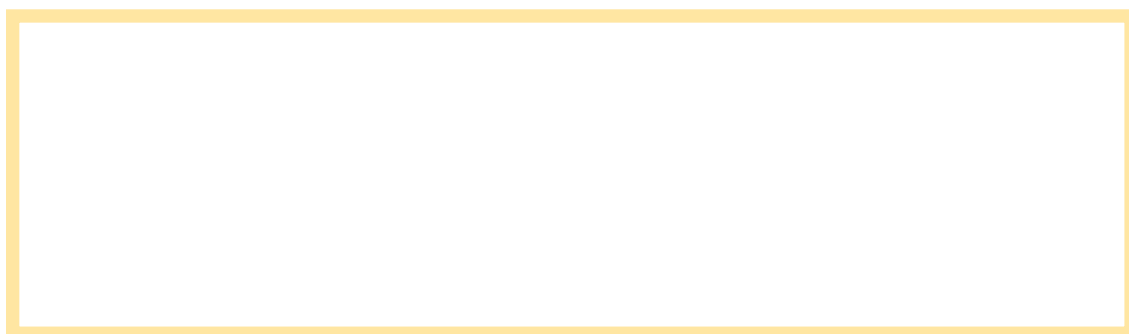


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Exercise 1

The present government's decision to withdraw high value currency notes from circulation was a bolt from the blue. The time-consuming²⁰ process to print new notes and replace scrapped ones, coupled with a cap on daily cash withdrawals, created panic among⁴⁰ 24 crores bank account holders. Most rushed and stood in queues before banks to exchange their old currency notes⁶⁰ and get their daily quota of cash. The Supreme Court being the panacea of all ills, several public interest litigations were⁸⁰ filed challenging the validity of demonetization. The SC decided to focus on ameliorating the harassment faced by common people,¹⁰⁰ forced to stand in queues for hours by the government's decision to demonetize without warning. On Friday, an SC bench¹²⁰ headed by the Chief Justice of India surprised many by its grim assessment of the possible fallout of people being forced¹⁴⁰ to stand for hours in frustratingly long queues.

There could be riots, it said. If a bench headed by¹⁶⁰ CJI T S Thakur, who has 22 years of experience as a judge of constitutional courts, fears so,¹⁸⁰ it could be true. For, judges have deep insight into the psychology of common people who throng the courts²⁰⁰ in search of justice. Indians are used to standing in queues. In our childhood, water used to trickle down the public tap²²⁰ for two hours every morning and evening. Vessels of various shapes and sizes used to be kept in queue, the length of which²⁴⁰ was a spectacle for us. There were fights. But in the small towns of Odisha in the late seventies,²⁶⁰ we as children never saw a riot. When we grew up a little, we stood in queues for hours²⁸⁰ for various purposes—to get ration and kerosene from PDS shops, to pay electricity bills to pay college³⁰⁰ fees and to buy cinema tickets. In Delhi, all these queues were still in existence. In addition, we found people³²⁰ standing in long queues every time a kind person offered free food on festive occasions. Poverty alongside Delhi's opulence³⁴⁰ was a surprise for many of us. At AIIMS, people come from far-flung areas and³⁶⁰ queue up early morning to get OPD card made. They wait till late afternoon to get access³⁸⁰ to a doctor, who tirelessly examines patient after patient through the day. This is the patience of the people in the capital.⁴⁰⁰

Handwritten notes in Urdu script, likely a student's response or commentary on the text, covering the right side of the page.

Exercise 2

Did a riot take place there in the past? The SC in its February 25, 1998⁴²⁰ judgment in Ram Lubhaya case had said, "The right of a citizen to live under Article 21 casts obligation⁴⁴⁰ on the State. This obligation is further reinforced under Article 47, it is for the State to secure health to its⁴⁶⁰ citizen as its primary duty. No doubt government is rendering this obligation by opening government hospitals and health centres, but⁴⁸⁰ in order to make it meaningful, it has to be within the reach of its people, as far as possible,⁵⁰⁰ to reduce the queue of waiting lists." The SC would like to have a fresh look at the facilities⁵²⁰ in hinterland government hospitals, which have rotted over the last few decades. Let us not forget the queues before⁵⁴⁰ temples. In A S Narayana case the SC described the queue at Tirumala Tirupati temple thus, "Lord Venkat temple⁵⁶⁰ of TTD has its centuries-old history. It had its glory with the patronage of Chola Kings who donated large⁵⁸⁰ tracts of land for its maintenance and upkeep. Equally, it suffered plunder by French invaders and British empire which used⁶⁰⁰ its income as part of the public exchequer. "It has regained its great glory with immense faith and devotion the⁶²⁰ people have in Lord Venkat who visit daily in lakhs, wait in queue for a day for darshan for⁶⁴⁰ a few seconds." Did we ever hear of a riot at Tirupati temple? Last but not the least is the long⁶⁶⁰ queues of litigants before courts.

There are three crore cases pending in various courts. Nearly 35% of⁶⁸⁰ cases, or one crore, are pending for more than five years. If on the average, five persons are directly or⁷⁰⁰ indirectly affected by a case, then there are at least five crore people visiting courts periodically in search or elusive resolution of⁷²⁰ their cases. Going to court is not viewed sympathetically in India. People still look down upon on a person⁷⁴⁰ who often visits court. Yet, commoners patiently stand in queues without rioting in courts, while awaiting justice. The rich, famous⁷⁶⁰ and influential break this queue for justice with impunity with the help of successful lawyers commanding handsome appearance fees.⁷⁸⁰ The courts allow these biggies urgent hearing. This delays justice for those standing in queue for years. We hope the SC⁸⁰⁰ gives equal weightage to people's frustration and anger for being forced to stand before ATMs, banks⁸²⁰ and courts for long. This is our earnest need for the justice. We hope this will be taken care of.⁸⁴⁰

HINTERLAND: interior areas,
ELUSIVE: to escape;

PLUNDER: to loot;
IMPUNITY: free from punishment.

25, 1998 SC judgment in Ram Lubhaya case
The right of a citizen to live under Article 21 casts obligation on the State.
This obligation is further reinforced under Article 47, it is for the State to secure health to its citizen as its primary duty.
No doubt government is rendering this obligation by opening government hospitals and health centres, but in order to make it meaningful, it has to be within the reach of its people, as far as possible, to reduce the queue of waiting lists.
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This is our earnest need for the justice. We hope this will be taken care of.

Exercise 3

Over the past month, 20 million resident of the National Capital Region have shaved off at least some part of²⁰ their life expectancies by breathing in this region's poisonous air. Not only is this one of the most pressing⁴⁰ public health disasters of our time, it can also chokehold major initiatives of this government such as the "Make in India"⁶⁰ campaign and the 'Ease of Doing Business' rankings being promoted internationally. Which rational international player would want to⁸⁰ put his or her health in risk to come to the most polluted place on Earth to do business?¹⁰⁰ Air Quality Index measures the concentration of fine particulate matter in the air. As a benchmark, the US Environmental Protection Agency¹²⁰ considers any value between 0 and 50 to represent good air quality. But this season areas in the¹⁴⁰ NCR have seen record breaking values of as high as 1,000 on the index-20 times the prescribed limit¹⁶⁰ for dignified human existence. What makes PM 2.5 particles extremely dangerous is their cancerous ability to penetrate the¹⁸⁰ human body and stick onto the insides of the lungs. In my own experience, 1 in 5 people at my company in²⁰⁰ Gurgaon have reported sick within a week alone. My child's school had to be closed as a precaution; when it²²⁰ did reopen, the setting of mask-clad children in smoke made the school seem less like a place of study.²⁴⁰

As a parent, I feel awful that my child has to breath this air because I made Delhi my home.²⁶⁰ As much as hundred immediate deaths would rightfully demand national attention as a disasters, millions of slow deaths from an²⁸⁰ even more urgent disaster. What is making this problem invincible? A large part of the answer ties into Delhi's geography.³⁰⁰ The cold fronts that originate from the north of the city "look in" pollutants close to the ground and within the³²⁰ region. Lack of wind speed and low temperatures stagnate and solidify the pollutants that intensifies their effect. It is as if³⁴⁰ you kept releasing pollutants inside a house with very poor ventilation. According to a recent study carried out by³⁶⁰ IIT Kanpur, the mix of sources responsible for PM 2.5 changes seasonally in the region.³⁸⁰ In winters vehicular emissions account for 25% of PM 2.5; 30% is accounted for by others.⁴⁰⁰

PARTICLES: small pieces;
INVINCIBLE: cannot be overcome;
POLLUTANTS: spoiling elements.

Handwritten notes in Hindi script, likely a student's response or summary of the text. The notes are written on lined paper and cover the right side of the page. Some legible words include "PM 2.5", "NCR", "IIT Kanpur", and "25%", "30%".

Handwritten scribbles or doodles in the bottom center of the page.

Exercise 4

Long term strategies need to be implemented to prevent this from becoming a matter of annual recurrence. Here is how⁴²⁰ that can be done. First by the creation and institutionalization of independent taskforce not directly answerable to either Delhi⁴⁴⁰ or Central governments. Such a taskforce should be singularly responsible for and have the authority to enforce measures to manage⁴⁶⁰ air pollution in the region. Policy makers often tend to pass the buck onto each other when they are not⁴⁸⁰ directly responsible for a project or have interlayered responsibilities. Assigning a single manager responsible for a clear action item drastically⁵⁰⁰ improves execution. Second, we need to fundamentally prioritise clean air as a basic human right. To do this, the⁵²⁰ Swachh Bharat Abhiyan should incorporate clean air as one of its core tenets. A budget for clean air programmes should be⁵⁴⁰ allocated from the receipts collected from the Swachh Bharat tax. That money should be used to improve vehicle emission⁵⁶⁰ standards, subsidise alternatives to fuelwood, and subsidise effective crop burning techniques in north Indian states. Third, increase the renewable purchase⁵⁸⁰ obligations of power, as well as of state-run distribution companies, in and around Delhi⁶⁰⁰ and Haryana. Such increases in obligations, combined with the growth of renewable energy sources, will phase out dependence on coal⁶²⁰ in the region. Fourth, smarter management of cold fronts. While we cannot control cold fronts per se, we can control⁶⁴⁰ the activities that reduce the intensity of pollution during these periods. Reduction in construction activity, odd-even for example, during the⁶⁶⁰ winters can reduce the concentration on PM_{2.5}.

Newspapers from around the world from the Washington Post, Wall Street Journal,⁶⁸⁰ and the New York Times, to the Korean Herald, and the Daily Mail have taken notice and highlighted⁷⁰⁰ the severity of the problem here in India. Thousands of citizens on Twitter have shared as many dreadful visuals of the⁷²⁰ reality of the pollution and trended #DelhiSmog on the social media website for days. The negative publicity has certainly⁷⁴⁰ dulled our ability to attract foreign investment, foreigners, non-resident Indians, and out-of-state Indian talent to the region.⁷⁶⁰ This crisis imposes costs on society as a whole as well on the progressive policies that we hope will deliver to us⁷⁸⁰ a better economic future. At the base level, the state needs to provide the most basic of human rights⁸⁰⁰ clean air to breath. Without this, the economic development vision will not have much meaning to the people of the country.⁸²⁰ The state should make clear policy in this regard to safeguard the health of the people at the earliest possible time.⁸⁴⁰

INTERLAYERED: with several levels; **TENETS:** principles;
SUBSIDISE: grants;

Handwritten notes in Urdu script, likely a student's response or summary of the text. The notes are written on lined paper and cover the right side of the page. They appear to be a detailed transcription or commentary on the English text, with some words and phrases underlined or written in larger letters for emphasis. The handwriting is clear and legible.

