

312

Journal of the

Madras University

VOL XVI, NO. 2.



Jan 1945

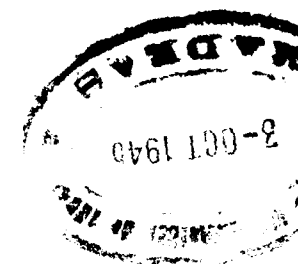
JL
740.511
114.5.16.21
93181

4U

Volume XVI

January 1945

JOURNAL 315
OF THE
MADRAS UNIVERSITY
Section A. Humanities



PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY
MADRAS

1945

NOTICE

TO CONTRIBUTORS AND OTHERS

Contributions, remittances, books for review, exchanges,
and correspondence regarding all matters may be addressed to:

DR. E. ASIRVATHAM,
Editor.

UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS,
MADRAS.

JOURNAL

OF THE

MADRAS UNIVERSITY

Section A. Humanities

DR. E. ASIRVATHAM, B.A., B.D., PH.D.

MR. G. KURIYAN, B.A., B.Sc.

DR. T. M. P. MAHADEVAN,
M.A., PH.D.

PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI,
M.A.

MR. P. SAMBAMURTI, B.A., B.L.

MRS. ELLEN SHARMA, M.A.,
M.Ed.

PROF. P. J. THOMAS, M.A.,
B.Litt., D.Phil.



PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY
MADRAS

1945



TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
1. GAUDAPADA, ADI SESA AND VASIṢṬHA By T. M. P. MAHADEVAN	.. 105
2. CEREAL PRODUCTION IN MADRAS By C. W. B. ZACHARIAS	.. 113
3. PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION By E. ASIRVATHAM	.. 125
4. EARLY EXPERIMENTS IN MUSIC By P. SAMBAMURTI	.. 151
5. SUGGESTIONS ON INDIA--A UNION OF SOVE- REIGN STATES? By K. VENKOBHA RAO	.. 154
6. NEXT STEPS IN SOCIAL LEGISLATION By V. JAGANNADHAM	.. 161
7. MUNICIPAL AUDIT By V. VENKATA RAO	.. 168
8. REVIEW.— Communal Settlement by Dr. Beni Prasad.	.. 189

GAUDAPĀDA, ĀDI ŚEṢA AND VASIṢṬHA

By

315

T. M. P. MAHADEVAN,

While attempting to fix the date of Gaudapāda, the present writer was led to compare the *Gaudapādakārikā* with two other works on Vedānta, viz., the *Paramārthasāra* of Ādi Śeṣa and the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* of sage Vasiṣṭha. Much the same thoughts are found in the three texts; and there is a great identity in the terminology used. We shall examine the points of resemblance and see if anything could be deduced regarding the sequence of the three works.

The *Paramārthasāra* is attributed to Bhagavān Ādi Śeṣa. But who the author was and when he lived are questions which have not been finally settled. What can be asserted beyond doubt is that he must have lived before Abhinavagupta (11th Century A.D.) who adapted and expanded Ādi Śeṣa's work to form a handbook of the Pratyabhijñā system, and gave it the same name. Between the *Paramārthasāra* and the *Māndūkyakārikā* there are some significant points of resemblance. Neither quotes *verbatim* from the other. This is probably because of the difference in metre. But the similarity in doctrines between the two works is unmistakable. The following doctrinal identities may be noted: (1) The three forms of self, Viśva, Taijasa and Prājña, belonging to the three states, waking, dream and sleep, are but phenomenal. The fourth which transcends them, viz., Turīya, is alone the real.¹ (2) Māyā is the power (śakti) or energy (vibhūti) of the Lord. It constitutes his nature (svabhāva). By Māyā the Lord appears to delude himself as it were. The endless diverse forms such as prāṇa are illusorily posited.² (3) In truth, however, there is neither origination nor destruction, neither bondage nor release.³ (4) The one who has realised the truth is free to live as he wills. The ethical standards do not apply to him, because he has transcended the realm of morals. In this respect he is comparable

1. Gk, I, 11; PS, 31.

2. Gk, I, 9; II, 12, 19; PS, 30, 32, 33, 56.

3. Gk, II, 32; PS, 69.

to non-conscious beings or ignoramuses.⁴ (5) With no system of thought is Advaita in conflict. The different schools contradict one another. But they are not inconsistent with Advaita, since all of them proclaim the self of all.⁵ Besides these doctrinal similarities, one who reads the two works closely will notice that many of the key terms and phrases are the same in both and that both make use of rope-snake, shell-silver and the ether analogies.

On the ground of the points of resemblance set forth above, can any suggestion be made regarding the sequence of the two works? Professor S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri has suggested that the *Paramārthasāra* may well be considered to be the original which was drawn upon by Gauḍapāda.⁶ The reasons given by Professor Sastri for his suggestion are as follows: (1) Ādi Śeṣa seems undecided as to the unity or plurality of *jīvas*, whereas Gauḍapāda seems more definitely against plurality. Hence it is that the latter characterises analogies like those of clay and its products, fire and its sparks, as being purportful only as introducing the doctrine of non-difference, not as teaching difference.⁷ Since Gauḍapāda is more definitely inclined towards *eka-jīva-vāda*, the probability is that he came after Ādi Śeṣa. (2) In Kārikā III, 15, Gauḍapāda juxtaposes the illustrations of clay and fire. The first illustration occurs in the *Chāndogya*, and the second in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and the *Muṇḍaka*. The juxtaposition of these two illustrations in one kārīkā is not by itself unintelligible. But it would be more plausible if conceived as referring to and rejecting a similar juxtaposition elsewhere. This is just what we find in the *Paramārthasāra*, where in one verse (46) there is reference to the clay analogy, and in the very next (47) there is the illustration of the sparks issuing from the fire in a piece of heated metal. Probably Gauḍapāda had these two verses before him, when he juxtaposed the two illustrations only to refute them.

