backward. So, in that field also, your priority is wrong. Unless you plan for fusion energy, you cannot solve⁸²⁰ the problem of energy and if the energy problem is not solved, your agricultural production will not improve any more.⁸⁴⁰

STATUS QUO: as it is; MALADY: disease;
DIGRESSION: to depart from the main /serious;
VAGARIES: sharp changes.

Handwritten notes in Urdu script, appearing to be a transcription or commentary on the printed text. The notes are written in a cursive style and cover the right side of the page.

Exercise 19

Sir, now I come to the last two points. The Finance Minister has announced modification of Section 115²⁰ to export companies. While it is a welcome thing, again, this whole scheme of minimum tax is counter-productive and⁴⁰ pernicious. What was the Scheme? Investment allowance was given. Some companies grew in size, eight times, ten times, and did⁶⁰ not pay tax because they took advantage of these provisions. Now, there was an uproar and you said that whatever our⁸⁰ profits, 30 per cent we have to pay. You said, investment allowance will not be there and instead if you¹⁰⁰ deposit money with IDBI, that much rebate you will get. What happens in practice? The Indian companies,¹²⁰ the efficient companies, the growing companies are companies which are hit. Who has got spare money to put with the¹⁴⁰ IDBI? Only the multi-national companies would do that because they have no intention of growing, they¹⁶⁰ have no interest in the Indian economy, they have only interest in computers and Pepsi Cola, they are not interested in¹⁸⁰ employment.

So, they can put money in IDBI which is again temporary borrowing which I have discussed²⁰⁰ earlier and they get all the rebate. An Indian company is committed to India, committed to employment growth, it²²⁰ is put to disadvantage. This provision of investment allowance under Section 115 the Finance Minister has²⁴⁰ reconsidered only for export companies. I submit that the entire scheme of Section 115 should be²⁶⁰ scrapped and investment allowance should be restored to what was there for so many years. It has stood the test²⁸⁰ of the time. This idea was companies stand to lose³⁰⁰ and the foreign companies stand to gain. This is no use. You must have a total relook at this³²⁰ scheme.

I want to say two more things. The Finance Bill has got a lot of provisions which are supposed to³⁴⁰ be novel, like uniform accounting. Some bureaucrats from somewhere has come out. What is uniform accounting here? It³⁶⁰ means that everybody must have the same accounting year. It makes no sense in a time when computerisation³⁸⁰ is there, in a time when each tax assessee is given a code number and cross checking can be done.⁴⁰⁰

Sir, it makes no difference to me as a private entrepreneur, but it makes difference to me as Member⁴²⁰ of

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

Parliament. Our tax system will be under severe strain. The quality of assessment will go down further. Tax evasion⁴⁴⁰ will become more rampant. These are all the things that are going to happen and they are the most pernicious⁴⁶⁰ things. Certain corrupt officials will wield more powers. It is totally uncalled for. These kind of refinements, as they call⁴⁸⁰ them are totally uncalled for. The real objective of the Direct Tax Bill should be to effectively collect tax in⁵⁰⁰ a simple way.

I will give some more examples of the changes made in this Finance Bill. For instance,⁵²⁰ the Finance Bill, the Budget proposal said that for alcohol and scrap 60 per cent of the sale value will be counted⁵⁴⁰ as income. After a lot of noise the Finance Minister has been kind enough to bring it down to 35⁵⁶⁰ per cent or 40 per cent, but I want to know why alcohol? What will happen in a mechanism like this⁵⁸⁰ is that the sale proceeds will be shown at a lesser value and the Government will not get the tax. This⁶⁰⁰ kind of refinements are not understood. They are arbitrary? Why can't⁶²⁰ the Income-tax Officer do an assessment for which he is paid. It is wholly uncalled for. I request Section 44AC⁶⁴⁰ should be totally deleted, it is a pernicious section.

Finally, I come to a point of search,⁶⁶⁰ seizure and raids popularly called raids and enforcement machinery. In early 1960s. a proposal was introduced in this Income Tax⁶⁸⁰ Act that due to rampant evasion, income tax authority should have the power to search the premises of⁷⁰⁰ a tax assessee and to seize any documents which show revenue concealment.