Exercise 5

I do not know much about international law but every person who has to dabble in public affairs inevitably ²⁰ comes up against it and has to take the advice of experts. I have a vague recollection that, connected with ⁴⁰ this idea of international law, there were, at various times in the history of Europe, concepts like the holy ⁶⁰ alliance—a certain number of countries binding themselves together for various reasons, against other countries or other forces which did ⁸⁰ not go along with their thinking. That of course is contrary to the very concept of internationalism. Today we see ¹⁰⁰ certain tendencies of the revival of holy alliances. They are not called by that name, but certain groups of nations ¹²⁰ function more or less on the basis of the holy alliance idea. They consider themselves the centre of the world ¹⁴⁰ and expect other countries to fall in line. This may have some justification, but it does put these other countries ¹⁶⁰ in an embarrassing position. Either one joins the holy alliance or one is outside the pale of international law, in ¹⁸⁰ a sense. The emergence of Asian and African countries as independent nations and this return to the holy alliance idea ²⁰⁰ make it important that concepts of international law should be examined closely.

Let us take the United Nations. I think ²²⁰ it was supposed to be an international organization inclusive of all the independent nations of the world. There is a ²⁴⁰ tendency, however, to regard it as something less than that—a tendency, which I suppose, emanates from the holy alliance ²⁶⁰ idea. This in turn has affected other problems also. Politicians and statesmen who discuss such problems are naturally influenced by ²⁸⁰ their political approach, and so we do not get what might be called a scholarly objective estimate. Further, it so ³⁰⁰ happens, that what we generally get is the non-Asian or non-African side. I respect that side, but it is ³²⁰ possible that the scholars of that persuasion might not bear in mind some aspects which would be obvious to Asian ³⁴⁰ scholars and jurists. Therefore, it is desirable that the various aspects of international law should be considered objectively and in ³⁶⁰ a scholarly manner by the eminent lawyers and jurists of Asia and Africa. Nowadays many words and phrases are used ³⁸⁰ the dictionary meaning and significance of which have changed completely in the hands of politicians, that is, people of my tribe. ⁴⁰⁰

DABBLE : to take part not sincerely; **ALLIANCE** : union by treaty;
EMBARRASSING : awkward position; **EMANATES** : to come out;

Handwritten Urdu transcription of the English text on the left, written on lined paper. The handwriting is in a clear, cursive style, following the lines of the paper. The text is a direct translation of the printed English text, capturing its meaning and structure in Urdu script.

Exercise 6

We used to know, for example, what 'belligerency' was. Belligerency, I believe, is defined as waging a regular and recognized ²⁰ war. It must be regular and it must be recognized; otherwise, I suppose, it is guerilla fighting, which is not ⁴⁰ belligerency. And in so far as States or rulers are concerned, the opposite of belligerency used to be neutrality, that ⁶⁰ is, not siding with a power which is belligerent or which is waging an active and recognized war. Yet, ⁸⁰ delegates here must know how vaguely the word 'neutrality', or 'neutralism', as it is sometimes called, is used now—sometimes ¹⁰⁰ as a term of abuse, sometimes in a different way, but mostly in a manner which does not describe what ¹²⁰ is meant exactly. As I understand the terms, belligerency and neutrality, in relation to Powers, refer to a state ¹⁴⁰ of war or to countries not joining a war. But as everyone knows, these words are used even when there ¹⁶⁰ is no active war. If a country is supposed to be neutral today, then presumably some other country which is ¹⁸⁰ not neutral should be described as belligerent. And yet that would be a wrong description, because the other country is ²⁰⁰ not engaged in regular or recognized warfare. I do not quite know how international law or jurists of repute ²²⁰ would define what is called cold war, which is presumably some kind of suspended belligerency.

All these developments create problems ²⁴⁰ for politicians and statesmen. I do not suppose that juristic definitions solve such problems. Nevertheless, they might clear the air ²⁶⁰ a little and I hope that an eminent body of scholars and jurists will throw light on these terms so ²⁸⁰ that at least our thinking may become straight.

As I said, we find today a return, to some extent, to ³⁰⁰ the idea of the old holy alliance, backed by military pacts and economic measures. I should say that there is ³²⁰ more than one holy alliance. Behind all this lies enormous danger to the world in case of war. I take ³⁴⁰ it that international law is meant primarily to prevent war. Its purpose is to settle problems and disputes by methods ³⁶⁰ other than war. War is an absence of law. It is true that so far international law does not ³⁸⁰ have behind it the same strength that domestic law does. But its main purpose is the avoidance of war. Almost ⁴⁰⁰ everybody in the wide world dislike the idea of war today because it is so dangerous. How can jurists and ⁴²⁰ lawyers help in the avoidance of war? They cannot, help directly in political developments but they can ⁴⁴⁰ much here.

Handwritten notes in Chinese characters, appearing to be a transcription or commentary on the English text. The notes are written in a cursive style on lined paper.



Exercise 7

I hope you will help us by analysing these concepts so that we may not be led away by the ²⁰ slogans of politicians and statesmen. Do not think I am going to decry my tribe of politicians and statesmen here. ⁴⁰ They have much virtue in them. And I am not going to say that jurists and lawyers are always very ⁶⁰ successful in dealing with public affairs, although they may be successful in dealing with matter in courts, or in giving ⁸⁰ opinions. A French writer on statecraft who lived some considerable time ago, said, discussing lawyers, that in general the training ¹⁰⁰ of a lawyer breeds habits and dispositions of the mind which are not favourable to the practice of diplomacy. Whether ¹²⁰ that is entirely true or not I do not know, but there is perhaps something in it. The politicians obviously ¹⁴⁰ often go wrong, but the lawyers and the jurists in their ivory towers can also lose touch with reality. ¹⁶⁰ Therefore, some of the greatest judges have been those who have not only interpreted the law but adapted it to ¹⁸⁰ changing conditions without doing violence to it. It would be absurd for a problem belonging to the middle of the ²⁰⁰ twentieth century to be considered by some text-book maxim of the eighteenth or the nineteenth century.

There is another aspect ²²⁰ to this, which troubles many of us —how far some recent developments can be fitted in with any conception of ²⁴⁰ international law or moral law. Those developments which threaten the very existence of the human race, not only by mass ²⁶⁰ killing, but by poisoning the atmosphere so that it has terrible genetic consequences, are not justifiable by any conception ²⁸⁰ of international law or moral law. Surely this is not a matter to be considered only by statesmen and politicians. ³⁰⁰ I do not know if jurists consider the moral law, but I suppose they have it in mind even in considering ³²⁰ the letter of the law. It may be desirable for them to consider whether and how far these preparations for ³⁴⁰ nuclear warfare or the test explosions are in keeping with any conception of international or moral law. If the politician, ³⁶⁰ as a man who has some responsibility in public affairs, expresses his opinion, it is usually considered a biased and ³⁸⁰ coloured opinion because he belongs to the political apparatus of a country. But jurists opinion also carry weight. ⁴⁰⁰

Handwritten Arabic script on lined paper, corresponding to the English text on the left. The script is written in a cursive style and covers the right half of the page.

Exercise 8

International law is affected by the world becoming something bigger than the old narrow European community. And as the Attorney-General²⁰ said, modern developments in science and the application of science in communications and in social structures, affect our ways⁴⁰ of life, international relationships as well as individual and group relations, and hence the need for a new concept of⁶⁰ international law. You have referred, Mr. Attorney-General, to Panchsheel, the Five Principles which have been accepted by a number⁸⁰ of countries of Asia and some countries outside Asia. I claim no special virtue for them. They are only some¹⁰⁰ simple principles which, if adopted by nations in regard to international relationships, will not only lead us away from war¹²⁰ but will establish healthy relationships. They are really simple and I do not see how anyone anywhere can object to¹⁴⁰ any of them—the recognition of sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs. When a country does not conform to these¹⁶⁰ principles it is misbehaving and interfering. It is not acting according to the real basis of international law, which consists of¹⁸⁰ non-aggression, non-interference, recognition of sovereignty, mutual respect, all these leading up to peaceful co-existence. Peaceful coexistence means coexistence of countries²⁰⁰ which differ in their policies. There is no point in saying that two persons or two countries who agree should²²⁰ exist peacefully. They do. There is no point in my saying that I should be tolerant towards my neighbour if²⁴⁰ he and I have no reason to differ.

The question of my tolerating my neighbour, and his tolerating me, arises²⁶⁰ only when we differ. The question of peaceful coexistence therefore comes in only when countries differ in their policies, provided²⁸⁰ always that they do not interfere with each other, either internally or externally. If they do, then that is a³⁰⁰ breach. Therefore, I submit that these Five Principles which are sometimes called Panchsheel, are a healthy basis for international relations,³²⁰ and I would further say in all humility that there is no other basis unless you accept the basis which³⁴⁰ leads to conflict, which of course is not our objective. Surely international law should not encourage any attempt to compel³⁶⁰ or coerce a country to do something against its will, or to fall in line with something that will bring³⁸⁰ conflicts. There is great variety in this world. Are we going to produce uniformity through some measure of force, military⁴⁰⁰ or economic? Perhaps it would be a good thing if there were uniformity in basic principles. But that can only⁴²⁰ develop by argument, by reason, by discussion, by conversion. If uniformity should come about through force that is not desired.⁴⁴⁰

International law is affected by the world becoming something bigger than the old narrow European community. And as the Attorney-General²⁰ said, modern developments in science and the application of science in communications and in social structures, affect our ways⁴⁰ of life, international relationships as well as individual and group relations, and hence the need for a new concept of⁶⁰ international law. You have referred, Mr. Attorney-General, to Panchsheel, the Five Principles which have been accepted by a number⁸⁰ of countries of Asia and some countries outside Asia. I claim no special virtue for them. They are only some¹⁰⁰ simple principles which, if adopted by nations in regard to international relationships, will not only lead us away from war¹²⁰ but will establish healthy relationships. They are really simple and I do not see how anyone anywhere can object to¹⁴⁰ any of them—the recognition of sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs. When a country does not conform to these¹⁶⁰ principles it is misbehaving and interfering. It is not acting according to the real basis of international law, which consists of¹⁸⁰ non-aggression, non-interference, recognition of sovereignty, mutual respect, all these leading up to peaceful co-existence. Peaceful coexistence means coexistence of countries²⁰⁰ which differ in their policies. There is no point in saying that two persons or two countries who agree should²²⁰ exist peacefully. They do. There is no point in my saying that I should be tolerant towards my neighbour if²⁴⁰ he and I have no reason to differ. The question of my tolerating my neighbour, and his tolerating me, arises²⁶⁰ only when we differ. The question of peaceful coexistence therefore comes in only when countries differ in their policies, provided²⁸⁰ always that they do not interfere with each other, either internally or externally. If they do, then that is a³⁰⁰ breach. Therefore, I submit that these Five Principles which are sometimes called Panchsheel, are a healthy basis for international relations,³²⁰ and I would further say in all humility that there is no other basis unless you accept the basis which³⁴⁰ leads to conflict, which of course is not our objective. Surely international law should not encourage any attempt to compel³⁶⁰ or coerce a country to do something against its will, or to fall in line with something that will bring³⁸⁰ conflicts. There is great variety in this world. Are we going to produce uniformity through some measure of force, military⁴⁰⁰ or economic? Perhaps it would be a good thing if there were uniformity in basic principles. But that can only⁴²⁰ develop by argument, by reason, by discussion, by conversion. If uniformity should come about through force that is not desired.⁴⁴⁰

Exercise 9

Honourable Members, I am pleased to address the first joint sitting of Parliament after the election of the 17th Lok Sabha,²⁰ in the year commemorating the 150th birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi. I extend my heartiest congratulations to all⁴⁰ newly elected Members of this Lok Sabha. More than 61 crore voters of the country set a new record⁶⁰ by casting their votes and enhanced the credibility of India's democracy in the world. People have stood in long queues⁸⁰ braving extreme heat to cast their votes. This time, as compared to previous elections, more women have cast their votes¹⁰⁰ and their participation has been almost equal to men. Crores of youth have voted for the first time and played¹²⁰ an important role in shaping India's future. All voters deserve to be congratulated for the success of this election.¹⁴⁰ I also convey my best wishes to the new Speaker of the Lok Sabha for this new responsibility. I congratulate¹⁶⁰ the entire team of the Election Commission for successful completion of the world's largest election. The contribution of employees of several¹⁸⁰ administrative departments and various institutions, as well as the security forces in successful conduct of the electoral process is²⁰⁰ extremely praiseworthy. Nearly half of the MPs in this Lok Sabha have been elected for the first time.²²⁰

The election of 78 women MPs which is the highest number in the history of Lok Sabha, presents the²⁴⁰ picture of a New India. It is a matter of joy that the reflection of India's diversity is visible²⁶⁰ in this joint sitting. People of every age, hailing from villages and cities, belonging to every profession, are Members of²⁸⁰ both the Houses. Many Members are associated with social service, many are from the field of agriculture, from business and³⁰⁰ economic sphere while other Members are from the field of education, medical profession which saves the lives of people and³²⁰ legal profession which provides justice to the people. MPs who have made their mark in the world of cinema,³⁴⁰ art, literature and culture are also present here. I am confident that your unique experiences will contribute to enriching the³⁶⁰ discussions in Parliament. The people of the country have given a very clear mandate in this election.³⁸⁰ After assessing the performance of the Government during the first tenure, the people have given even stronger support for the second term to the Govt.⁴⁰⁰

COMMEMORATING: to remember a special event;

CREDIBILITY: belief;

DIVERSITY: wide variety;

MANDATE: official power.