These reasons by themselves, we submit, cannot make plausible the suggestion that Gauḍapāda borrowed from Śeṣa's work. (1) In the first place, Gauḍapāda does not seem to uphold *eka-jīva-vāda*. As Professor Sastri himself admits, Gauḍapāda does offer an explanation for the empirical plurality of *jīvas* on the analogy of

defilement of a single pot ether not affecting the ether in the other pots; and this is identical with the explanation given by Śeṣa.⁸ What Gauḍapāda is concerned to maintain is *ekā-tma-vāda*; and this is the backbone of all forms of Advaita. In Kārikā III, 3, for instance, the plural *jīvaiḥ* is used, and it is said that the Ātman appears in the forms of the *jīvas*. (2) In Kārikā III, 15, there is a reference not only to two illustrations but to three which are explicitly mentioned and to all other such illustrations which are implied by the words *et cetera*. The examples of clay (*mṛt*) and metal (*loha*) appear in the *Chāndogya* (VI, i, 4-5); and the illustration of sparks issuing from fire occurs in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (II, i, 20), the *Muṇḍaka* (II, i, 1) and the *Maitrī* (vi, 26) *Upaniṣads*. Taking these illustrations as specimens, Gauḍapāda observes that Scripture has non-difference for purport even when it teaches creation. It is but natural that he should have chosen his examples from different Upaniṣads in order to show that all of them have the same purport. There is no refutation of the illustrations, as Professor Sastri suggests. What Gauḍapāda does is only to bring out the implication of the illustrations. And it is possible for one who would like to place Ādi Śeṣa after Gauḍapāda to argue as follows: Śeṣa cites the analogy of clay and its products along with another (the body and its limbs) in verse 46, and says in the spirit of the *Chāndogya* and the *Kārikā* that the non-dual self appears as if different in the phenomenal manifold (*advaitam dvaitavad bhāti*). In the next verse (47) there is a jumble of two analogies into one, and the sparks are pictured as issuing out of a heated metal. In none of the three Upaniṣads (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, *Muṇḍaka* and *Maitrī*) where the fire-sparks illustration is found is there a mention of metal.⁹ Probably, Śeṣa had before him the kārīkā of Gauḍapāda and understood the words *loha-visphuliṅga* to mean *loha-gatād dahanāt visphuliṅga-gaṇāḥ iva*. The interpretation though not unintelligible, is a little ingenious. Abhinavagupta has only one verse in his *Paramārthasāra* corresponding to the two of Śeṣa's work, and he omits the analogy of clay, and instead of heated metal and sparks, gives the illustration of 'a radiant thing and its modes.'¹⁰ (3) The view that Gauḍapāda was

4. Gk, II, 36-37; PS, 76-79.

5. Gk, III, 17; IV, 5; PS, 65.

6. *The Paramārthasāra of Ādi Śeṣa*, Karnataka Publishing House Bombay (1941), p. ix. See also JORM, Vol. xiii, pp. 99-100, *Some observations on the Māṇḍūkya Kārikās*.

7. Gk, III, 15.

8. Op. cit., p. ix; Gk: III, 5; PS, 36.

9. *Bṛh*: agneḥ; *Muṇḍ*: sudīptāt pavakāt; *Maitrī*: vahneh.

10. V. 49: aham eva viśvarūpaḥ kara-caraṇādi-svabhāva iva dehaḥ, sarvasmin aham eva sphurāmi bhāveṣu bhāsvarūpam iva. 'It is I who take form as the universe, like a single body composed of hands, feet, etc. In the whole it is I who am revealed as a radiant thing in its modes.' (L. D. Barnett's translation). See JRAS, 1910; p. 734.

earlier than Śeṣa may be sought to be strengthened by comparing the verses in the two works that deal with the three forms of the self. In verse 31 Śeṣa refers to Viśva, Taijasa and Prājña and says that they veil the fourth, viz., Turiya. If we look at the verses that precede and succeed verse 31, we will notice that there is some casualness about this verse. Verse 30 speaks of Vāsudeva who, as if desiring to sport, spreads himself out in endless diverse forms. Verse 32 says that the *deva* deludes himself, as it were, through his own Māyā, and again realises the self, as it were. There is thus a natural connection between these two verses. The interposition of verse 31, referring as it does to the Turiya in the neuter gender, appears rather out of place. The discussion of the three states of waking, dream and sleep and of the three forms of self, Viśva, Taijasa and Prājña and the exposition of the nature of the Turiya as the reality underlying them are all in place in the *Gauḍapāḍakārikā*. The *kārikās* of the first prakaraṇa constitute, in fact, an explanation of the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad*, and so could not have been modelled after a single verse of the *Paramārthasāra*. It would appear, therefore, that Śeṣa or whoever was the author of the verse in question should be considered the borrower in this case. Either on his own authority or on the ground of some tradition, Śeṣa adds the phrase *ādi-madhya-nidhana* (beginning, middle and end) in apposition with *viśva-taijasa-prājña*. And Abhinavagupta paraphrases it as *sṛṣṭi-sthiti-samhārāḥ* (origination, sustentation and destruction).¹¹ (4) Professor V. Bhattacharya thinks that Śeṣa must be dated even later than Bhāskara (9th Century A.D.), one of the post-Śaṅkara commentators of the *Vedāntasūtra*, for he seems to be acquainted with the theory of creation held by Bhāskara. Śeṣa effects a synthesis of the Sāṅkhya and the Vedānta doctrines of creation and finds a place also for the theory of *aṇḍa* or cosmic germ which is found, for instance, in the *Manusmṛiti* (I, 8 ff) and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (I, 2, 58 ff). In his commentary on *Manu* I, 8, Kullūkabhaṭṭa observes that the view of the Sāṅkhyas as regards the evolution of the non-intelligent Prakṛti is not acceptable to Manu, and that in his view is reflected the doctrine of *tridaṇḍi-vedānta*,¹² viz, that Brahman itself is the cause of the world through *avyakta* which is its power.¹³ That the world is a transformation of Brahman

11. Op. cit., V. 34.

12. The School of Bhāskara.

13. See *Manusmṛiti* with Kullūkabhaṭṭa's *Manvartha-muktāvali* (Kasi Sanskrit Series) p. 6.

through *avyakta* is the view of Bhāskara.¹⁴ Śeṣa seems to be aware of this view when he says that by Upendra (Viṣṇu) the world is created because of his own primal nature (*mūla-prakṛti*). He makes this statement, as it is but proper, under the seal of Advaita, viz., that the world is non-real and appears as if real.¹⁵

Though the view sketched above seems to be attractive, there are difficulties in accepting it as plausible. In the *Paramārthasāra* the terminology of Advaita is not fixed and defined. The work appears to mark a stage in the development of Advaita doctrine earlier than the one effected by Śaṅkara. So far as definiteness and fixity go, the *Paramārthasāra* is not even so advanced as the *Gauḍapāḍakārikā*. It would appear that Śeṣa's aim was to provide Vedānta with a short manual on the model of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*. The approach to Advaita he makes is also through the Sāṅkhya. The style and language he employs bear the stamp of antiquity.¹⁶ Though it cannot be proved from internal evidence, which alone is available to us, that the *Paramārthasāra* was earlier than the *Gauḍapāḍakārikā*, it can be said with a fair measure of certitude that it has come down to us from an age when the Advaita-Vedānta had not attained its character as a well-defined system—a character which it acquired at the deft hands of Śaṅkara.