Sir, I would like to know from the Finance⁷²⁰ Minister the total amount spent on searches and seizures in the last 27 years and the total revenue,⁷⁴⁰ if any, the Government was able to get as a result of these searches and seizures. Every time we read⁷⁶⁰ about some big business houses or monopoly houses being not good and when a monopoly house was raided, it becomes a⁷⁸⁰ big news. That is only done some time to have sensational news for public. But what do we see today?⁸⁰⁰ One day we read in the paper, the name is given that Mr. So and so has been raided and so⁸²⁰ much concealment of income has been found. By this we have successfully destroyed his reputation, whatever he had in the social circles.⁸⁴⁰

RESTORED: to put back; EVASION: evading /keep out of the way;
BUREAUCRATS: officials; PERNICIOUS: destructive.

Handwritten notes in shorthand script, likely corresponding to the typed text on the left. The notes are written in a cursive style with many abbreviations and symbols. Some legible words include 'Parliament', 'tax', 'evasion', 'raids', 'search', 'seizure', 'reputation', 'social circles', 'income', 'tax', 'authority', 'document', 'revenue', 'concealment', 'business', 'monopoly', 'house', 'news', 'paper', 'name', 'raided', 'concealment', 'income', 'found', 'successfully', 'destroyed', 'reputation', 'social', 'circles'.

Exercise 20

Sir, I strongly oppose the Statutory Resolution moved by the Honourable Home Minister to approve the continuance in force²⁰ of Article 356. This is an Article⁴⁰ which has an anti-federal and anti-democratic character. No other Constitution in the world is having this painful clause, except Pakistan. ⁶⁰ If you go through the Constitution of the United States, Canada, Australia and Switzerland, you will find that no federal Government⁸⁰ is having the right to remove State Governments. Unfortunately, our founding fathers have incorporated this clause in our Constitution. Sir,¹⁰⁰ the Government of India Act, 1935, also deals with taking the powers of the States as well as¹²⁰ taking the power of the Government at the Centre.

The British Government during their period incorporated two sections in the Act¹⁴⁰ for taking the powers of both the Governments. But our founding fathers conveniently, for the comfort of the Centre, have¹⁶⁰ incorporated the clause to take the State Government under the control of the President. The Act of 1935¹⁸⁰ was opposed by the Congress Party because of these two sections which assign the power to²⁰⁰ the Governor and the Governor-General to take the control of State and Federal Governments respectively. The Act of 1935²²⁰ was opposed by saying that it was a black Act. The principle of taking over the State Government was²⁴⁰ opposed during the freedom struggle.

But, unfortunately, it is now abundantly followed by our Government. That is why I am²⁶⁰ to say that I am basically opposed to that Article, and I register my protest against the Article itself. Sir,²⁸⁰ we know well that in the past this has been utilized not in the interest of the nation, not for³⁰⁰ protecting democracy, not for protecting the federal principle, but rather to protect the interests of the party at the³²⁰ Centre, either Congress or Janata. This Article has been utilised only for the benefit of the party, not for national³⁴⁰ interest. Now the question arise, whether this Article has been properly utilised in the case of Kashmir or not. Sir,³⁶⁰ we know well that in the President's Address, the Governor was lauded and complimented by the Government, saying he³⁸⁰ has restored democracy, the situation has improved, the entre nation would be thankful to my friend and so on.⁴⁰⁰

After some time the Congress Party is not in a position to tolerate the Government of my friend. So⁴²⁰ it removed the said Government from power by utilising Article 356, but at the same

Handwritten Urdu notes on the right side of the page, corresponding to the printed text. The notes are written in a cursive style and include various annotations and corrections. Some words are underlined or written in a different color (blue). The notes appear to be a student's or a professional's shorthand transcription of the text.

time it did⁴⁴⁰ not dissolve the Assembly. But now, Sir, on the eve of the elections of the Rajya Sabha the Assembly was⁴⁶⁰ dissolved for the interest of the party in power at the Centre. Therefore, it is totally exercised for the benefit⁴⁸⁰ of the party here. That is not only in this case but also in other areas. I am to remind the⁵⁰⁰ House that the Government is not serious about the elimination of terrorism in Kashmir. Sir, they thought that the State⁵²⁰ Government is not competent to deal with the situation effectively. But what do we see now? President's rule has totally⁵⁴⁰ failed to arrest the situation. Rather it has escalated during the period of President's Rule. Sir, for the last one year,⁵⁶⁰ it has been reported in the Press, more than 2000 people have been killed by the terrorists. Since January⁵⁸⁰ alone, 750 innocent people have been killed by the terrorists. What steps have been taken by⁶⁰⁰ the Government? What steps have been taken by the concerned authorities in Kashmir? This has been allowed to continue. At the⁶²⁰ same time, as far as this House is concerned, it has given adequate powers, even more powers, to the⁶⁴⁰ Government to deal with the situation.