Handwritten notes in Hindi, likely a translation or summary of the text above, written on lined paper. The notes are written in a cursive style and cover most of the right side of the page. Some words like 'MPs' and '78' are clearly visible in the notes.

Exercise 10

Honourable Members, All fellow countrymen are familiar with the atmosphere prevailing in the²⁰ country before 2014. In order to take the country out of a sense of gloom and instability, the people elected a Government with absolute majority after three decades.⁴⁰ Giving the highest regard to that mandate, my Government started to march forward without any discrimination with the mantra⁶⁰ of 'Sabka Saath- Sabka Vikas', to create a New India. On January 31st this year, in this very Central Hall,⁸⁰ I had said that my Government from the very first day was dedicated to the goal of improving the¹⁰⁰ lives of all citizens, addressing their problems arising out of mis-governance and providing all basic amenities to the last person¹²⁰ standing at the margins of society. During the last five years, the countrymen have come to believe that the Government¹⁴⁰ is always with them, working to improve their lives and to enhance their Ease of Living. Based on this wealth¹⁶⁰ of people's trust, a fresh mandate was sought. People of the country have long waited for the basic amenities of life.¹⁸⁰ But now the conditions are changing. My Government wants to make the people conscious, capable, well-provided and unfettered²⁰⁰ to such an extent that that they do not feel the "Burden, Force, or Absence" of the Government in their²²⁰ daily life. Empowering every person in the country is the main goal of my Government.

My Government is committed²⁴⁰ to that very idea of nation-building, the foundation for which was laid in 2014. While fulfilling the basic²⁶⁰ needs of the countrymen, now the Government is moving forward towards realising their aspirations of building a Strong, Safe, Prosperous²⁸⁰ and All-inclusive India. This journey is inspired by the basic spirit of 'Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas aur Sabka Vishwas'.³⁰⁰ Three weeks ago, on 30th May, immediately after swearing-in the Government has started working towards building a New India.³²⁰ A New India: Where equal opportunities to progress are available to every person; Where life of every person becomes better³⁴⁰ and their self-esteem is enhanced; Where brotherhood and harmony bind the people with each other; Where the foundation built³⁶⁰ on our ideals and values becomes stronger; and Where the benefits of development reach every region and the last person³⁸⁰ standing in the queue. It is a matter of pride for every Indian that when our country completes 75 years⁴⁰⁰ of Independence in 2022, we would have achieved many national goals for building a New India.⁴²⁰ To pave the way for the golden future of New India, my Government has resolved to make empower every Indian.⁴⁴⁰

AMENITIES: facilities;
UNFETTERED: without restrictions;
HARMONEY: peaceful existence.

Handwritten Urdu text, likely a translation or commentary on the English text, written on lined paper. The text is dense and covers most of the right page.

Exercise 11

I need hardly tell you how happy I feel in being in your midst this evening. I have been looking ²⁰ forward to this visit for more than a year. I was to have visited this beautiful part of the country ⁴⁰ sometime last year. Partly on account of ill-health at that time and partly on account of several preoccupations during the ⁶⁰ latter period, I was not able to fulfil this wish until today. My pleasure is all the greater because I ⁸⁰ had to meet some difficulties even on this occasion. Fortunately they were all overcome, and today I find myself in ¹⁰⁰ your midst.

My desire to come here was due very largely to the fact that I was anxious to meet ¹²⁰ you and to know your condition at first hand. This area like some other areas in this Province was sealed ¹⁴⁰ to us and we were not permitted to come here. I know that even in 1947 when the ¹⁶⁰ Constituent Assembly was meeting in Delhi and I had appointed a Committee with the late Chief Minister of this State ¹⁸⁰ as its Chairman, the Committee was not allowed to enter some parts of this Province. Therefore, I made up my ²⁰⁰ mind then that as soon as it was possible, I should pay a visit to these parts and see some ²²⁰ of the places which were previously banned. I am, therefore, happy that I have at last been able to fulfil ²⁴⁰ that wish. Although the Constituent Assembly could not send its Sub-Committee to these parts, it was not negligent of your ²⁶⁰ interests. The Constitution-makers took special care to make suitable provisions for the governance of this area. Our anxiety was ²⁸⁰ to see that you make progress as quickly as possible.

I am not one of those who look upon the ³⁰⁰ tribal people as backward. I know you have your own customs, your own culture, your own way of life. We ³²⁰ are anxious that you should progress and do so in your own special way. India is a vast country. We ³⁴⁰ have any number of religions, any number of systems of life and any number of customs. It is this picture ³⁶⁰ of India that we have in view. Just as in a beautiful structure, you have got any number of stones ³⁸⁰ and bricks collected and pieced together, here in India we have got so many kinds of people all living together. ⁴⁰⁰

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY : body to frame the Indian Constitution;

Handwritten Urdu transcription of the text above, written on lined paper. The handwriting is in a cursive style, and the text is written in black ink. The transcription covers the entire right side of the page, from the top to the bottom, and is aligned with the printed text on the left.

Exercise 12

It is after a long time that we have become independent and attained complete freedom. We are now free to ²⁰ build our house in the way we like. I want you to realize that each one of you is now ⁴⁰ the ruler not only of one corner of India but of India as a whole. I have been elected President ⁶⁰ of the country as a whole. Anyone of you can be elected like me to this high position. There is ⁸⁰ no bar, there is no restriction. You have to win it by your own service and by your love of ¹⁰⁰ the country. I am hoping that the day is not far off when the so-called backward people will come to ¹²⁰ occupy the highest positions in society. I would, therefore, earnestly request you to consider what great achievement has been made ¹⁴⁰ by our attaining independence.

I have heard with great interest what you have said about your requirements and needs. I ¹⁶⁰ am not surprised. I would have been surprised if you had not told me of that. It is a happy ¹⁸⁰ sign that you have begun to feel that you know something and you have got somebody to whom you can ²⁰⁰ make that demand. I was somewhat surprised when I was told, while coming to this place this morning, that no ²²⁰ Head of the State had ever visited these parts before. Well, whatever might have happened in the past, you must ²⁴⁰ rest assured that your interest will be the interest of the country as a whole. It is realized that the ²⁶⁰ greatest need of this part of the country at the present moment is improvement in communications and means of transport. ²⁸⁰ As a result of the Partition, Assam as a Province was cut off from the rest of the country as ³⁰⁰ the railway line which linked it with the rest of India passed through Pakistan. The Government of India, therefore, naturally ³²⁰ thought that the first priority should be given to the linking of Assam with the rest of the country by ³⁴⁰ means of a railway which passes through Indian territory and not through Pakistan. That was done in record time by ³⁶⁰ our Railway Department. In the course of my present visit, I have travelled to this part on that railway line. ³⁸⁰ The Government is also aware that you need a railway to link this part with, say, Goalpara or Dhubri. The ⁴⁰⁰ matter is under active consideration and a survey is going to be made. Once it is done, many industries will ⁴²⁰ develop here as you say. The Government is giving also a high priority to the making of the roads-there. ⁴⁴⁰

Handwritten Urdu transcription of the text above, written on lined paper. The handwriting is in a cursive style, and the text is organized into approximately 20 horizontal lines, corresponding to the paragraphs in the English text.

Exercise 13

Assam is one of the most beautiful parts of India. Here we have the biggest river and sprawling mountains, green ²⁰ fields and big dense forests. All these go to make this part of the country beautiful, but they also make ⁴⁰ communications difficult. We are trying and, we hope, we shall succeed in maintaining the beauty and at the same time ⁶⁰ improving the communications. The Communications Ministry has under contemplation the opening up here of a number of post offices and ⁸⁰ telegraph offices. It is also proposed to have landing grounds for aircraft in convenient places where other means of communication ¹⁰⁰ cannot be opened.

When the Partition came more than fifty years ago, the country was in a very difficult position ¹²⁰ regarding food. We were importing a huge quantity of foodgrains from foreign countries. Thank God, we are now nearly out ¹⁴⁰ of the wood and are able to produce enough for our needs. In the same way we hope we shall ¹⁶⁰ be able to surmount other difficulties which still confront us. That has been possible because the people as a whole ¹⁸⁰ have realized the importance of self-sufficiency in the matter of food. They have all helped in producing more. There is ²⁰⁰ no dearth of cloth now in the country. I am hoping that any other difficulties that we still have will ²²⁰ be solved without much delay. After all, our independence is only six years old and what was not achieved, not ²⁴⁰ even thought of, for such a long time has been achieved within this period. I would, therefore, earnestly ask you ²⁶⁰ to devote all your energies to the betterment of your own conditions through the Council which has been established here. ²⁸⁰

A Constitution can be only what its people want it to be. If you make good use of the Constitutional ³⁰⁰ provisions, you will find they are good enough for you. You may rest assured that the Government of India and ³²⁰ the Government of Assam will ever be ready to give you such assistance and help as you need. We know ³⁴⁰ the difficulties which you have to face and the Government of India have been trying to help you. The opportunities ³⁶⁰ that you have now got are of great value. They place your destinies in your own hands and we are ³⁸⁰ ready to give you such assistance as you require. This position has not been earlier when India was not free. ⁴⁰⁰

You have mentioned the services of the missionaries. I am glad to be able to bear testimony to the very ⁴²⁰ good work that the missionaries have been doing in various parts

Handwritten practice text in Assamese script, corresponding to the English text on the left. The text is written on a set of four horizontal lines (top, middle, bottom, and descender) and includes various diacritical marks and symbols used in the Assamese alphabet.

of the country. I have before this borne testimony ⁴⁴⁰ to this fact on several occasions. I am, therefore, not surprised that you have spoken so highly of them. I ⁴⁶⁰ would only suggest most respectfully one consideration for them. All of us, whether Christians or non-Christians, appreciate their services. But ⁴⁸⁰ as Mahatma Gandhi used to say, we would have appreciated their services all the more if they had not been ⁵⁰⁰ conditioned by one thing and rendered purely out of love for you and not with a view to conversion. But ⁵²⁰ that is a point which they have to consider. Our Gita tells us that our objective should be to do, ⁵⁴⁰ to serve, leaving the results in God's hands. It tells us not to hanker for results but only to serve. ⁵⁶⁰ If the service had been rendered in that spirit, it would have been still more welcome. Our Constitution pledges itself ⁵⁸⁰ to give freedom to every individual in the country to have any faith he likes. A Christian is as dear ⁶⁰⁰ to India as a Hindu or a Muslim or a follower of any other religion. We know too that a ⁶²⁰ Christian regards himself as an Indian as much as a Hindu does. That has been one of our great points ⁶⁴⁰ not only now but since time immemorial.