We may now turn to the other work, viz., the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. As to the identity of the author of this extensive work consisting of over twenty-three thousand verses¹⁷ we know next to nothing. The mythical Vasiṣṭha is the spokesman of the author and the epic Rāma is made the recipient of the teaching. Whether there was a short poem as the original to which additions were later on made we do not know. But the need for abridgement was felt quite early, and there are now available several summaries of the work.

Between the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* and the *Gauḍapāḍakārikā* there is much in common in thought and terminology, though there are to be found only a few identical lines word for word in the two

14. See Udayana's *Nyāyakusumāñjali* (Bibliotheca Indica, Part I) p. 332. *brahma pariṇāter iti bhāskara-gotre yujyate*.

15. V. 9, See *Āgamaśāstra*, pp. xxxii-xxxv.

16. For this suggestion I am indebted to Dr. V. Raghavan.

17. The YV says that it is a composition of thirty-two thousand verses (II, 17, 6); actually there are 23,734 verses to be found in the text.

works.¹⁸ The view that the ultimate reality is non-dual consciousness is common to both Gauḍapāda and Vasiṣṭha. The supreme self is immutable, since it does not suffer modifications. Both the thinkers characterise the world as an appearance, comparable to the imaginary world of dreams or the *fata morgana*. From the standpoint of the supreme truth there is no difference between the dream world and the universe of waking life. For both Gauḍapāda and Vasiṣṭha the world is *māyā-mātra*, an illusion, a fabrication. In reality, there is no creation whatever, none in bondage, none released or to-be-released. The very concept of causality is unintelligible. Ajāti is the truth. Both the authors believe in release as the nature of the self. When the truth is known non-duality alone remains. The path of *yoga* is sketched in both the works, as the one leading to the goal; only the treatment is elaborate in the *Vāsiṣṭha* and not so extensive in the *Kārikā*. That liberation need not wait for the decease of the body is a view held by both the philosophers. Both appear well-acquainted with the Bauddha views and make use of their terminology.

The close affinity in thought and language between Gauḍapāda and Vasiṣṭha is only natural, since both of them teach Advaita. But, from the affinity can anything definite be said as regards the relation of the two teachers in time, Who was indebted to whom? Or was there a common original from which both of them drew material for their philosophical constructions?

Dr. B. L. Atreya has attempted to show that Vasiṣṭha¹⁹ was the earlier of the two philosophers, and that Gauḍapāda was inspired greatly in his composition of the *Kārikā* by the teachings of the *Vāsiṣṭha*. His argument is based on the following grounds: (1) The *Gauḍapādakārikā* was not written as an independent work, as it was offered only as a sort of commentary on the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad*. Gauḍapāda does not claim originality for his views. He refers to previous thinkers by such terms as 'vadāntesu vicakṣaṇāḥ,' 'tattva-vidaḥ,' 'nāyakāḥ' and 'buddhāḥ.' The views attributed to these thinkers and approved by Gauḍapāda are found in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. (2) Unlike Gauḍapāda, Vasiṣṭha claims to have received his doctrines directly from Brahmā and

18. For instance, (1) ādāvante ca yan nāsti vartamānepti tat tathā—Gk, II, 6; IV, 31; YV, IV, 45, 45; (2) upadeśād ayam vādo jñāte devaitam na vidyate—Gk, I, 18; YV, III, 84, 27. The same appears in YV, III, 84, 25 with *avibodhāt* instead of *upadeśāt*.

19. By Vasiṣṭha is meant here the author of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*.

to have realised their truth in his own experience. (3) The *Kārikā* must be taken to represent a later phase of the philosophy of Advaita, for there is found in it a tendency to become critical, hostile and polemical towards other contemporary schools of thought. The *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, on the contrary, is free from polemics and looks at the rival schools from a higher point of view wherein all contradictions are harmonised.²⁰

The reasons given by Dr. Atreya do not appear to prove his case or even make it probable. (1) The *Kārikā* is not a commentary on the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* in the literal sense of the word, though in the first prakaraṇa it seeks to explain the mantras of the *Māṇḍūkya*. It is a prakaraṇa treatise and not a bhāṣya. Even granting that it is a commentary, it does not follow that it must be dated later than the independent work on Advaita of another author. Gauḍapāda's reference to earlier Vedāntins does not mean that among them should necessarily be included Vasiṣṭha. The *Vāsiṣṭha* cannot be credited with originality for all its views, for the seeds of most of them could be traced in the Upaniṣads. Surely, there was not a philosophical vacuum between the age of the Upaniṣads and the times of Gauḍapāda and Vasiṣṭha! There must have passed several generations of Upaniṣadic scholars. It is to some of these that Gauḍapāda refers. Vasiṣṭha also cites the views of earlier Vedāntins.²¹ There is a possibility, therefore, of both Gauḍapāda and Vasiṣṭha having drawn from a common source. (2) That Vasiṣṭha claims to have received his doctrines directly from Brahmā is no proof to establish the priority of the *Vāsiṣṭha* to the *Kārikā*. It must be remembered that, like Plato who makes Socrates his spokesman in the *Dialogues*, the author of the *Vāsiṣṭha* puts his views into the mouth of the sage Vasiṣṭha. The sage having learnt his philosophy from Brahmā is but a philosophical fiction; and it is true only in the sense that all truth is divinely inspired. In this connection, we may also point out that there is a similar tradition concerning Gauḍapāda, viz., that he received his teaching through the grace of Nārāyaṇa in Badarikāśrama. (3) It is not correct to say that the *Kārikā* has a tendency to become critical, hostile, and polemical towards other schools of thought. There are in this work criticisms of categories like the concept of cause. But there is not any hostility to other systems. On the contrary, Gauḍapāda expressly declares that Advaita is opposed