The Parliament has passed laws and armed the Government with arbitrary powers. We have⁶⁶⁰ approved the steps to be taken under Article 349 of the Constitution. More than that, our Constitution⁶⁸⁰ has been amended. As far as the Parliament is concerned, it has done its best. But as far as the Government⁷⁰⁰ is concerned, there is no improvement. The situation is not at all improving. I would like to know what has⁷²⁰ happened to the decisions. So many decisions have been taken in this House. It was decided that a⁷⁴⁰ security belt should be created. Has the Government created that belt or not? The nexus between Pakistan and the⁷⁶⁰ terrorists should be broken. Now what steps have been taken by the Government so far to break this nexus between⁷⁸⁰ the terrorists and Pakistan? We always blame that Pakistan is aiding, giving training and giving shelter to terrorists. There is⁸⁰⁰ no difference of opinion on that. But what measures have been taken by the Government to check all these activities⁸²⁰ of the terrorists. You are acting like the common people. You are also saying the same thing what the common people say.⁸⁴⁰

INCORPORATE: formed in to corporation;
 ARBITRARY: not bound by rule; NEXUS: a bond, a linked group;
 AMEND: to alter; ESCALATE: to rise gradually.

Handwritten notes in shorthand script, likely representing the text on the left side of the page. The notes are written in a cursive style with various symbols and abbreviations. Some words are clearly identifiable, such as 'time', 'Assembly', 'Rajya Sabha', 'President's rule', 'Government', 'terrorism', 'Kashmir', 'State Government', 'situation', 'effectively', 'President's Rule', 'Press', 'killed', 'terrorists', 'innocent people', 'steps', 'authorities', 'continued', 'adequate powers', 'Parliament', 'arbitrary powers', 'Article 349', 'Constitution', 'security belt', 'nexus', 'Pakistan', 'terrorists', 'aiding', 'training', 'shelter', 'measures', 'activities', 'common people', 'saying', 'same thing', 'common people say'. The notes are organized into several paragraphs, mirroring the structure of the printed text.

Exercise 21

Sir, taking up the other matters on which the President's Address is being criticised, one criticism has been on the point that the prices have not been contained, that even though we have stated that the inflationary tendencies have been⁴⁰ arrested, yet there is no ostensible evidence of the prices coming down in the market. It is again an unfortunate⁶⁰ state of affairs. We know that prices are controlled in two ways. One as by the general laws of economics⁸⁰ of demand and supply and the other is by legislation, like we did through the Defence of India Rules.

Now¹⁰⁰ so far as the first aspect is concerned the prices are controlled by seeing to it that supply is equal¹²⁰ to demand at least, that if they do not exceed the demand, they should at least be able to meet¹⁴⁰ the demand, and that when that happens, prices themselves stabilise and adjust themselves. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary that there¹⁶⁰ should be sufficient production in the country, both in the industrial as well as in the agricultural sector. But what¹⁸⁰ has been the attitude of the Opposition on this particular aspect. Whereas it is absolutely necessary that there should be²⁰⁰ hundred per cent man-days working in industry and agriculture right through the year we have seen that the total²²⁰ strategy of the Opposition has been to promote Bharat Bandh, to promote strikes, to raise all kinds of industrial disputes,²⁴⁰ to cause unrest among the agricultural labour and thus by all means to ensure that the production is crippled. It²⁶⁰ requires an ostrich to ignore a contradiction of this type when you are crippling production, then the prices cannot come²⁸⁰ down.

The other method of controlling prices is by the various legislation. It is a method still open to the³⁰⁰ Government and may be if otherwise the prices cannot be contained the other method may be used on some unforeseeable³²⁰ occasion. But, speaking for myself, I would still be advocating and contain the prices by the normal economic laws. Socialism always³⁴⁰ means an increase in production, an increase in the wealth of the country by producing more in industry and agriculture³⁶⁰ and it is result of this increased production which is distributed amongst the people. That is the concept of³⁸⁰ socialism. I would expect when we ask for cooperation from the Opposition, we are asking for cooperation of this kind.⁴⁰⁰

The other point to which a reference has been made is about family planning. Family planning is another very vital⁴²⁰

Handwritten shorthand notes in Devanagari script, corresponding to the printed text on the left. The notes are written in a cursive style and cover the entire right side of the page.