To you who live in these hills, it is not necessary to point ⁶⁶⁰ out that for reaching a peak you can go by several routes. We want everyone to feel that the peak ⁶⁸⁰ is his and he can reach it by any route that he chooses. Therefore there can be no objection to ⁷⁰⁰ any Christian preaching Christianity to Indian Christians or even to non-Christians and the Government is determined to give full effect ⁷²⁰ to these provisions of the Constitution. I know that for some time past some kind of agitation with regard to ⁷⁴⁰ missionaries has been going on. There is no objection to any Christian preaching his religion. If any objection has been ⁷⁶⁰ taken, that is not due to the preaching of Christianity, but due to other kinds of activities which some of ⁷⁸⁰ them have been allegedly carrying on. There is even less objection to any social service which anyone has to render ⁸⁰⁰ to the people. But at the same time, we expect that those who come to our country for this purpose, ⁸²⁰ will confine their activities to preaching alone and if that is done, there can be no difficulty whatsoever there. ⁸⁴⁰

HANKER : to go after;

SPRAWLING : to spread out; CONTEMPLATION : to plan;

SURMOUNT : to overcome; TESTIMONY : to state on oath;

Handwritten Urdu text on lined paper, corresponding to the English text on the left. The handwriting is in a cursive style, and the text is written across approximately 20 lines. The lines are numbered 440 through 840, matching the English text. The handwriting is clear and legible, though some characters are slightly stylized. The text appears to be a translation or a parallel version of the English text on the left.

Exercise 14

As our Chairman reminded you, our neighbours are all the countries of the world now so that we cannot relate ²⁰ our foreign policy just to a few countries around us, but have to think of practically every country in the ⁴⁰ world and take into consideration all the possible areas of conflict, trade, economic interest, etc. It has been recognized now ⁶⁰ that if there is a conflict on a big scale anywhere in the world, it is apt to spread all ⁸⁰ over the world, that is, war has become indivisible and therefore, peace is indivisible. Therefore, our foreign policy cannot limit ¹⁰⁰ itself to the nearby countries. Nevertheless, the nearby countries always have a special interest in one another and India must ¹²⁰ 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 last, Pakistan, I would also include Afghanistan, although it does not touch India's borders, Tibet ¹⁶⁰ and China, Nepal, Burma, Indonesia and Ceylon. In regard to Pakistan, the position has been a very peculiar one owing ¹⁸⁰ to the way Pakistan was formed and India was divided. And there have been not only all the upsets that ²⁰⁰ you all know but something much deeper and that is, a complete emotional upset of all the people in India ²²⁰ and Pakistan because of this. It is a very difficult thing to deal with, a psychological thing, which cannot be ²⁴⁰ dealt with superficially. A year and a half or more has passed, and there is no doubt at all that ²⁶⁰ our relations have improved and are improving. There is also no doubt at all in my mind that it is ²⁸⁰ inevitable for India and Pakistan to have close relations some time or other in the future.

I cannot state when this ³⁰⁰ will take place, but situated as we are, with all our past, we cannot really be just indifferent neighbours. We ³²⁰ can be either hostile to each other or very friendly to each other. Ultimately we can only be really ³⁴⁰ very friendly, whatever period of hostility may intervene in between, because our interests are so closely interlinked. As far as ³⁶⁰ the other countries are concerned, our relations with others are quite friendly. Take for instance, Afghanistan and our relations with ³⁸⁰ Afghanistan are exceedingly friendly and our relations with Tibet Nepal and all the neighbouring countries are also very friendly. ⁴⁰⁰ If our neighbouring countries have in a sense the first place in our minds, then the second place goes to ⁴²⁰ the other countries of Asia with whom we are also fairly intimately connected. Now, India is very curiously

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placed in ⁴⁴⁰ Asia and her history has been governed a great deal by the geographical factor plus other factors. Which-ever problem in ⁴⁶⁰ Asia you may take up, somehow or other India comes into the picture. Whether you think in terms of China ⁴⁸⁰ or the Middle East or South-East Asia India immediately comes into the picture. It is so situated that because ⁵⁰⁰ of past history, traditions, etc., in regard to any major problem of a country or a group of countries of ⁵²⁰ Asia India has to be considered. Whether it is a problem of defence or trade or industry or economic policy, ⁵⁴⁰ India cannot be ignored. She cannot be ignored, because as I said, her geographical position is a compelling reason. She ⁵⁶⁰ cannot be ignored also, because of her actual or potential power and resources.

Therefore, whatever our own views may be, ⁵⁸⁰ by virtue of her practical position and other reason, India is bound to play an important part in Asia whether ⁶⁰⁰ it is western Asia or the Far East to South- East Asia. It so happens, of course, that even culturally ⁶²⁰ speaking, our bonds are very great with all these parts of Asia, whether it is western Asia of the Far ⁶⁴⁰ East or South-East Asia and these bonds are very old and very persistent. A very curious thing happened when, ⁶⁶⁰ roughly speaking British power came to India and British dominion was established here. This was the reason why we were ⁶⁸⁰ cut off from our neighbouring countries of Asia. Our contacts were then with England across the seas, and while to ⁷⁰⁰ some extent we struggled against that domination and resented those contacts, nevertheless, they were there and we saw the world ⁷²⁰ more and more through that window, the British window. Very few people went to the other Asian countries from India ⁷⁴⁰ and very few came here from there. And even those few people from Asia we met, we met in Europe ⁷⁶⁰ and not in Asia. Now in recent years that process has been reversed or is being reversed for a variety ⁷⁸⁰ of reasons. Initially, I suppose, the one major factor was air travel. Air travel brought us immediately into close contact ⁸⁰⁰ with our neighbours, because if we went to Europe, we passed through Baghdad and Teheran and other places. Air travel ⁸²⁰ is not the only factor, there are also political reasons that are now bringing about these changes for future development. ⁸⁴⁰

INDIVISIBLE : inseparable;
BRITISH DOMINION : rule of the Britishers;

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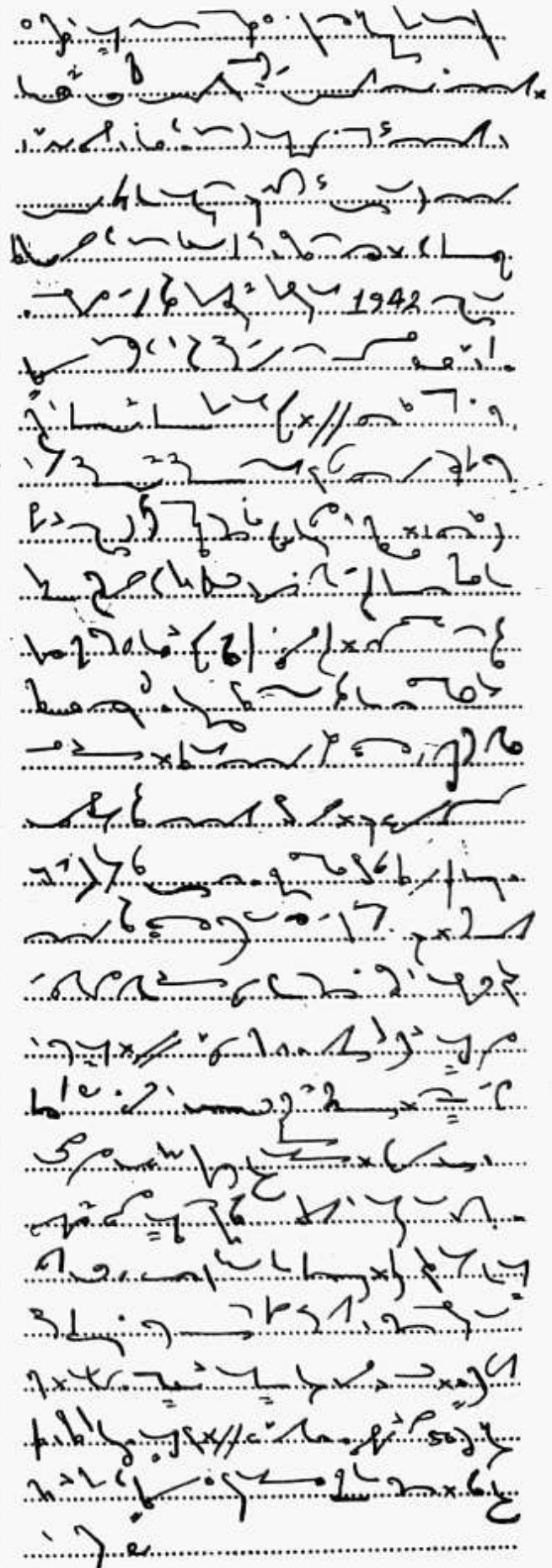
Exercise 15

As President of India and in my capacity as a public man I have taken part in many public functions, ²⁰ addressed innumerable gatherings and inaugurated many a memorial. But I should not hesitate to confess that I am so intimately ⁴⁰ connected with the memorial to inaugurate which you have invited me today and also with the youngmen in whose memory ⁶⁰ it is being raised that I am finding it hard to suppress my emotions. Without taking into consideration the experience ⁸⁰ and age of those who participated in the 1942 movement in Bihar, I must say that all of ¹⁰⁰ them were and are my colleagues, since I too had the privilege of taking part in that agitation.

Some of ¹²⁰ us got an opportunity of working among the people, while some were arrested at the very start of the movement ¹⁴⁰ so that their activities remained confined within the four-walls of prisons. But some of us whose patriotic fervour raised ¹⁶⁰ them above the distinction between life and death, became targets for bullets during the very first phase of the agitation ¹⁸⁰ and thus died a hero's death. You will agree with me that these persons must be assigned the foremost place ²⁰⁰ among those who have made sacrifices for the cause of the country. It is in the memory of such martyrs ²²⁰ who laid down their lives unhesitatingly that this memorial has been raised. Today when we are luckily independent and the ²⁴⁰ object for which those youngmen made the supreme sacrifice has been achieved, it is our duty to keep the memory ²⁶⁰ of those martyrs fresh in our minds and pay homage to them. Their courage and selfless love of the country ²⁸⁰ will ever remain a source of inspiration for the people of Free India.

I still remember how the rejection by ³⁰⁰ the British of the Indian leaders' demand had sent a wave of indignation throughout the country. Mahatma Gandhi and other ³²⁰ nationalist leaders knew about the popular feeling in the country. They were keen to utilize India's man-power and this ³⁴⁰ upsurge of enthusiasm in helping the Allied Nations who claimed to be fighting for democracy. It was possible only if ³⁶⁰ India were declared a free country or at least her right to freedom accepted in principle. Unfortunately the Government of ³⁸⁰ the United Kingdom failed to rise to the occasion. The British authority decided to suppress by force the Indian people. ⁴⁰⁰

When I review the history of the last fifty years, I feel proud of the part that Bihar has played ⁴²⁰ in the country's struggle for freedom. This feeling of pride is not



based merely on the fact that I too ⁴⁴ happen to belong to this State. The real reason for it is that I have been personally familiar with Bihar's ⁴⁶⁰ public life and its movements during this half a century. It would be no exaggeration if, in all modesty, I ⁴⁸⁰ say that my familiarity with Bihar's public life is not that of a distant observer but of one who has ⁵⁰⁰ always been close to the political scene as an active participant in the drama of public life as it unfolded ⁵²⁰ itself from time to time.