20. See *The Philosophy of the Yogavāsiṣṭha*, pp. 17-19.

21. E. g. IV, 21, 26: vedāntinaḥ.

to no school of thought.²² As for the reference to other views which are contradictory to one another and mutually conflicting that is found in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* too.²³ Hence the reasons offered by Dr. Atreya are not conclusive to show that the *Vāsiṣṭha* was the earlier work and that it was composed probably before Bhartṛhari and after Kālidāsa. As against his view, it has been pointed out that the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* quotes not only from Kālidāsa but also from the works of many other poets and writers who came long after Śaṅkara.²⁴

Another consideration which contributes to placing the *Vāsiṣṭha* after Śaṅkara is that the terms *jīvanmukti* and *jīvanmukta* which are used in that work are not found in the *Kārikā*, nor in Śaṅkara's works. The doctrine of *jīvanmukti* is important for Advaita. Both Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara explain it as an essential part of their philosophy, but without employing the term. If the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* had been composed before the time of Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara, the chances are that they would not have ignored the term *jīvanmukti* used in that work, but would have adopted it themselves to make their theory of liberation while being embodied known by that term.²⁵ So considering the evidence that is available, there seems to be no case for assigning to the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* a date earlier than the *Gauḍapādakārikā*.

A comparison of the three works, then, leads us to conclude that, while the *Gauḍapādakārikā* and the *Paramārthasāra* belong probably to the same era before Śaṅkara, the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* is a post-Śaṅkara composition.

22. III, 17: tair ayam na virudhyate. IV, 5: vivadāmo na taiḥ sārddham avivādām nibodhata.

23. E. g., III, 62, 10-11; 84, 22-27. vivadanto hy asambuddhāḥ savikalpa vijṛmbhitaiḥ (cited by Prof. V. Bhattacharya: Op. cit., p. xxxvii).

24. See *The Date of the Yogavāsiṣṭha* by Dr. V. Raghavan (JORM, Vol. XIII, pp. 110-128). Dr. Raghavan places the YV between the 11th and the middle of the 13th century. He cites passages of the YV which show that the author had a knowledge of Śaṅkara's works, as e.g., the verse which contains the expression *sāmadhyuṣmad*. For parallels between the YV and the works of other writers, see the article in JORM.

25. Of the Upaniṣads only the later *Muktikā Upaniṣad* uses the term *jīvanmukta*. See Das Gupta: HIP, Vol. II, pp. 245 ff.

CEREAL PRODUCTION IN MADRAS

By

C. W. B. ZACHARIAS

Next to the energetic conduct of the war, the food problem is the most pressing problem confronting the country to-day. To find a solution for it is the manifest duty of the Government and the people. The solution, whatever it is, should comprehend the immediate necessity and the long-range requirement, and should if possible envisage a continuity of policy. The problem is an all-India one and the long-range solution for it is undoubtedly the attainment of self-sufficiency for the country as a whole. But in India with its diverse soil and climatic conditions and the long distances between regions, self-sufficiency for the whole is best secured through regional self-sufficiency. Central policy should be built up on this basis, and Central direction should be restricted to cases where regional frontiers do not coincide with provincial boundaries and should resolve into mere co-ordination in cases where they do.

In the case of some regions this policy may be clearly ruled out for lack of avenues to be explored. To Madras however self-sufficiency is well within reach, and with determined efforts in that direction it may even be possible to produce in excess of our needs with a view to discharging the special responsibility which would from geographical proximity, seem to lie on her of succouring the States of Travancore and Cochin and in a less degree Mysore and Hyderabad. But what is exactly possible would depend on the potentialities of the situation, the discovery of which is the initial step in the direction of a solution.

In this paper a survey is made of food production in Madras Presidency as it has been developing in the immediate past so as to discover the main lines of policy to be pursued in the future, and an attempt is made to fix a target for production for the next few years. The study is confined to cereal production, for, howsoever desirable it may be to increase the production and consumption of 'protective foods,' that aim at the present time must remain only as an ultimate objective.

The review covers a period of twenty-four years, 1919-1943. The acreage and yield figures are taken from the Season and Crop Reports published from year to year. Acreage figures for this province are admittedly correct, but yield figures, being based

on subjective estimates, are supposed to be affected by a pessimistic bias. Though incorrect as data without proper allowances for the study of the adequacy of the food raised within the province, these figures may legitimately be used to make 'time comparisons.'¹

Table I gives the area under the principal food and non-food crops for the years 1919-43 reduced to quinquennial averages for the years 1919-39. Table II gives the yield figures relating to cereal crops for the same period reduced in the same manner to quinquennial averages. Since the district of Ganjam was transferred to the Orissa province in April 1936, Ganjam figures have been deducted wherever necessary to ensure comparability throughout. In converting unhusked into husked grain the official rates of conversion have been adopted to make the estimates as conservative as possible. In the absence of specific seed rates for the different cereals applicable to the whole presidency, the seed rate of 3·5% of husked grain given in the Report on the Marketing of Rice for rice has been adopted for all cereals.

TABLE I
Area under principal crops—Madras Presidency, 1919-43
Quinquennial averages
(In million acres)

Crop.	1919-24	1924-29	1929-34	1934-39	1939-42	1942-43
Gross area sown..	35·38	36·38	37·01	36·24	36·68	36·74
Area under food crops.	28·51	27·97	28·65	27·35	27·74	28·01
Percentage of area under food crops to gross area sown.	80·5	78	78	75·7	75·6	76·2
Area under cereals.	24·03	24·00	24·00	22·99	23·29	23·47
Percentage of area under cereals to gross area sown.	68·7	66	65	63·4	63·5	63·8
Area under non-food crops.	6·63	8·41	8·56	8·85	8·93	8·73
Area under rice.	9·83	9·81	10·47	9·92	10·27	10·38
Area under cholam.	5·22	4·71	4·72	4·97	4·87	4·85
Area under cumbu.	3·02	3·10	2·80	2·70	2·62	2·66
Area under ragi	2·30	2·12	2·02	1·77	1·73	1·82
Area under cotton.	2·24	2·50	2·16	2·39	2·38	2·21
Area under groundnut.	1·53	2·80	3·29	3·35	3·44	3·38
Area under tobacco.	·20	·25	·25	·29	·32	·28
Area under fodder crops.	·32	·42	·46	·46	·43	·37
Current fallows.	9·84	10·07	9·90	9·88	9·61	9·35

1. P. J. Thomas and N. S. Sastri: *Indian Agricultural Statistics*, p. 89.

TABLE II
Yield of cereals—Madras Presidency—1919-43.