aspect that has got to be considered by us. In the course of the last 50 years or so, our⁴⁴⁰ population has doubled. We very well know that we one more than hundred crore in number at⁴⁶⁰ the end of this century. Unless we can control population it is not possible to raise the living standards or the per capita⁴⁸⁰ income of the country. We have made phenomenal gains in the course of these years. But, unfortunately, all those gains⁵⁰⁰ have been eaten away by the growing population. Accent has to be given, emphasis has to be laid on all⁵²⁰ programmes that deal with family planning. Unfortunately, family planning was made such a controversial subject, so much propoganda had been⁵⁴⁰ conducted, so much hatred had been created against it that it is very difficult now to deal with it in⁵⁶⁰ any manner except one of purely voluntary basis. We have got to educate the people. Now we are educating the⁵⁸⁰ people. It necessarily takes time.

But sooner or later, we shall have to deal with this problem on a war⁶⁰⁰ footing. Unless that is done, it is very difficult indeed to create an India of the dreams that we have⁶²⁰ been thinking of. Then, Sir, I must answer a point that was raised by the Honourable Member who finished just⁶⁴⁰ now. He warned us that we must not leave the fate of the entire nation in the hands of one⁶⁶⁰ person. Sir, ours is thoroughly a democratic party. Our party is replete with very high-grade intellectuals. Some of the⁶⁸⁰ finest intellectuals of the country adorn our party. But whenever decision making is concerned you will find always, in all⁷⁰⁰ countries, it is at the top level with one person, please think of Britain when Britain was in difficulties, the⁷²⁰ total decision-making process had been left in the hands of Churchill. He was advised by his Cabinet. He was⁷⁴⁰ advised by his advisers. But the decision-making process was in the hands of one man only.

Similarly, when France⁷⁶⁰ fell on evil days and it became necessary to revive the economy, it was De Gaulle who took on himself⁷⁸⁰ the task of revitalising the entire economy of the country. In America too, you may remember that in the days⁸⁰⁰ of the darkest recession, it was Roosevelt on whom fell the task of revival. Therefore, it is nothing new, it⁸²⁰ is nothing extraordinary that at the apex in our country, the matter is being dealt with by an individual only.⁸⁴⁰

OSTENSIBLE: not real, seeming; PHENOMENAL: great, substantial;
 REplete: in large number; RECESSION: downward trend.

Handwritten shorthand notes in Progressive Shorthand script, corresponding to the printed text on the left. The notes are written in dark ink on a light background with horizontal lines.

Exercise 22

Sir, forty years ago when we achieved our Independence it was not the end of our fight but a beginning²⁰ of a new fight, a fight against poverty and a fight to make freedom a reality for our teeming millions.⁴⁰ All of us are partners in this great struggle and have to go a long way to achieve our objectives.⁶⁰ We have to ensure a better life for our children and find more jobs for our youngmen. During the⁸⁰ last fifty years we have covered a long journey, a journey not of comforts alone but of many hardships,¹⁰⁰ difficulties and dangers. But, as you know, we are today stronger than ever before. We are more resolute and united¹²⁰ and our democratic institutions have taken deeper roots. However, we have to see that the pace of our progress is¹⁴⁰ accelerated and we fulfil our pledges. As you know we have made some progress and have a number of achievements¹⁶⁰ to our credit. But I regret to say that there are some people in our country who even question these¹⁸⁰ achievements.

There is a mighty upsurge in India today and we all should try to gear ourselves to meet the²⁰⁰ challenges before us. We should strive for unity and strength to achieve our objectives. Any temporary difficulty or our failure²²⁰ to do things should not lead us to believe that there has been no progress. We do make mistakes sometimes²⁴⁰ but these cannot nullify our achievements. While we criticise ourselves for our shortcomings, we should not overlook our many achievements.²⁶⁰ We have to do some heart-searching and decide what the shape of things should be.