We can feel proud of the fact that the first experiment in the technique of ⁵⁴⁰ Satyagraha was conducted by Gandhiji in Bihar. To all the subsequent movements and agitations, Bihar made its appropriate contribution. But ⁵⁶⁰ there was one movement with which Bihar completely identified itself; and that was the campaign of August 1942. ⁵⁸⁰ As far as I know, and my information in this regard is fairly adequate, in our whole history of the ⁶⁰⁰ freedom struggle, it would be difficult to find a parallel to the sacrifices made and hardships suffered by the people ⁶²⁰ of Bihar during the 1942 movement. Nevertheless, the basis of that movement was truly national and whatever Bihar ⁶⁴⁰ did at that time forms a part of India's history. All these martyrs laid down their lives as Indians. Therefore, ⁶⁶⁰ I feel that all that happened in Bihar during those months is a matter of pride not only for this ⁶⁸⁰ State but for the whole country, and these brave youngmen are the true sons of India. Their memory can admit ⁷⁰⁰ of no geographical bounds. It pervades the whole land of ours. Let us bow to those martyrs who sacrificed themselves ⁷²⁰ in the name of India and for the glory of India. These patriots ended their worldly existence so that a ⁷⁴⁰ new chapter in India's history may begin; they offered their lives so that the generations to come may breathe unfettered ⁷⁶⁰ the air of freedom in this country.

The Government of Bihar deserve to be congratulated on all that they have ⁷⁸⁰ done to perpetuate the memory of these martyrs. Man does not live by bread alone. He cannot ignore the sentiments ⁸⁰⁰ and feelings on the foundation of which stands the edifice of human faith and traditions. It is from these that ⁸²⁰ man derives inspiration. Again, it is these feelings which illumine his path in life. This memorial sustain in people's hearts. ⁸⁴⁰

PERPETUATE : lasting forever; **EDIFICE** : large building;
FERVOUR : extreme earnestness; **UPSURGE** : sudden rise;
SUPPRESS : to crush down; **EXAGGERATION** : to overstate;

Handwritten notes in Urdu script, likely a translation or commentary on the English text, covering the right side of the page.

Exercise 16

Some people talk rather loosely, and if I may say so, rather foolishly, of India becoming the leader of this ²⁰ or the leader of that or the leader of Asia. Now, I do not like that at all. It is ⁴⁰ a bad approach, this business of leadership. But it is true that, because of the various factors I have mentioned ⁶⁰ a certain special responsibility is cast on India. India realizes it, and other countries realize it also. The responsibility is ⁸⁰ not necessarily for leadership, but for taking the initiative sometimes and helping others to co-operate.

Now, foreign policy is normally ¹⁰⁰ something which develops gradually. Apart from certain theoretical propositions we may lay down, it is a thing which, if it ¹²⁰ is real has some relation actuality and not merely to pure theory. Therefore, we cannot precisely lay down our ¹⁴⁰ general outlook or general approach, but gradually it develops. We are as an independent country a fairly young country at ¹⁶⁰ present, although we are a very ancient country, and we have all the advantages and disadvantages of being an ancient ¹⁸⁰ country. Nevertheless, in the present context of foreign policy we are a young country and, therefore, our foreign policy is ²⁰⁰ gradually developing and there is no particular reason, why we should rush in all over the place and so something ²²⁰ that comes in the way of this gradual development.

As I said, our general policy has been to try to ²⁴⁰ cultivate friendly relations with all countries, but that is something which anyone can say. It is not a very helpful ²⁶⁰ thought. It is almost outside, if I may say so, of politics. It may be just a verbal statement or ²⁸⁰ a moral urge. It is hardly a political urge. Nevertheless, something can be said for it even on the political ³⁰⁰ plane. We cannot perhaps be friendly always with every country. The alternative is to become very friendly with some and ³²⁰ hostile to others. That is the normal foreign policy of a country, very friendly with close relations with some, with ³⁴⁰ the consequence that you are hostile to others. You may be very friendly to some countries and you cannot just ³⁶⁰ be equally friendly with all countries, naturally, you are more friendly with those with whom you have closer relations, but ³⁸⁰ that great friendliness, is good, if it merely reflects hostility to some other country, then it is something different. ⁴⁰⁰

May I say that I do not for an instant claim any superior contact point for India to advise or ⁴²⁰ criticize the rest of the world. I think we are merely trying not go get

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Exercise 17

Sir, the price situation in our country is **only** a mirror of the economy as a whole and the policies ²⁰ which are driving the economy. So, there is no use either complimenting our Finance Minister or running him down. Even ⁴⁰ if the same Finance Minister was the Minister of Industry in Tamil Nadu now, as he was before, I do ⁶⁰ not know what he would have done. It is not an individual's capacity or efficiency or inefficiency, Sir, but it ⁸⁰ is the policy. What is the policy towards our economy, towards the trade, towards production and so ¹⁰⁰ on? All these, combined together, have resulted in this situation. The more important thing is our policy towards our exports ¹²⁰ and imports. If the House examines carefully our policy and analyses our exports and imports and the price structure of ¹⁴⁰ our exports and imports, it will come to the inevitable conclusion that the imperialist countries are looting our country much ¹⁶⁰ more than what the Britishers did during their rule in this country.

A few days ago, Sir, the Hon. Minister ¹⁸⁰ of Commerce and the Leader of this House, was giving us some details with regard to tea. Whether it is ²⁰⁰ tea or coffee or any other consumer goods that we export, we only export at the cost of the consumers ²²⁰ 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 child ²⁶⁰ who takes tea in our country has to pay for the export. The export earning is going down. The same ²⁸⁰ is the case with regard to coffee.

Now, Sir, we are exporting all sorts of things, meat, fish, fruits, everything ³⁰⁰ we export. All consumer goods are being exported. To earn dollars to pay for foreign debts. This is one of ³²⁰ the main reasons for this increase in prices of consumer goods. The basic policy must be changed. We should fight ³⁴⁰ for a reversal of the price structure in the international market. That is where the role of our country becomes ³⁶⁰ very important being one of the biggest countries in the world. We are playing an important role in international politics. Our ³⁸⁰ country plays an important role in the non-alignment. The same role must be played here for the world economy. ⁴⁰⁰

Whatever is produced is partly consumed for export **and** partly for hoarders and black-marketeers. Hoarders **and** black-marketeers are ⁴²⁰ responsible for high prices. How to check this menace, I spoke about the essential

Handwritten notes in Tamil script, corresponding to the English text on the left. The notes are written on lined paper and cover the right half of the page.

articles such as food grains, sugar, etc. ⁴⁴⁰ Is this the strategy to tackle high prices and hoarding. The hoarders will not part with the hoarded stock 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. 69. But it ⁵⁸⁰ sells for Rs. 120 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 not ⁷⁰⁰ pro-capitalist or pro-imperialist. Our ideology is the ideology of the Indian people, the working people. It is so from ⁷²⁰ the Karachi Resolution. As a 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. ⁸⁰⁰ We 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

IMPERIALIST : foreign rulers; **REVERSAL** : about turn;
MENACE : threaten; **STARVATION** : deaths due to hunger;

Handwritten notes in Urdu script, likely a transcription of the printed text, covering the right side of the page.

Exercise 18

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, by moving this Bill for consideration, my Hon. friend has raised a very important question affecting ²⁰ public life. There could be absolutely no matter of doubt that the corruption in public life have become rampant. As a ⁴⁰ result of this, people in public have become great suspects. In a seminar which I was attending, on Code of ⁶⁰ Conduct for public men somebody observed that once a man becomes a Minister, occupies a seat of power, for ⁸⁰ generations his economic problems are solved. It may be an exaggerated statement, but it has been our sad experience that ¹⁰⁰ people who have occupied high positions in public life, who have become Ministers, Members of Parliament or Members of Legislatures ¹²⁰ have overnight become affluent person. This may not be true of all Members of Parliament, this may not be true of ¹⁴⁰ all Members of Legislatures, this may not be true of all Ministers but quite a large number of them have ¹⁶⁰ 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 becomes ²⁰⁰ highly suspect. I know, Sir, that it would be too much to expect the same standard of public behaviour as ²²⁰ we had during the days of Ramayana. Those who were in charge of administration, those who were occupying the highest ²⁴⁰ office, put themselves to the highest form of test, the highest form of ordeal. Can there be any doubt that ²⁶⁰ public life if so much corrupted today that we have all become suspect?

In fact, the people have also become ²⁸⁰ jealous of the Members of Parliament. They say, somehow one has got to become a Member of Parliament or a ³⁰⁰ Member of Legislature, or somehow come closer to the corridors of power. Why do they say this? Because they ³²⁰ see the sudden change in the outlook, the behaviour, the kind of living of a particular individual. But, Sir, the ³⁴⁰ solution in this problem of corruption in public life may not be like instant coffee. The solution may be very ³⁶⁰ difficult. In fact, this was pointed out by the Santhanam Committee itself. In its report it made certain recommendations that ³⁸⁰ a certain code of conduct should be there and that shall be a solution to end corruption in public life. ⁴⁰⁰

What has actually troubled us is the variance between precept and practice in this country. When we discuss

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philosophy, we ⁴²⁰ rise to Himalayan heights. And when it is a question of personal life, we go to the abysmal depth of ⁴⁴⁰ the Arabian Sea. There is so much variance between precept and practice in this country that even if a particular ⁴⁶⁰ individual might be trying to adhere to the precepts, he also becomes suspect because the general atmosphere is one of ⁴⁸⁰ suspicion. In that context, Sir, I feel that something has got to be done to restore the confidence of the ⁵⁰⁰ people in the Members of Parliament, in the Members of Legislatures and in the Ministers. Now my friend made ⁵²⁰ a suggestion that after all, we are all answerable to the people in this country and when representatives come through ⁵⁴⁰ elections and people vote for them, that is a sure proof of the people confidence in these elected representatives. I ⁵⁶⁰ would respectfully differ from my friend on this kind of a diagnosis or analysis of the problem that electorally everything ⁵⁸⁰ can be solved. The problem of human character, human integrity, human behaviour morality, cannot be solved by an electoral process. There have ⁶⁰⁰ been men in the world who are of great moral stature, men of great character and integrity, but they never ⁶²⁰ won an election. Are we not aware of Shri Rajagopalachari who was a man of great character and integrity? Nothing ⁶⁴⁰ can be said against him. He was a man of high moral stature, but he never won an election, he ⁶⁶⁰ was also defeated in an election.

Let us not try to beguile ourselves by saying that by our being electorally ⁶⁸⁰ established, our character is established, our integrity is established, our moral standard is established. After all, the kind of electoral ⁷⁰⁰ system that we have in this country itself corrupts the entire political system, the entire politics in this country. How ⁷²⁰ many of us can claim that we limit ourselves to the amount prescribed in the Representation of the People Act ⁷⁴⁰ when we contest an election? Which Member of Parliament does not spend above that amount? How many of us file ⁷⁶⁰ a true return in compliance with the provisions of the Representation of the People Act? Most of the candidates file ⁷⁸⁰ false returns. And this has been taken as an accepted way of life. Therefore, we should not expect that once ⁸⁰⁰ it is electorally established that somebody has been elected, he must automatically be deemed to be a man of character, ⁸²⁰ a man of integrity, and so on and so forth. Such a proposition, at least, I personally cannot accept it. ⁸⁴⁰

PRECEPT : idea; **ABYSMAL** : of vast depth;

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Exercise 19

Sir, I was trying to say that the Resolution, as my friend has referred, adverts to three aspects consequent on the various pooling. The Resolution seeks to condemn certain statements made by the leading members of the Government, and the statements are attributed to as though encroaching upon the jurisdiction of the Election Commission, as the Mover of the Resolution put it, the independence of the Election Commission. That is the second aspect. And the third aspect is a suggestion flowing from the erosion, as he calls it, or the independence of the Election Commission, so that a Parliamentary Committee could be set up to review the election laws and suggest appropriate reforms. The issue of electoral reforms has also been discussed at length and many a speaker has generally spoken about the electoral reforms.