Quinquennial averages
(In thousand tons)

Crop.	1919-24	1924-29	1929-34	1934-39	1939-42	1942-43
Rice. (a)	4679	4647	4954	4607	4849	4590
Cholam.	1419	1337	1323	1261	1309	1098
Cumbu.	780	816	754	659	685	606
Ragi.	1016	980	967	823	813	756
Maize.	48	57	49	30	30	25
Korra.	217	314	295	246	284	181
Varagu	417	410	410	319	343	345
Samai.	128	154	157	97	116	97
Total.	8703	8695	8910	8001	8431	7598
Total husked.	7765	7949	8191	7405	7761	7110
Less seed.	7493	7671	7905	7147	7489	6861
Per capita production of all cereals.	lbs. 416	lbs. 405	lbs. 398	lbs. 340	lbs. 327	lbs. 305
Per capita production of rice.	lbs. 250	lbs. 246	lbs. 249	lbs. 215	lbs. 227	lbs. 197

An analysis of the statistical material leads to the following conclusions:—

1. Absolutely and relatively to the gross area sown the area under food crops from 1934 onward was below the level reached in the quinquennium 1919-24.
2. The area under cereals also was characterized by the relative decline.
3. The area under non-food crops, principally groundnut, tobacco and fodder crops, was throughout the period extending at the expense of cumbu and ragi, and non-food crops generally were appropriating all the new area brought under cultivation.
4. The 'net outturn'² of cereals during the last nine years of the period was no higher than the average for the quinquennium 1919-24.

(a) Husked grain.

2. Net outturn may be defined as the quantity ready for consumption after husking and making provision for seed.

5. The quinquennium immediately preceding the outbreak of war, 1934-39, was specially marked by a highly depressed state of grain production, lowest levels being recorded both in acreage and in yield.
6. Throughout the entire period production of food grains was drawing farther and farther away from population (revealed by the figures relating, to per capita production).

Some of these conclusions receive substantial confirmation from the relevant trade figures. Full trade figures are not available for all the years included in the study. The publication of the accounts relating to the internal trade of India (rail and river borne) was discontinued in 1922 as a measure of economy and was revived only about the year 1934. They are not readily available after 1939 either. As Madras has a large volume of trade by rail and river the absence of these statistics for the years 1922-34 makes comparison difficult. The available figures are given in the table below.

TABLE III
Net Importation of Foodgrains into Madras Presidency
(In thousand tons)

Commodity.	1918-19	1919-20	1920-21	Average for 1919-21	1934-35
Total grains and flour.	85	447	309	378	1224
Rice.	78	405	250	327.5	912

1935-36	1936-37	1937-38	1938-39	Average for 1934-39	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42
1173	729	801	851	896	860	3353	1854
879	613	626	631	732	887	3505	1856

3 & 5. Estimated from the average trade figures for 1938-41 given in the Report of the Food Grains Policy Committee, p. 16.

4. Includes rice only by sea borne and coasting trade.

6. Includes only sea borne and coasting trade. Since by rail and river Madras is a net exporter of rice, to arrive at net importation a deduction of 50 to 70 thousand tons will be required.

Since the purpose here is only to test the conclusions derived from acreage and production figures, reliance can be placed without much damage to the result on the figures at our disposal. Taking the two year period 1919-21 it is seen that the average net importation of grains and flour (excluding grams and pulse) was 378,000 tons. These two years came immediately after the famine and pestilential year of 1918-19 during which, as may be reasonably expected, heavy drafts must have been made on the 'carry over.' It may therefore safely be inferred that this figure represents abnormally high importation to rebuild the carry over. This becomes fairly evident from the net import figures of the two years, 1918-19 and 1919-20. Net imports of rice increased from 78,000 tons in 1918-19 to 405,000 tons in 1919-20; imports of pulse increased from 97,000 tons to 141,000 tons; and total grains, pulse and flour increased from 188,000 tons to 608,000 tons in spite of the increased production of the year. Even if we accept the net importation of 378,000 tons as normal for the period, it will be seen that in the later quinquennium, 1934-39, average net importation was on a much higher level, 896,000 tons. In the following year too, the first year of the war, the same high level was maintained. The natural inference is that during this period internal production in relation to population was heavily declining. The situation as regards rice was not very different. In 1919-21 average net imports were 327,000 tons as against 732,000 tons in 1934-39 and 887,000 tons in 1939-40.

The question may now be raised whether these conclusions have any special relevance to the food difficulties experienced now. The decline in acreage and production in the quinquennium 1934-39 can hardly be said to have any direct relation to the food crisis. The fact that the crisis did not come with the opening of hostilities, but much later and only after production had begun to expand again, excludes the possibility of striking such a relation. Nor is there any ground for the supposition that the carry over was being depleted during the period. The high level of production in the quinquennium immediately preceding it and the substantially higher imports of the period under review lead to the inference that stocks must have been maintained at a high and constant level. However the leeway to make up in the subsequent period of slow expansion was great, and this may be said to establish an indirect connection between the depression of this period and the later difficulties.

Much more significance attaches to the growing gap between population and production which marked the entire period,

1919-43. It indicates the growing dependence of the Presidency on external supplies. As long as these supplies could be got without difficulty there was no food problem. The first impact of war on food supplies was through the creation of transport difficulties, and with the beginning of these difficulties a crisis was impending. In the first two years of the war however imports were maintained at almost the same level as in the preceding quinquennium, the fall in imports in 1940-41 being explained by the high level of production. In 1941-42 imports fell heavily causing, as may be expected, great depletion of stocks. The low stocks with which the next year opened, the phenomenally low production of that year and the loss of Burma which meant the loss of an average importation of 733,000 tons of rice and 649,000 tons of pulse and gram eventually ushered in the crisis. The crisis was therefore the direct result of our increasing dependence on outside supplies.