Almost every year, as²⁸⁰ you know, we face droughts in some parts of the country and floods in others. But the impact of such³⁰⁰ tragedies today is not the same as it used to be years ago. Previously, whenever there was drought in rural³²⁰ areas there was hardly any assistance from outside. But things are quite different now. We take immediate steps to rush³⁴⁰ aid to the affected areas and face the calamity unitedly. We cannot prevent the vagaries of nature but we can³⁶⁰ always face them unitedly. A significant development we see is the increasing self-reliance among our people and a belief³⁸⁰ that they alone are the masters of their destiny. This is our greatest asset and a source of our real strength.⁴⁰⁰

As you know we have made considerable progress in the fields of agriculture and industry. Fifty-five years ago when⁴²⁰ we become free our condition was really bad and we were

Handwritten shorthand notes in Devanagari script, corresponding to the printed text on the left. The notes are written on a grid of horizontal lines and use various symbols and abbreviations to represent the original text.

full of anxiety. We were faced with so many⁴⁴⁰ problems and it looked as if we would not be able to preserve our Independence. But these people were proved wrong.⁴⁶⁰ We were successful in solving our problems one by one and during these years made significant progress in every walk of⁴⁸⁰ life and improved our performance in industrial and agricultural fields. Food production in the country increased, a large number of⁵⁰⁰ new factories have come up. And again all the critical and complex problems were solved one by one. Production of⁵²⁰ steel and electricity has increased. Many heavy machines, which we were formerly importing, are now being manufactured in the country.⁵⁴⁰ The development of heavy industry has enabled us to manufacture other machines indigenously. It is true that our production⁵⁶⁰ is largely due to rapid increase in our population. So we are always faced with the problem of how to⁵⁸⁰ meet the demand which is increasing day by day. Some people do not see things in proper perspective and try⁶⁰⁰ to belittle the achievements. Such persons who close their eyes to the realities are no friends of the people.

I⁶²⁰ would like to take this opportunity to thank our Armed Forces for their heroic and courageous deeds. These brave soldiers⁶⁴⁰ and officers of our Army, Navy and Air Force have made great sacrifices to safeguard freedom of the country which⁶⁶⁰ has been attacked five times. I firmly believe that the freedom of India will always be safe in their hands.⁶⁸⁰ We express our gratitude and sympathies to the families of our brave soldiers and officers who lost their lives in⁷⁰⁰ the fighting. All of us including our Army and Police have to make a united effort to uplift the country.⁷²⁰

We fully realise that the real strength of a nation depends on its progress, on its ideology, on the unity⁷⁴⁰ of its people, on the readiness of its people to make sacrifices. We see lot of tension in the world⁷⁶⁰ today. The real question before us is whether we want to put away our energies in useless agitation and quarrels⁷⁸⁰ or whether we want to look into our future and act to make it really prosperous. Today we find restlessness⁸⁰⁰ among our youth and others. This restlessness is not peculiar to us alone. Youth all over the world want more⁸²⁰ and more participation in political and social affairs of the country at large. This is a universal phenomenon today.⁸⁴⁰

ACCELERATED: to increase/gradually; IMPACT: effect;
 VAGARIES: whim; PERSPECTIVE: to see in natural form
 CALAMITY: misfortune; UPSURGE: great ware.

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

Exercise 23

I am truly delighted to be here at this very special occasion. We are here to recognize the good work²⁰ of good journalists, and also to pay tribute to the memory of a great publisher. I was unable to join⁴⁰ the Indian Express family at the Ramnath Goenka Centenary celebrations in 2004. I therefore, take this opportunity to pay⁶⁰ tribute to Ramnathji's memory. He built this great institution of The Indian Express with passion and dedication. As my friend⁸⁰ has written in his biography of Ramnathji, he was a man of many parts. A freedom fighter, a Gandhian¹⁰⁰ worker, a politician, a merchant, a real estate developer and industrialist, a newspaper magnate and, above all, a patriotic Indian.¹²⁰ Few publishers have defended the freedom of the press with as much passion and conviction as he did. Therefore, I am personally¹⁴⁰ very pleased that the Express Group has instituted these awards for excellence in journalism in Ramnathji's memory.¹⁶⁰ It is a fitting tribute to a man who greatly valued professional excellence in journalism. Sometime back, speaking at the¹⁸⁰ Chandigarh Press Club, I had expressed my concerns about the rapid quantitative growth of our media outpacing qualitative development. The pressures²⁰⁰ of competition have hobbled professionalism and encouraged some unhealthy trends. I was heartened, however, by the reaction of many media²²⁰ professionals to my observations. I was happy to see many turn their torch inward and introspect. The Editors Guild of India²⁴⁰ responded in a most professional manner.