While I will make my submissions with reference to the electoral reforms in general, with reference to some of the speakers who have adverted to the various aspects of the reforms, I feel it duty-bound to also meet some of the points which have been raised by the Hon. Members here, particularly with reference to the Election Commission and also about certain irregularities which they have brought to the notice of this House that had taken place in the repoll at several places. Sir, a broader aspect and highlighting the aspect of the independence of the Election Commission has chosen to speak on a broader aspect and painted a picture on the wider canvas as to the erosion of all the parliamentary democratic institutions in this country. I would not like to become emotional as he did. But I would certainly advert to the aspects on which I feel that he was very much uncharitable. Sir, what was stated was that the Cabinet system of the Government was sought to be stifled, the institution of judiciary was sought to be tampered and cramped. And it was also said that the entire parliamentary system was sought to be totally negated by us. And in the ultimate analysis he proceeded to concentrate on the erosion of the authority of the Chief Election Commissioner. But I never expected from the Mover of the Resolution, whom I had heard a little, that he would go to the extent of saying that actions that we on this side are seeking to resort, only to negative parliamentary democracy.

Sir, I do not know what he meant by a big phrase of "stifling the Cabinet system of the Government by us". Well, phrases could be coined but the realities must speak

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for themselves. I was trying to understand from ⁴⁴⁰ him as to whether he was going to paraphrase his expression so that I could meet it squarely on the ⁴⁶⁰ points that he would put forth. I must say and I will say with a little authority that is at ⁴⁸⁰ my command, that on no form did we try at any point of time to stifle the Cabinet system of ⁵⁰⁰ Government in this country and I am on record, Sir, in this House itself, when the debate did crop up ⁵²⁰ twice on the basis of the statement of one ex-Chief Minister and the other Chief Minister that I had ⁵⁴⁰ categorically stated that there was nothing so far as this Government was concerned to think in terms of the presidential ⁵⁶⁰ form of government.

Notwithstanding my statement, a person who is a part and parcel of the present Government or a ⁵⁸⁰ person who is a spokesman of the Government apparatus of the day, of the Mover of the Resolution would still ⁶⁰⁰ like to do a little bit of idle flying on the basis of some of the statements of persons who ⁶²⁰ do not have their own contribution in the formulation of the policies of the Government of India, I cannot help ⁶⁴⁰ it. I beg to leave the matter there if he wants to use it and he has used it ⁶⁶⁰ by way of a spice in his argument, that is a matter for him to taste it and see how much ⁶⁸⁰ it tastes.

As far as we are concerned, we did not and I should say that so far as our ⁷⁰⁰ leader is concerned, at no point of time did she either encourage or speak in this issue at all. If ⁷²⁰ you would like to read too much, if you would like to believe only in the false and wrong propaganda ⁷⁴⁰ nobody can help you in the matter. You are to express yourself or repeat like a parrot whatever you would. I ⁷⁶⁰ would not like to answer on what I have already said on this issue. Sir, a very vague expression, an ⁷⁸⁰ expression which could perhaps attract the attention of some of the intellectuals and also the newspapers ⁸⁰⁰ namely, tampering of the judicial independence was also raised. I am not sure, I would have made a little enquiry which I did ⁸²⁰ not. I must, frankly confess that it was merely a propagandist approach, raise the issue and say whatever you like. ⁸⁴⁰

JUDICIAL : legal system;

ENCROACHING : to invade; **STIFLING** : restraining;

FORMULATION : to base on a formula; **TAMPERING** : to interfere;

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Exercise 20

I am very glad to be broadcasting today, the birthday of my dear brother Jawaharlal. The day is twice blessed;²⁰ not only are we celebrating a great national event, but we are also welcoming him back with all our heart after an⁴⁰ eventful tour abroad. Our birthday gift to him is loyalty and devotion; he has returned it with compound interest⁶⁰ by raising our country's status abroad, and by presenting a sum total of goodwill and friendship which he has engendered⁸⁰ wherever he has gone during his tour. He returns today again to resume the heavy burden of responsibilities which attach¹⁰⁰ to his high office. Let us offer him our felicitations as well as our prayers. How heavy that burden is¹²⁰ and how great those responsibilities, you must have guessed in some measure from the speech I delivered, about our economic situation.¹⁴⁰ I wish once again to emphasise the gravity of the situation that faces us and of the immensity¹⁶⁰ of the task that lies ahead, if we are to stage a quick and permanent recovery. I can tell you quite¹⁸⁰ frankly that the time for preparing paper schemes has gone; we cannot indulge any longer in the pastime of conjuring²⁰⁰ before our vision idealistic Utopias.

We have to live among the hard facts of today, and it is in that²²⁰ realistic atmosphere that we have to think and act. It is no use our offering to a hungry man a²⁴⁰ rich fare some time hence. I have been constantly laying stress on the need for self-sufficiency in food and²⁶⁰ cloth, our basic wants. We have spent crores on our food production drive without making any appreciable difference to our²⁸⁰ heavy imports, the crushing burden of which is visible in our dwindling foreign currencies and balances. We have in hand³⁰⁰ so many schemes of irrigation. We have a huge area of cultivable waste which is waiting for the hands that³²⁰ can plough. Even the areas under cultivation, can with diligence and well-directed efforts, be made to yield more.³⁴⁰ We have a big reclamation programme which is being financed from the money that we have borrowed from abroad. In addition,³⁶⁰ we have programmes in India for subsidising schemes of food production. If we can concentrate on all these, I have no doubt³⁸⁰ that, in spite of the economic situation of today, we can produce enough to feed ourselves in future.⁴⁰⁰

Just think of it. If we had at our disposal the amount which we have spent on food imports during the⁴²⁰ last three years, we could have completely rehabilitated those unfortunate brothers and sisters of our who have had to leave

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¹⁴⁰ their hearths and homes in Pakistan and who are still looking up to us for relief and succour.¹⁶⁰ My heart bleeds to see so many of my unfortunate countrymen living in conditions of filth and poverty. Let those who⁴⁸⁰ pass by them reflect for a moment how they themselves are contributing to their misery by failing in their⁵⁰⁰ duty to help themselves and help us in ensuring self-sufficiency in food. We always speak of India's culture,⁵²⁰ civilisation, but do we ever pause to think that the relief of the poor, mutual aid amongst neighbours, charity⁵⁴⁰ to the helpless and kindness to the downtrodden have been the shining virtues of that culture and civilisation? Let us⁵⁶⁰ ask ourselves if we are living in the spirit of those ancient virtues. We are honest, we shall point the⁵⁸⁰ finger of scorn at all of us who demand their pound of flesh for every seer of corn that they hand⁶⁰⁰ over to Government, or who store up their corn even though they see their next-door neighbour starving. They same applies⁶²⁰ to those who do not work assiduously to produce more from every inch of their soil, or who not only⁶⁴⁰ allow land to go waste but also allow foodgrains to deteriorate.

Are we to take Gandhiji's name only when it⁶⁶⁰ suits our purpose? I should like to ask all those who swear by him how they reconcile their professions of⁶⁸⁰ faith in his mission with the everyday breach of the principles which he taught. My appeal to the agriculturists is⁷⁰⁰ to work and work hard with a will to get the best out of their exertion and deliver to Government⁷²⁰ the maximum they can spare on the basis of their minimum requirements. They should help Government to implement the many⁷⁴⁰ programmes of increasing food production so that we can restore the balance between supply and demand of foodgrains as quickly⁷⁶⁰ as possible. Whatever area can be brought under cultivation must be utilised to produce foodgrains. My next appeal is to the⁷⁸⁰ industrialists, businessmen, traders and labour. I need not stress here the importance which increasing production has in our plants⁸⁰⁰ to deal with the present economic crisis. In many ways it is our one and only hope to correct the⁸²⁰ maladjustment between supply and demand and thereby reverse the rising spiral of prices. Government industry and labour must take national service.⁸⁴³

IMMENSITY: largeness; **DWINDLING:** reduction;
HEARTHES: fireplaces;
SUCCOUR: person who provide help.

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Exercise 21

I am indeed very happy to have this opportunity to be present at the Inaugural Ceremony of the 36th²⁰ edition of the India International Trade Fair. This Fair commences every year on 14th November, the birth anniversary of the first⁴⁰ Prime Minister of India, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. The IITF is a mega projection of the new India⁶⁰ that is fast taking shape. It showcases the vision of a glorious tomorrow, a spirit of excellence and achievement and unparalleled⁸⁰ investment opportunity through the prism of the 'Make in India' and 'Digital India' initiatives taken by the Prime Minister.¹⁰⁰ The fair symbolises India's commitment towards bringing the benefits of economic reform to its people from all walks of life, especially¹²⁰ the underprivileged. I am heartened to see the considerable presence of foreign companies at the fair. I would like to¹⁴⁰ make a special mention of India's continued endeavour of empowering and bringing together all constructive forces for a better world.¹⁶⁰ The recent BRICS summit has created a great reservoir of goodwill which is vital for¹⁸⁰ consolidating our economic and cultural linkages and social bonds with countries across the world. India has always believed in the²⁰⁰ stability and growth of our neighbouring countries. 'Putting People First' is the guiding philosophy of our development cooperation partnership.²²⁰ Focused on an agenda aimed at regional harmony, peace and prosperity, we look forward to working together in priority areas²⁴⁰ such as infrastructure, development connectivity, capacity building, education, healthcare and the setting-up of development projects.

India is working with²⁶⁰ like-minded countries in multilateral organisations including the United Nations to play an enhanced role in diverse fora – from the²⁸⁰ Arctic Council and the Pacific Alliance to the UN Security Council where India has made a legitimate claim for³⁰⁰ a permanent membership. Apart from economic dimensions, I believe that a fair such as IITF provides an³²⁰ excellent opportunity to introspect on challenges, integrate minds and prepare strategies for the mammoth task of nation building. As India strives³⁴⁰ to become a manufacturing hub in diverse sectors, it needs to increase its energy resources without compromising on the environmental³⁶⁰ aspects. Factors such as demography, development and urbanisation exert tremendous pressure on availability of resources. Large-scale utilisation of resources³⁸⁰ impacts adversely on the environment. Industry, therefore, needs to adopt eco-friendly measures and technologies for the development of the people.⁴⁰⁰

As there is a considerable presence of foreign countries along with Indian States and UTs in the fair, I would like⁴²⁰ to share with you that a range of reforms being currently

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undertaken, including GST, shall enable the States⁴⁴⁰ and Union Territories to compete with each other in attracting investment and business opportunities. Over the medium and long term,⁴⁶⁰ these reforms shall also hopefully result in job creation thus contributing to the growth impulses of the economy. It is⁴⁸⁰ a matter of great satisfaction that the Ministry of Commerce and Industry has taken an excellent initiative towards improving the⁵⁰⁰ 'Ease of Doing Business' in India with added emphasis on simplification and rationalisation of existing rules, procedures and processes. Government's recent⁵²⁰ initiatives on E-Governance have begun to show results in terms of more efficient and effective delivery of public services.⁵⁴⁰ I recall having been associated with ITPO and IITF while serving the government in⁵⁶⁰ different capacities. I am pleased to see it grow into a larger and more inclusive platform now. I take this⁵⁸⁰ opportunity to welcome the global business community who have converged here to further trade and business relations. It is encouraging⁶⁰⁰ to note that the IITF this year is seeing the presence of 7000 participants, including⁶²⁰ representation from 24 foreign countries, almost all States/Union Territories, apex public sector enterprises and the MSME⁶⁴⁰ and other participants with around 800 rural artisans and crafts persons.

I am told that the National Minorities Development⁶⁶⁰ and Finance Corporation is also participating along with 100 artisans in this fair this year. I compliment them.⁶⁸⁰ I compliment ITPO for the theme of 'Digital India', this year. Digital technologies, e-commerce, e-enabled and⁷⁰⁰ mobile services are major components of e-governance and will, over time, contribute significantly to GDP growth.⁷²⁰ We, at the same time, also need to make use of our abundant renewable sources to create a society that is⁷⁴⁰ self-sustaining and mindful of its responsibilities towards the present and future generations. I believe that IITF⁷⁶⁰ will reinforce Indian brands - brands that will, in the first instance, compete and win against the dominant international players in the⁷⁸⁰ domestic market before venturing overseas. I especially welcome our foreign friends, exhibitors, delegates and members of the diplomatic corps⁸⁰⁰ to this event which is considered a microcosm of India - a land of vibrancy, culture, spirituality and peace. I extend⁸²⁰ my good wishes to all participants from India and overseas especially, the 'Partner Country' - the 'Republic of South Korea'.⁸⁴⁰

Handwritten text in Urdu script, likely a translation or commentary on the printed text. It includes terms like ITPO, IITF, MSME, and GDP.