To make good the deficit caused by the loss of sources of supply is the problem ahead. In a normal year the deficit can be measured by net importation. With increasing population however the deficit of a past year cannot be used as the basis for estimating a prospective deficit. Some other method has to be devised for this calculation. The method originally adopted by the Food Department of the Government of India to determine the state of surplus or deficit in any area in any crop and in any year was the calculation of the difference between current production and the amount normally available for consumption, the latter being defined as internal production plus imports from all sources minus exports to all destinations. The actual formula which the provinces were asked to adopt was the following:—The annual requirements of each food grain were to be determined on the basis of the lowest figure of amount available for consumption during the three years immediately preceding the war. Provision was also made for any justifiable modifications. In the Basic Plan this formula underwent a change. Each province was asked to calculate annual requirement of each food grain "as being the amount of that food grain required in the province during that one of the three years immediately preceding the war in which the total requirements of *all food grains* in the province were the lowest."⁷ The intention behind all these modifications was to

7. Report of the Food Grains Policy Committee.

minimize the deficits and exaggerate the surpluses so that the Central Government might with less difficulty make provincial allotments of available supplies.

The Food Grains Policy Committee after a review of this formula and the modifications thereof recommended the estimation of normal consumption requirements on the basis of the average amount available for consumption during the five year period ending March 31st, 1942. This alteration in the formula was thought necessary in order to bring the basic period as near to the year under consideration as possible and to give a broader span to the basic period itself. To the year 1943-44 the quinquennium suggested was near enough to yield fruitful results, but the farther away the year under review goes from this quinquennium the less relation will there be between the two, thus defeating the principle involved in the method, and the less correct will be the estimates. To suggest, as the Committee have incidentally done, that this quinquennium is the nearest normal period to any year of the food crisis is to overlook the fact that it includes three years of the war period during which control being ineffective food prices were rising unaccompanied by any compensating rise in incomes, thereby inflicting on the poorer sections of the population a reduced rate of consumption. Calculations according to this method would admittedly result only in the determination of the requisite amount for consumption on an austerity basis. Since the Food Department and the Food Grains Policy Committee were more concerned with the discovery of a formula for fixing deficits and surpluses for the provinces to ensure an equitable distribution of all-India supplies the adoption of an austerity standard was perhaps legitimate. They had necessarily to accept as given data the higher prices and reduced consumption prevalent everywhere.

In fixing a target for production however a more liberal provision has to be made. The normal quantity required for consumption is the amount which will meet effective demand at normal prices. This quantity can be discovered only by going back to the quinquennium which immediately preceded the outbreak of war. The low production of that period was fully offset by high importation and since the Depression had lifted by then the consumption rate could be expected to reflect the revival of prosperity.

The average annual per capita consumption during that period calculated on the basis of production and net import figures and

estimated population⁸ was 336 lbs. Adopting this rate of consumption, a target for production may be fixed for the estimated population of any future year. Another and perhaps a more accurate method would be to determine the per capita consumption for the population above 2 years and accept that as the standard rate. The error in the estimation of future population would be slight and will be introduced only if the variation of total population alters a great deal from what it was in the decade 1931-41, and its age composition undergoes a marked change. Calculated according to this method the average annual per capita consumption for the period 1934-39 was 408 lbs.⁹ This quantity is manifestly out of accord with the ideal quantity of 1 lb. of cereal per day per person suggested by Dr. Akroyd, the nutritional expert. That this ideal quantity had little to do with the quantity actually demanded in the past is clearly indicated by the relevant figures. The high level of importation during the years 1934-39 would seem to require some explanation if demand was regulated by this ideal figure. What is ideally desirable is bound to be different from the quantity determined by effective demand which is based on incomes, prices and the food habits of the people. Since the food habits of the people alter only slowly, the actual demand as it existed in the past offers a better working hypothesis than the ideally desirable.

Accepting this consumption rate of 408 lbs. per year the net outturn of cereals required for the year 1944-45 would be 8.72 million tons distributed among the various cereals in the proportions in which they were available in 1934-39. That means that rice should form 65% of this quantity. For the years 1945-49 the required quantities are given below.

	1945-46	1946-47	1947-48	1948-49
Estimated population above 2 (in millions).	48.12	48.40	48.68	48.97
Quantity required for consumption (in thousand tons).	8764	8815	8867	8920

8. Population was estimated by equally distributing the increase between 1931 and 1941 over all the years of the decade.

9. This includes the quantity imported into Cochin port and absorbed by the Cochin State and excludes the yield of 'other cereals' for which no production figures are available. These two figures may be expected to cancel each other.

To reach these levels production must increase by 16.5% in the current year and by 19.1% by 1948. This estimate differs from the one that may be derived from the Food Grains Policy Committee's formula roughly by 1 million tons for the year 1944-45. A margin of one million tons in a production target over a scarcity ration may reasonably be taken as the irreducible minimum.

The above estimates do not provide for the increase in the rate of consumption which may be caused by the nearer approach to full employment and the rising level of incomes. The effective control of food prices having removed their counteracting influence a special allowance for this may appear to be needed. Against it there is the consideration that the income elasticity of the demand for the staple food is limited to certain income groups and in those groups the rise in incomes has been neither uniform nor commensurate with the rise which had taken place in prices before they were stabilized. The little allowance which on balance may seem to be needed is however made by the conservative estimates of production made throughout the study.

The methods available for raising this additional quantity are (1) intensive cultivation, (2) diversion of land from non-food crops and (3) extension of cultivation into the culturable waste and current fallows. The Government of Madras in their Grow More Food Campaign appear to have preferred the first and the last to the second. From a long-range point of view relying on intensive methods is definitely the best course, but the immediate possibilities here being limited the efficacy of the other methods also should be canvassed. It is extremely doubtful whether through intensive methods more than 10% additional yield can be got in the next few years. Dr. Burns in his report on the Technological Possibilities in the Development of Agriculture in India makes a conservative estimate that through improved varieties, increased manuring and control of pests a 30% increase in production could be brought about—5% through improved seed, 20% through manuring and 5% through control of pests. To get this result only high yielding varieties of seed should be used, manuring should be at the rate of one ton of oil cakes per 5 acres and the innumerable pests should be controlled. On this basis the quantity of manure required for the 24 million acres under cereals in Madras would be 4.8 million tons of oil cakes or 240,000 tons of sulphate of ammonia. For the rice crop alone 2 million tons of oil cakes or 100,000 tons of sulphate of ammonia would be required. There are no reliable statistics of oil cake production in the province but a

rough official estimate places total production at 267,000 tons, of which 246,000 tons are groundnut cakes. A portion of this quantity is fed to cattle leaving a balance of 200,000 tons available for manuring. This quantity is barely 1/10 of what is required.