I hope the debate within media, about trends in media, has helped strengthen²⁶⁰ the hands of journalists who are proud of their professionalism. I am sure the Ramnath Goenka Awards will further encourage the growth²⁸⁰ of a professional approach to journalism. India is fortunate to have a free and vibrant media. We must defend its³⁰⁰ freedom and foster its vibrancy. As I have said before, freedom of press is more than just the freedom of publishers³²⁰ and editors. It is the freedom of society to have its voice heard. The exercise of this freedom does require,³⁴⁰ as your motto proclaims, a "journalism of³⁶⁰ courage". However, it also requires a journalism of honesty and integrity. A journalism of toil and hard work. I also believe that a "journalism of courage" is not just about giving voice to those³⁸⁰ who are willing to shout, but it is about giving voice to the voiceless and to those who choose to be silent.⁴⁰⁰

I have heard my friend Arun Shourie, a distinguished editor of The Indian Express, and a compatriot of Ramnathji, decry a trend⁴²⁰ in journalism where every discussion is turned into a debate. Perhaps that is because debates are entertaining, and discussions are⁴⁴⁰ boring.

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But there is a downside to this trend. A discussion can facilitate a consensus. A debate invariably divides opinion.⁴⁶⁰ There are many issues of great public and national interest, where a debate is useful, but where a consensus⁴⁸⁰ is necessary. Getting rivals to disagree and turn debate into a big sport, maybe entertaining and commercially rewarding. But does⁵⁰⁰ it help society move forward? Our democracy may be better off if we can increase the area of agreement, rather than⁵²⁰ sharpen disagreements. I would like you to reflect on these issues. Our polity has come to terms with coalition Governments.⁵⁴⁰ Political parties of varying hues and diverse constituencies are trying to work together in complex coalitions. For a country to move⁵⁶⁰ forward, any Government has to ensure consensus on many issues across a wide spectrum of political opinion. The national⁵⁸⁰ media has an important role to play in the process of consensus building. If media is content with focusing only⁶⁰⁰ on disagreements, who will widen the area of agreement?

In free societies there are bound to be extreme positions taken⁶²⁰ on many issues. But a great majority of people normally occupy a consensual middle ground. To say that there are opposing⁶⁴⁰ views on an issue is not enough. More often than not, the majority view is a middle view. Those who⁶⁶⁰ articulate extreme views tend to be vocal. Their voice is heard more often on television, and in newspapers. All of this is,⁶⁸⁰ perhaps, more entertaining. Mass media may give greater expression to those who are vocal and articulate, but it is the⁷⁰⁰ electoral process that reflects the will of the silent majority. No democratically elected Government can ignore the interests⁷²⁰ of the silent majority. We often say that we are a plural society and that our nationhood is a celebration⁷⁴⁰ of Unity in Diversity. But we do not always remember that this unity has been made possible by our ability to arrive⁷⁶⁰ at a consensual common ground on most policy issues. If every viewpoint insists that it reflects the Truth, then⁷⁸⁰ diversity will manifest itself in disarray, in a social and political impasse. How then is unity possible? Our democracy⁸⁰⁰ was not built on the simple principle of the rule of the majority. It was, I believe, built on the⁸²⁰ idea of Unity in Diversity. That is the most important idea that Gandhiji and Panditji gave the people.⁸⁴⁰

INTROSPECT: self examination; **CONSENSUS:** total agreement;
HUES: colours; **DIVERSE:** variety;
SPECTRUM: different colours;
ARTICULATE: to speak distinctly.

Handwritten notes in shorthand script, likely corresponding to the text on the left. The notes are written in a cursive style with many abbreviations and symbols. Some words are underlined or circled. The notes appear to be a summary or a set of reminders related to the main text.

Exercise 24

I am delighted to be here today as I find myself in the company of scientists. You are the creators²⁰ of a new India; an India that is free from the shackles of ignorance. It is an India imbued with⁴⁰ scientific temper and a liberal outlook. I am happy to recognize the very important role our scientists and technologists have played⁶⁰ and will play in the ongoing task of Nation building. It is a pleasure to honour the very best⁸⁰ of Indian science and technology today. Several awards have been conferred today, but let me begin by complimenting CSIR¹⁰⁰ for the good work being done under your great leadership. His recent election as a Fellow of the¹²⁰ U.S. National Academy of Sciences the seventh Indian to be so recognized since 1863 adds one more feather in his distinguished cap.¹⁴⁰ I also congratulate the winners of our most coveted science prize the Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar prize for 2004¹⁶⁰ and 2005. I am particularly happy that this prize is given to young scientists, who are in their¹⁸⁰ prime. Becoming a Bhatnagar laureate gives you a status that you will undoubtedly enjoy. However, it comes with many responsibilities,²⁰⁰ such as the responsibility to engage in good science. You also have the responsibility to serve the best interests of²²⁰ mankind and our natural inheritance. Most importantly, you will also have the responsibility to improve the quality of life and widen²⁴⁰ the span of knowledge in India. My very best wishes to you on the exciting journey ahead. I hope it will be²⁶⁰ a never-ending journey of learning and creativity. I hope each one of you will dedicate your lives to the²⁸⁰ cause of science, to the welfare of our people and to the growth and development of our country.³⁰⁰