Exercise 22

I have been deeply moved, the way you have introduced me but this visit²⁰ of mine has been a visit which will go down in my mind as the most memorable event. Everywhere I went, right from the President to the⁴⁰ Houses of Congress and now to this most prestigious institution that the National Press Club is, I have received⁶⁰ and I felt that I am in the company of very intimate friends. And I know that's a tribute⁸⁰ not to me personally but to the country that I represent, an India that is now trying to seek its¹⁰⁰ social and economic salvation in the framework of an open society and an open polity. So, I thank you very much¹²⁰ for this very warm welcome. Of course, it is an understatement that I am absolutely delighted to join you¹⁴⁰ this afternoon. I know something about the great weight that the National Press Club enjoys in the world of journalism.¹⁶⁰ That you have done me this honour, I am most grateful to you for this. I thank you for this¹⁸⁰ invitation to share my thoughts on our country's hopes, aspirations, and the challenges we face and now working together India²⁰⁰ and America can help us to meet those challenges so that in the process, we begin a new chapter in the²²⁰ history of Indo-American relations. I would like to share with you my perceptions of this very significant visit²⁴⁰ to the United States. My discussions with President, the members of his Cabinet and with members of the US Congress,²⁶⁰ have convinced me that on the journey we have embarked upon towards a future of hope for our people, America²⁸⁰ would be both a friend and a very important partner.

India is today poised for a leap to a brave³⁰⁰ new world. A sustained growth of over 6 per cent per annum for the last 15 years now reaching 7 per cent³²⁰ per annum is fundamentally transforming our economy and our society. Its social consequences are visible in rising income levels,³⁴⁰ growing expectations and in the rising demand for quality products and services. This transformation has unleashed a powerful surge of³⁶⁰ entrepreneurship, creativity and a desire for excellence. Our growing involvement with the global economy and society, expanding foreign trade, reputation³⁸⁰ for services and activities of our world-class firms are one facet of this change that is now sweeping our country.⁴⁰⁰

We strive to address the needs of every citizen, ensuring their education and well being, and giving them a decent livelihood.⁴²⁰ On every score, their demands rise as each year's achievements become the benchmark for forward movement the next time.⁴⁴⁰ Basic needs of all have to be met even as more



The image shows a handwritten Urdu transcription of the English text provided on the left. The handwriting is in a cursive style, likely Nasta'liq, and is written on lined paper. The transcription covers the entire length of the English text, including the three paragraphs. The lines of the paper are clearly visible, and the Urdu text is neatly aligned with the English text.

ambitious hopes of the aspiring are realised. Sustaining growth impulses⁴⁶⁰ has to be accompanied by policies aimed at ensuring that change is sufficiently inclusive and benefits of development are indeed⁴⁸⁰ available to all our citizens. In the past, our ties with the United States have benefited India greatly. Yesterday when⁵⁰⁰ I addressed the Members of US Congress, I recalled with gratitude the contribution that the United States had made⁵²⁰ in ushering in the Green Revolution in our country. The cooperation between American Land Grant Colleges and our institutions of⁵⁴⁰ research in agriculture gave rise to that phenomenon of miracle of new wheat seeds which made it possible for our⁵⁶⁰ agriculture to grow phenomenally since the mid-60's. I thank America for that. We now seek to build on that⁵⁸⁰ past tradition of working together while forging a new partnership with the United States. This new partnership is focused on⁶⁰⁰ greater business to business interaction, cooperation in the field of energy, in agricultural research and agri-business, in new technologies,⁶²⁰ in educational networking, and in building new frontier science capabilities. The 21st century probably will be a knowledge intensive century.⁶⁴⁰ India and the United States can be very valuable partners in the management and ushering in of the new⁶⁶⁰ knowledge society that is on the horizon. Much of my discussions with President Bush were devoted to what the India-US relationship⁶⁸⁰ had to offer in the fields of infrastructure, energy and in the field of knowledge creation.

I believe that⁷⁰⁰ American interests are well served by a stronger and more modern Indian economy. Many of the initiatives that we⁷²⁰ announced yesterday on agricultural research, on nano-science or on innovative technologies reflect this shared belief of the President and myself.⁷⁴⁰ I am convinced that steps that we have taken will lead to a long-term partnership between India and⁷⁶⁰ the United States to our great mutual benefit. Access to energy resources is an issue of particular importance to our⁷⁸⁰ relationship and our newly constituted Energy Dialogue is focused precisely on this issue. Our current dependence on hydrocarbons will have⁸⁰⁰ to be diversified in favour of a broader energy mix. I discussed with the President prospects for the resumption of our⁸²⁰ cooperation on civilian nuclear energy. The United States, I believe, is not only cognisant of our energy requirements but appreciative of the role of India.⁸⁴⁵

SALVATION: act of rescue; **PERCEPTIONS:** ideas;
STRIVE: to work hard; **USHERING:** introducing;
INNOVATIVE: introducing change

Handwritten notes in Urdu script, likely a translation or commentary on the printed text. The notes are written in black ink on a white background with horizontal lines. The text is dense and covers most of the right side of the page.

Exercise 23

The uniqueness of Indian growth experience is that it takes place entirely within the framework of a democratic polity.²⁰ This has demonstrative implications for the world at large. The success of India will be a living proof that growth need not⁴⁰ come at the cost of human freedoms. At the same time, its intrinsic stability and consensual basis will make⁶⁰ themselves fully felt in long-term partnerships. Many of you probably know the diversity and the complexity of a country of⁸⁰ one billion people that India is. All the great religions of the world are represented in our country. We have¹⁰⁰ 150 million citizens who practice the faith of Islam and I say it with some pride, about their patriotism,¹²⁰ that not one of them has joined the ranks of these gangs like Al-Qaeda or other terrorist activities.¹⁴⁰

Our track record on cooperation with the United States, even within the last year that our Government has been in office,¹⁶⁰ clearly conveys a determination to raise both its quality, content and scope. We have completed the next steps in strategic¹⁸⁰ partnership. We have established Energy and Economic Dialogues at the very high cabinet levels, put in place an Intellectual Property Rights²⁰⁰ regime and investment policies that encourage business. We have addressed the long standing disputes about American direct investments in the²²⁰ famous Dabhol project. We have recently concluded with the United States an Open Skies Agreement. We have expanded our²⁴⁰ defence cooperation with a new framework and worked very closely with the US on tsunami relief operations last year.²⁶⁰ These achievements give us the confidence to now tackle the more ambitious agenda that we have before us. India has²⁸⁰ consistently sought to ensure that global institutions and agreements are perceived to be fair and equitable. At a time³⁰⁰ when global challenges like terrorism, weapons of mass destruction proliferation, environment or health, have become more complex, it is vital that³²⁰ global mechanisms have the necessary capability and credibility to respond. In matters relating to terrorism, we recognize that it is³⁴⁰ a global phenomenon. We ourselves have suffered grievously at the hands of these terrorist gangs for more than 15 years.³⁶⁰ We, therefore, understand the pains and sufferings of the American people or the citizens of London when terror afflicts them.³⁸⁰ We recognize all civilised societies have an obligation to work together to deal with this phenomenon.⁴⁰⁰

I feel greatly honoured and privileged to be present here today as we mark the opening of a new page in the⁴²⁰ history of this blessed country of Afghanistan. It is an honour that gives me particular satisfaction, as a friend⁴⁴⁰ of Afghanistan and a representative of the Indian people who constitute the world's largest democracy and the

Handwritten Urdu text on lined paper, appearing to be a transcription of the English text on the left. The handwriting is in a cursive style, and the text is written across approximately 25 lines. The content is a direct translation of the English text provided in the image.

oldest in this region.⁴⁶⁰ Today, as Baba-e-Millat lays the foundation stone of the Parliament of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, the roots⁴⁸⁰ of a plant are being laid that will, through your nurturing and care, grow into a sturdy 'panja chinar' of democracy.⁵⁰⁰ Representation is the very essence of democracy. This edifice, when it is built, will be the very heart of democracy in Afghanistan.⁵²⁰ We believe that democratic institutions need to be encouraged, nursed and promoted. We also believe that they should develop and evolve⁵⁴⁰ in accordance with the culture, values and native genius of each country. We are partnering other democracies through the⁵⁶⁰ Global Democracy Initiative and have contributed \$10 million to the UN Democracy Fund to be used to promote institutions⁵⁸⁰ based on the eternal values of liberty, equality and fraternity.

Afghanistan may be a young democracy but it has always⁶⁰⁰ been a plural society, with a unique mosaic of different ethnic and linguistic groups. The Afghan people have a tradition of⁶²⁰ democratic discourse through institutions like the Loya Jirgas. The practice of consensual decision-making in Afghanistan is centuries old.⁶⁴⁰ We have seen the affirmation of this democratic culture through the successful conclusion of both the Emergency Loya Jirga and⁶⁶⁰ the Constitutional Loya Jirga. We admire and respect the manner in which this exercise was carried out under the gaze of⁶⁸⁰ international media and observers and we salute our Afghan brethren on this remarkable achievement. By a happy coincidence, 26th of January,⁷⁰⁰ the Indian Republic Day, also marks the day when the Afghan Constitution came into effect in the year 2004.⁷²⁰ Democracy grows in open societies. But open societies, whether old or young, are equally threatened today by the rise⁷⁴⁰ of global terrorism. In fact, the open culture of our societies makes us all the more vulnerable. Globalisation has made⁷⁶⁰ the world interconnected and inter-dependent. To deal effectively with global terrorism, democracies need to work together. Afghanistan has⁷⁸⁰ a unique position in this alliance of democracies that are fighting this menace. We are ready to work with the Government and⁸⁰⁰ people of Afghanistan to ensure that Afghanistan will never again be hostage to or become a haven for terrorists.⁸²⁰ The real test of a functioning democracy does not lie within the pages of the Constitution. That will lie in the august House.⁸⁴⁰

INTRINSIC: real; **CONSENSUAL:** with consent;
PERCIEVED: to observe; **PROLIFERATION:** large increase;
EDIFICE: structure: building; **ETHNIC:** relating to race.

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Exercise 24

Mr. Speaker, if agricultural production has to be maximised, the greatest attention has to be given to four factors. First,²⁰ seeds should be of the right quality and improved with high-yielding varieties. Then fertilisers, pesticides and water. As regards⁴⁰ these four factors, it is interesting to see that Government or the Ministry does not appear to have paid any⁶⁰ attention to certain malpractices that have crept into these matters. Take, for instance, seeds. There is no mention at all⁸⁰ of the fact that a large percentage of these so-called improved or high yielding varieties of seeds is adulterated. What¹⁰⁰ steps has the Government taken in this regard. Is it not of vital importance that seeds should be pure and unadulterated?¹²⁰ Their effect on production is very great. Therefore, from this point alone, all possible steps should be taken to prevent¹⁴⁰ adulteration. The farmer suffers because he spends money on costly seeds in order that he may get the best possible¹⁶⁰ yield, but finds that the seeds are adulterated. Why has not Government taken up this matter in its own hands?¹⁸⁰ Every State government interferes in this matter. In fact, multiplication of seeds is done under the orders of the Agriculture²⁰⁰ Department in one State after another State and yet when it comes to their quality control, adequate machinery does not exist.