The quantity of farm yard manure (cattle and buffaloes alone) produced in the province may be roughly estimated at 131.8 million tons.¹⁰ Since the nitrogen content of farm yard manure is very much less, being only 0.5%, proper manuring to secure the same result will involve the utilisation of 2 tons of manure to an acre. A great part of this manure is burnt as fuel now leaving only about 33.4% for the land, all of which is used even now. Any increase for manuring purposes is therefore, conditioned by the discontinuance of the practice of burning it as fuel. At present the area under green manures in the province is only about one million acres. An extension of this area is possible at least in the paddy fields of the deltaic regions and through the distribution of green manure seed now being done under the Grow More Food Campaign some result may be expected, but they cannot be appreciable as the nitrogen content of this manure is only 0.7%. The preparation of composts out of night soil and their use as manure is said to offer immense possibilities, but even if a beginning is made now it will take some years before the practice becomes general. The full exploitation of the opportunity afforded by manuring for increasing the yield would seem to wait upon the importation or the production within the province of chemical fertilizers. This is bound to take time and though the Government is earnest about developing the fertilizer industry, the limitations imposed by war conditions would doubtless act as a brake. All things considered the 20% increase through manuring visualised by Dr. Burns does not appear to be within the range of achievement in the near future.

The results which may be obtained through the introduction of improved varieties under present plans will hardly exceed a 2.5% increase in yield. The scheme of seed distribution now being worked by the Department of Agriculture in nine districts of the presidency will result in some advance, the exact extent of which

10. Calculated on the basis of the following daily output rates, adult cattle, 40 lbs., adult buffalo, 50 lbs., and young stock, 20 lbs., given by W. Burns in *Technological Possibilities in the Development of Agriculture in India*.

cannot now be assessed. If expectations are fulfilled, half the area of the province under rice will by the end of 1946 be under new varieties giving an additional yield of 2.5%. To provide improved seed to the full acreage under cereals the total quantity of seed required at the rate of 3.5% of husked grain yield will be 270,000 tons. The difficulty here is not so much growing the seed as inducing the farmers to purchase it. As regards crop protection, quantitative estimates are hardly possible.

Resort must therefore be had to uncultivated land. If half the stipulated increase be allotted to new area brought under cultivation, on the basis of the normal yield of paddy on unirrigated land, 1.7 million acres of new land should be cultivated. Actually however more than this acreage will be required, as new land cannot be expected to give the same yield as land already under the plough. Through revenue free assignments of lands and the free supply of water wherever possible, some extension can doubtless be made, but the limiting factor here would appear to be a shortage of venturesome peasants. Keeping in view the peace time requirement of a proper balance between food and non-food crops the utmost that is possible in this direction should be attempted.

If recourse is had to diversion of land from non-food crops, the extent of irrigated or unirrigated land which will have to be thus diverted to grow half the required increase will respectively be 1.2 million and 1.7 million acres. The total irrigated land at present under non-food crops is only about one million acres all of which cannot be diverted. That part of it which is now under cotton, approximately 0.3 million acres, offers the best possibility of diversion, for cotton is the one non-food crop which may readily be thought of in this connection. For the rest a diversion of unirrigated land will be necessary.

But any action taken here, and action here would appear to be inevitable, should be based upon a well defined and effectively applied policy on the part of the State. Such a policy is specially essential in a situation where through control of prices the usual monetary incentives to production are removed. Reliance on *laissez faire*, even if modified by propaganda, will hardly suffice. More tangible inducements are required and even a resort to compulsion, if voluntary methods appear inadequate, will be fully justified by the urgency of the problem. Only the main elements of such a policy can be indicated here. They would appear to be (1) the selection of the non-food crops from which diversion

Does all this mean that any intelligent planning of social processes is well nigh impossible? Surely not. While society is an organism and has the principle of spontaneous growth in it, it is well to remember that it is a cultivated organism like a plant in one's garden or a highly domesticated animal. The laws governing the plant in the garden are not the blind laws which govern the plant in the jungle. The passive adaptation of the jungle is rapidly replaced by the active, conscious adaptation of civilised existence. So within certain broad limits society allows itself to be moulded by man's intelligence and conscious thinking. From this point of view, therefore, one is justified in planning the re-construction of society. But like all great truths, it is only a half-truth; and half-truths can very well be the blackest of lies. The other half-truth is that society creates and re-creates itself. If re-construction has its place in society, so has re-creation. Most ancient societies which have survived had the principle of reviving and re-vivifying themselves when the need arose, while a good many of modern societies depend upon man's wit and planning.

Sound planning necessitates a thorough understanding of the natural laws of evolution and change. Schemes of social planning are bound to fail if account is not taken of racial and social factors, of the customs and *mores* of a people, of certain unexplained tendencies and behaviour, and even of the prejudices and predilections of a people. Yet 're-creation' should not be unduly emphasised at the expense of re-construction. Over-emphasis on re-creation leads to fatalism which has been a bane of many an Oriental society, just as over-emphasis on re-construction leads to the facile and easy-going meliorism of some of the youthful among Western societies. What is needed is something of a middle course between the two extremes. Old foundations should be retained where sound, and new superstructures built on them. Re-construction ought not to exclude re-creation.

Society and the Individual

In planning for the future of society, a question which confronts one at the very outset is whether society or the individual is the unit of our thought and discussion. It is needless to say that this question is one of those eternal riddles for which there is no satisfactory answer. Attempt to solve it is much like trying to find a solution to the question whether the chicken or the egg came first in the course of evolution. All that can be safely asserted is that society and the individual are intimately wrapped up together, and it is folly of the highest order to emphasise one

at the expense of the other. Society is as necessary for the individual as the individual is for society. In the case of a society fighting for its very existence or defending itself against heavy odds, social needs and social safety may have to take precedence over individual needs and individual safety. But as a general rule, at least in normal times, the individual in society is the starting point of our thought and discussion.