Last but not the least, I congratulate the team of Media Communication Technologies, who have won the CSIR³²⁰ Diamond Jubilee Technology Award. I applaud this selection for two reasons. First and foremost, these technologies can provide affordable³⁴⁰ solutions for connecting our rural population through internet and voice connectivity. I have often stressed the need for 'reaching the unreached' and 'connecting the³⁶⁰ unconnected' in India. I am glad that this technology can potentially fulfill this goal. The telecom³⁸⁰ revolution and the development of road, air and rail linkages have shown that connectivity enhances output and productivity in communication.⁴⁰⁰

I hope this Technology Award will inspire others to develop similarly useful and potentially winning technologies. Apart from the awards,⁴²⁰ I am also happy today to release the 'India Science Report'. I congratulate the Indian National Science

Handwritten notes in Shorthand script, corresponding to the printed text on the left. The notes include the word 'CSIR' written multiple times and other shorthand symbols.

Academy for⁴⁴⁰ taking this important initiative. I also congratulate National Council of Applied Economic Research for their excellent work. In fact, I recall⁴⁶⁰ when Prof. M.S.Vital discussed this with me, I had suggested that INSA should approach⁴⁸⁰ for such a study. I had a chance to go through the report soon after it was printed.⁵⁰⁰ The findings of this report are truly revealing. The Report shows that the proportion of enrolled students in science has gone up⁵²⁰ from 28.0 per cent in 1995-96 to 34.6 per cent in 2003-04.⁵⁴⁰ This is comforting. However, it also shows that while close to two-thirds of the students in class six to⁵⁶⁰ eight are satisfied with the quality of science teaching, this falls to 40 per cent in class 11 and 12 ! This shows⁵⁸⁰ a shortage of good science teachers at higher levels. I would like our HRD Ministry and State Governments⁶⁰⁰ to take note of this and act upon it. We must lay increased emphasis on improving the quality of teaching⁶²⁰ in science and mathematics at all levels.

There are other causes for concern. The Report shows that 20 per cent of science graduates⁶⁴⁰ and 14 per cent of Ph.D.s in science do not find gainful employment. What is equally worrisome is the⁶⁶⁰ finding that many people employed in science-centered jobs are insufficiently qualified. There are lessons for us here. This Report⁶⁸⁰ also points to a grave regional imbalance in terms of educational institutions in different states. I am sure the facts⁷⁰⁰ and analysis presented here will help our policy planners. I trust our Government at the Centre, as well as State Governments,⁷²⁰ will take note of these findings and evolve policies to remedy these imbalances. When I spoke here last year,⁷⁴⁰ I had reaffirmed India's commitment to basic science, applied science and the promotion of excellence. I had committed our Government⁷⁶⁰ to rebuilding the science base in the universities. I had also made a commitment to de-bureaucratise our S&T institutions, to restructure our S&T⁷⁸⁰ support systems. I had committed our Government to create career opportunities to retain talent⁸⁰⁰ in the S&T sector. I am happy to say that we have made some progress on these counts.⁸²⁰ I have always felt that it is a pity that a country of more than a billion people has only one Indian Institute of Science.⁸⁴⁰

- IMBUED: solidify;
- LAUREATE: crowned;
- APPLAUD: to clap, to approve;
- POTENTIAL: inner strength;
- REVEALING: to bring to light, to disclose.

Handwritten notes in Hindi/English shorthand, including dates like 1995-34.6-2003-04 and 2011-14, and terms like HRD, Ph.D.s, S&T, and IIT.