Then²²⁰ we come to the question of fertilisers. Again these are of vital importance. What has happened? At one single stroke,²⁴⁰ Government has doubled the prices of fertilisers and expects farmers to procure them in the required quantities knowing fully well²⁶⁰ also that Government fixes the prices of what they produce at a level which makes it impossible for the farmers²⁸⁰ to pay these high prices for fertilisers. The previous speaker referred to the Agricultural Prices Commission. The Commission has fixed³⁰⁰ the price, say, of wheat, at a certain level without taking into account the cost of production of the farmer. Yesterday, a³²⁰ member of the Advisory Committee to the Agricultural Prices Commission stated that he has sent in his resignation for what³⁴⁰ use was it for him to remain on the Committee if no importance was ever attached to the advice tendered³⁶⁰ on such a basic matter as cost of production? If cost of production is not taken into account, I would³⁸⁰ like to state here that it is difficult to see on what basis the Agricultural Prices Commission fixed the prices.⁴⁰⁰

Several agricultural universities have carried out surveys and the results of these surveys are available. Punjab University carried out a⁴²⁰ survey and other research students have so and have pointed out what the cost of production would be.

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For instance,⁴⁴⁰ in regard to wheat, they have arrived at the finding that the cost of production would be in the region⁴⁶⁰ of Rs. 1200. Yet the procurement price fixed is Rs. 1100. What is the justification for this,⁴⁸⁰ in the face of the fact that the price of fertiliser, an important input, has been doubled? The prices have⁵⁰⁰ increased considerably and many types of pesticides that are in the market today are adulterated. What steps have the Government⁵²⁰ taken to ensure that the pesticides that are in the market for sale to the farmers are of the right⁵⁴⁰ quality and are not adulterated ones? Is there any machinery? In regard to drugs at least in name, there is⁵⁶⁰ a drug controller in every State to see that the drugs sold are not adulterated. In regard to pesticides, have⁵⁸⁰ you set up any machinery to ensure that the pesticides are not adulterated? Last but not the least important factor for⁶⁰⁰ maximisation of agricultural production is water. They say they have programmes for increasing irrigation facilities. During the Seventh Plan they⁶²⁰ wanted to bring in a considerable additional area under irrigation so that they could have assured water supply. They have⁶⁴⁰ similar programmes in the Fifth Plan. Why is it that a number of these projects are not completed within the⁶⁶⁰ time schedule that is laid down? Why is it that a number of most desirable projects are not even taken⁶⁸⁰ in hand for years for one reason or the other and the majority of them are held up because of Inter-State⁷⁰⁰ water disputes?

What steps have been taken by the Government to resolve those disputes. They say that they have no⁷²⁰ powers. What is the good of their saying so when the ruling party is today in a position to pass⁷⁴⁰ any legislation that it desires, even to amend the Constitution as often as it likes? And yet it does not⁷⁶⁰ take steps to settle these issues, which would result in self-sufficiency in foodgrains and also in respect of⁷⁸⁰ many vital cash crops needed for important industries. Why is it that we are unable to take any steps to⁸⁰⁰ settle these disputes and allow them to continue with no end in sight? A little while ago, I think a⁸²⁰ statement was placed on the Table of the House saying that there were 157 projects outstanding in the scheme.⁸⁴⁰

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Exercise 25

Let industrialists concentrate on getting the maximum out of their plants and machinery; let labour lend their helping hand to the²⁰ industrialists to exploit their resources to the maximum national advantage. It will be Government's duty to ensure that the⁴⁰ decks are cleared for action and there are no impediments, no bottle-necks and no red tape. The wheels must⁶⁰ move with clock-wise precision and perfect smoothness and there must be no mutual fault-finding. The tradesmen have also⁸⁰ to do their part. It is their duty to ensure that the produced articles reach the consumer with the minimum¹⁰⁰ of difficulty and minimum of extra cost. None wishes to deprive them of their due but it would be a¹²⁰ national crime for anyone to take more than one's due. On the other hand, even if one has to sacrifice¹⁴⁰ something of his due for the sake of delivering the goods to the nation, that must be cheerfully faced.¹⁶⁰ In such an inexorable and unrelenting struggle for existence, selfish motives must not be allowed to rule to the exclusion of¹⁸⁰ patriotic duty.

Let me also make a special appeal to those who have money to spare. It is, I know, a large body²⁰⁰ of heterogeneous elements. We are not spendthrifts as a nation; saving is our national instinct, whether we are agriculturists, labourers,²²⁰ businessmen, lawyers, civil servants or traders. They must all save every pie they can and place their savings at the²⁴⁰ disposal of Government for utilisation in national-building enterprises. We had a plethora of development schemes in the hope of²⁶⁰ large balances being available for expenditure. Now when we took stock of our position, we found that if we were²⁸⁰ to live within our means, we had drastically to cut our development programme. It is obvious that we cannot keep³⁰⁰ this programme in suspense for very long without doing grave damage to our national economy. These programmes are our only hope³²⁰ if we have to feed not only the present, but the increasing population of our country. They afford the only³⁴⁰ chance of increased industrialisation, without which it will not be possible for us either to maintain or to improve upon³⁶⁰ our present standard of living. We must therefore, restore our economy to a position in which we can implement these³⁸⁰ programmes to the best of our capacity and in an efficient and business like manner for the benefit of people.⁴⁰⁰

In my speech on Saturday I have already indicated why and how the investor should place confidence in us.⁴²⁰ I stated that a point had been reached when nobody who can save or has saved can afford to withhold investing⁴⁴⁰ it in a profitable undertaking without incurring the odium of having failed the country in its hour of crisis. Indeed,⁴⁶⁰ it would be as wrong for

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anyone not to invest savings as it would be in times of war for⁴⁸⁰ anyone to shirk the obligation of compulsory national service. This brings me to commend to you the scheme, which we have⁵⁰⁰ announced, of voluntary cuts in higher salaries and compulsory savings, for Government servants have in this matter given a⁵²⁰ lead to business and professions which the latter would do well to follow. I am separately making an appeal to⁵⁴⁰ Provincial Government to evolve similar schemes for their own employees. We hope shortly to supplement our own scheme by a⁵⁶⁰ similar scheme for Government servants drawing Rs.250 and below. When that scheme is announced, I am sure Provinces⁵⁸⁰ will follow suit. I would now appeal to business-houses, commercial establishments and men engaged in different professions and other⁶⁰⁰ institutions employing any substantial staff to adopt our scheme to the conditions of their own organisation and to implement it⁶²⁰ cheerfully and in a spirit of self-sacrifice for the country's needs.

All these contributions would, while assuring to the contributors⁶⁴⁰ some saving for future needs, assist Government considerably in strengthening its ways and means position and would enable it to⁶⁶⁰ finance the many schemes of development which on account of the necessity for imposing rigid economy have had to be⁶⁸⁰ suspended or drastically curtailed. "Spend less, save more, and invest as much as possible" should henceforward be the motto of⁷⁰⁰ every citizen in the country and all of you must see that it becomes the guiding principle of your life.⁷²⁰ You can select for yourself any suitable means of investment which are open to you, but only make sure that⁷⁴⁰ all the money that you save is spent for a national cause. I shall now say a word to those⁷⁶⁰ Government servants to whom has fallen and will continue to fall, the implementation of the many measures of control and⁷⁸⁰ regimentation of everyday affairs of the citizen which we have to enforce. It is a great responsibility. The powers⁸⁰⁰ which weild, if rightly used, can bring the nation heavy dividends, but the same, if abused, can bring not only⁸²⁰ harm but dispute. They have the reputation of many citizens in their hands. They will very often find that a kind word, a sympathetic gesture.⁸⁴⁵

- IMPEDIMENTS:** obstructions, hindrances;
- INEXORABLE:** unalterable;
- HETEROGENEOUS:** different in kind, unlike;
- PLETHORA:** overabundance, excess
- ODIUM:** intense hatred, dislike

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Handwritten Urdu notes or corrections, possibly related to the vocabulary list or the main text.

Exercise 26 (Legal)

Even after the decision of this Court in the State of Madras Versus Gannon Dunkerley & Co. Ltd. it was²⁰ quite possible that where a contract entered into in connection with the construction of a building consisted of two parts,⁴⁰ namely, one part relating to the sale of materials used in the construction of the building by the contractor⁶⁰ to the person who had assigned the contract and another part dealing with the supply of labour and services,⁸⁰ sales tax was leviable on the goods which were agreed to be sold under the first part. But sales tax could not be¹⁰⁰ levied when the contract in question was a single and indivisible works contract. After the 46th Amendment¹²⁰ the works contract which was an indivisible one is by a legal fiction altered into a contract which is divisible¹⁴⁰ into one for sale of goods and the other for supply of labour and services. After the 46th Amendment,¹⁶⁰ it has become possible for the States to levy sales tax on the value of goods involved in a¹⁸⁰ works contract in the same way in which the sales tax was leviable on the price of the goods and²⁰⁰ materials supplied in a building contract which had been entered into in two distinct and separate parts as stated above.²²⁰

It could not have been the contention of the Revenue prior to the 46th Amendment that when the²⁴⁰ goods and materials had been supplied under a distinct and separate contract by the contractor for the purpose of²⁶⁰ construction of a building the assessment of sales tax could be made ignoring the restrictions and conditions incorporated in²⁸⁰ Article 286 of the Constitution. If that was the position can the States contend after the 46th Amendment³⁰⁰ under which by a legal fiction the transfer of property in goods involved in a works contract was made liable³²⁰ to payment of sales tax that they are not governed by Article 286 while levying sales tax on³⁴⁰ sale of goods involved in a works contract? They cannot do so. When the law creates a legal fiction such³⁶⁰ fiction should be carried to its logical end. There should not be any hesitation in giving full effect to it.³⁸⁰ If the power to tax a sale in an ordinary sense is subject to certain conditions imposed by the Constitution.⁴⁰⁰

In view of the foregoing statements with regard to the passing of the property in goods which are involved⁴²⁰ in works contract and the legal fiction created by clause 29-A of Article 366 of the Constitution⁴⁴⁰ it is difficult to agree with the contention of the States that the properties that are

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transferred to the owner⁴⁶⁰ in the execution of a works contract are not the goods involved in the execution of the works contract,⁴⁸⁰ but a conglomerate, that is the entire building that is actually constructed. After the 46th Amendment it is not⁵⁰⁰ possible to accede to the plea of the States that what is transferred in a works contract is the right⁵²⁰ in the immovable property. We are surprised at the attitude of the States which have put forward the plea⁵⁴⁰ that on the passing of the 46th Amendment the Constitution had conferred on the States a larger freedom than⁵⁶⁰ what they had before in regard to their power to levy sales tax under Entry 54 of the State List.⁵⁸⁰ The 46th Amendment does no more than making it possible for the States to levy sales tax on the⁶⁰⁰ price of goods and materials used in works contracts as if there was a sale of such goods and⁶²⁰ materials. We do not accept the argument that sub-clause (b) of Article 366 29-A should be read as⁶⁴⁰ being equivalent to a separate entry in List II of the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution enabling the States⁶⁶⁰ to levy tax on sales and purchases independent of Entry 54 thereof.

As the Constitution exists today the power of the⁶⁸⁰ States to levy taxes on sales and purchases of goods including the "deemed" sales and purchases of goods under⁷⁰⁰ clause 29-A of Article 366 is to be found only in Entry 54 and not outside it.⁷²⁰ We may recapitulate here the observations of the Constitution Bench in the case of Bengal Immunity Co. Ltd.- in which this⁷⁴⁰ Court has held that the operative provisions of the several parts of Article 286 which imposes restrictions on the⁷⁶⁰ levy of sales tax by the States are intended to deal with different topics and one could not be⁷⁸⁰ projected or read into another and each one of them has to be obeyed while any sale or purchase is⁸⁰⁰ taxed under Entry 54 of the State List." Thus, this Court in Builders Association clarified that the power to levy⁸²⁰ tax under Article 366 did not vest in the States power to tax works contracts themselves.⁸⁴⁰

Handwritten notes in Urdu script, likely a translation or commentary on the English text. The notes include references to various articles and clauses of the Indian Constitution, such as Article 366, Entry 54, and Article 286. The text is written on lined paper and includes some underlines and arrows pointing to specific parts of the text.

CONGLOMERATE: detailed reference;
ACCEDE: to agree;
RECAPITULATE: to revise again.

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