Exercise 25 (Legal)

Where a winding up order has been made or where a provisional liquidator has been appointed the liquidator or the²⁰ provisional liquidator, as the case may be, shall take into his custody or under his control, all the property, effects⁴⁰ and actionable claims to which the company is or appears to be entitled. For the purpose of enabling the liquidator⁶⁰ or the provisional liquidator, as the case may be, to take into his custody or under his control, any property,⁸⁰ effects or actionable claims to which the company is or appears to be entitled, the liquidator or the provisional liquidator,¹⁰⁰ as the case may be, may by writing request the Chief Presidency Magistrate or the District Magistrate within whose jurisdiction¹²⁰ such property, effects or actionable claims or any books of account or other documents of the company may be found,¹⁴⁰ to take possession thereof, and the Chief Presidency Magistrate or the District Magistrate may thereupon after such notice¹⁶⁰ as he may think fit to give to any party, take possession of such property, effects, actionable claims books of account¹⁸⁰ or other documents and deliver possession thereof to the liquidator or the provisional liquidator.

For the purpose of securing compliance²⁰⁰ with the provisions of sub-section, the Chief Presidency Magistrate or the District Magistrate may take or cause²²⁰ to be taken such steps and use or cause to be used such force as may in his opinion be necessary.²⁴⁰ Section Act that, the Tribunal may, at any time after making a winding up order,²⁶⁰ require any contributory for the time being on the list of contributories, and any trustee, receiver, banker, agent, officer or²⁸⁰ other employee of the company, to pay, deliver, surrender or transfer forthwith, or within such time as the Tribunal directs,³⁰⁰ to the liquidator, any money, property or books and papers in his custody or under his control to which the³²⁰ company is prima facie entitled all debts payable on a contingency, and all claims against the company,³⁴⁰ present or future, certain or contingent, ascertained or sounding only in damages, shall be admissible, to proof against the³⁶⁰ company, a just estimate being made, so far as possible, of the value of such debts or claims as may be³⁸⁰ subject to any contingency, or may sound only in damages, or for some other reason may not bear a value.⁴⁰⁰

In the winding up of an insolvent company, the same rules shall prevail and be observed with regard to⁴²⁰ (a) debts

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only as a substitute primary teacher in the pay-scale of the⁴⁶⁰ primary teacher and hence merely on the basis of the claim that some stop-gap classes XI and XII were taken,⁴⁸⁰ no plea for absorption as Assistant Teacher could be justified. He defended the order of absorption⁵⁰⁰ and also contended that the authorities were justified in passing the order denying continuity of service for the period⁵²⁰ since there was a clear distinction between the judgment of this Court in this case and others in the case⁵⁴⁰ of the appellant. Drawing attention to the orders of this Court in the case of Smt. Jayashree Deb Roy arising out of⁵⁶⁰ O.A. No. 149 of 1989, learned counsel contends that in the case of Smt. Jayasree Deb Roy,⁵⁸⁰ there was a specific finding that the appellants in that case were entitled to continuity of service in accordance with⁶⁰⁰ para 5.1 of the Master Circular in the event the Screening Committee found them fit for absorption.

Contrasting this⁶²⁰ with the judgment of this Court in the appellant's case, learned counsel would contend that no such direction for granting⁶⁴⁰ continuity of service in the event of absorption was given in the appellant's case. Learned counsel would contend that even⁶⁶⁰ factually the case of the appellant was different from the case of Smt. Jayasree Deb Roy inasmuch as⁶⁸⁰ Smt. Jayasree Deb Roy was in service on the date of absorption, while the appellant was not. This submission is⁷⁰⁰ seriously disputed by the other. Nothing much however turns on this last submission of the counsel for the respondents.⁷²⁰ We have considered the rival contentions and perused the records. We are of the view that the appellant's claim for absorption as⁷⁴⁰ Assistant Teacher in the Higher Secondary Section in the pay-scale of Rs.5500-9000 is not tenable.⁷⁶⁰ The appellant was appointed as a substitute teacher in the pay- scale of a primary teacher. In fact, when he⁷⁸⁰ filed the first round of proceedings in O.A. No. 209 of 1991, no plea was⁸⁰⁰ raised that he worked as an Assistant Teacher in the Higher Secondary Section. Even when he obtained interim orders from the Tribunal,⁸²⁰ it was only to the effect that the services of the appellant should not be dispensed with without the leave of the Court.⁸⁴⁵

- RECKON: to recognise;
- CONJUNCTION: act of joining;
- VEHEMENTLY: very strongly;
- ABSORPTION: to draw in;
- PERUSED: to thire purposely.

Handwritten notes in Urdu script, including the words 'RECKON', 'CONJUNCTION', 'VEHEMENTLY', 'ABSORPTION', and 'PERUSED' written in shorthand.