In our day Nazi Germany has shown clearly the superb strength and colossal weakness of caring for social welfare almost to the exclusion of individual welfare. In Nazi Germany the State is powerful and the party is all in all. But the individual is reduced to a position of absolute impotence. He is a mere cog in the wheel. His life has no meaning or significance apart from the life of the State. He cannot think or act for himself. There is no freedom of thought, speech or writing. Religious freedom is to be found nowhere. The Jews have been persecuted in the most barbarous manner imaginable. Such a society as a society may be strong and even prosperous. But it is a slave society—a society which contains within itself the seeds of its own decay and disruption.

In Soviet Russia too, especially in the early years of the communist experiment, there has been regimentation, but not of the soul-crushing variety seen in Nazi Germany. It is to be hoped that with the winning of the war, the Russian individual will come back into his own and be able to hold his head aloft.

A truth which follows what has been said is that society does not exist for its own sake. It is not the be-all and end-all of existence. A society can be said to be strong and happy only to the extent to which its individual members are strong and happy. Human society is not like a society of bees or ants. The individual bee or ant is of little consequence. What matters is the prosperity of the beehive or of the swarm of ants as a whole. This over-emphasis on the group life to the exclusion of individual life and prosperity is seen clearly when a swarm of locusts goes on its mission of depredation. Thousands perish in the way, but a blind instinct keeps the swarm moving, making short work of every bit of green on the way.

In the right planning of society, therefore, we must pay as much attention to society as to the individual. The two must march together *pari passu*.

Difficulties in Stating Principles

One chief difficulty in stating the principles of social reconstruction is that principles in the very nature of the case are of such a general character that one may read much or little into them. It is a well-known fact that on the basis of idealism Hegel built a theory of statism, while on the same basis T. H. Green and Bosanquet later constructed a negative theory of State action. Both J. S. Mill and Herbert Spencer are reckoned to be individualists and yet what a gulf separates Spencer's form of individualism bordering on anarchism from Mill's individualism which, in the economic field at least, is made to agree with the demands of socialism, if not those of communism. To cite Mill again, textbook writers call him a Utilitarian standing for the principle of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." And yet he travels far away from the "pleasure-pain" principle of Bentham and distinguishes qualities of pleasure which Bentham had failed to do. As T. H. Green points out, once the Utilitarian agrees to interpret "happiness" as something more than "pleasure," meaning something like "blessedness" or "well-being," it is possible for the Utilitarian and the idealist to join hands together and work for the same end.

Another difficulty with principles is that we are living in an age which calls for action and not for theory or speculation. The stress seems to be on method and technique rather than on first principles.¹ The old idea of ends and means is fast giving place to the pragmatic idea of the continuity of means and ends. As F. G. Wilson observes: "To the pragmatist who is thoroughgoing, there is no meaning in a distinction between means and ends which considers ends in any degree apart from the means employed for their attainment. Likewise, as a part of this general proposition, the pragmatist denies the value of the distinction between theory and practice."¹ It is often argued that it is not as though we do not know what we want; but the question is how to attain it. On the one side, there are those who seek to accomplish the desired end by peaceful, evolutionary methods. On the other, there are those who hold that the basic condition of reconstruction is the transference or seizure of political power by the people or their representatives and the utilisation of it in the interests of equality. Which of these points of view will ultimately prevail, so far as India is concerned, it is difficult to say. Meliorism has accomplished

1. Elements of Modern Politics, p. 5.

great results in such enlightened countries as Great Britain and the U.S.A. But its scope is bound to be limited in India, steeped as it is in poverty, illiteracy, and religious intolerance.

The Principle of Equality

Despite the difficulty regarding methods, we can make clear to ourselves the basic principles on which society needs to be reconstructed. Principles like "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" or "the greatest good of the greatest number" are too vague to be of much practical value. As a cynic puts it, the greatest number is one! The principle of equality, more than any other, is what the present-day world demands—but an equality which does not do violence to liberty, particularly civil and political liberty. Equality of ability and inequality of talents are bound to be. But inequality in the social, economic, and political fields needs to undergo radical modification. It is easy enough to argue that equality of economic goods cannot produce equality of enjoyment or equality of satisfaction. But that is no justification for the gross inequality which we find in present-day society. If society is to be reconstructed, we need to eliminate foreign rule, mobilise all resources, socialise public utilities, expropriate vested interests, and carry on mass campaigns to liberate people from their poverty, illiteracy, and the like. It is the duty of the social philosopher to shake the dumb millions of India out of their "pathetic contentment" and make the higher life possible for them. The higher life can be lived even apart from material goods, but that is not possible for the vast majority in the modern world. Education, wealth, leisure, and culture can all be placed within the easy reach of the masses only when the State is organised on behalf of the people and controlled by them. The problems of communalism, social evils, intolerance, etc., can be got rid of not so much by argument as by the action of the State.

While we do not argue a case for a dead, mechanical kind of equality, we earnestly desire to see equality of opportunity and equality of consideration. As Rashdall puts it, "other things being equal, my good is of the same intrinsic value as the good of anybody else." This means that equality should be the rule and inequality the exception. This does not necessarily mean equal wages for unequal work. But it does mean the wiping out of all meaningless distinctions and economic gulfs between the rich and the poor. It calls for a state of society where everybody is enabled to be the very best that he can possibly be, having the

fullest possible opportunity for the development of his body, mind, and spirit.

Social Harmony and Justice

From the principle of equality, we may pass on to the principle of social harmony and justice which must underlie all schemes of social reconstruction. What is wanted is harmony and justice—not at any one level of human existence alone, but at all levels. Mankind has suffered incalculable harm by the circumscribing of loyalties. At a primitive level harmony hardly ever went beyond the limits of one's family, clan, or tribe. The modern world marked a distinct advance when loyalties were widened so as to include the whole of a national community based on such factors as geographical contiguity, racial unity, unity of language and religion, and common economic interests. The need of the hour is for the further widening of the horizon so as to cultivate a vivid sense of world unity and world community. This does not mean the abrogation of lesser loyalties but the correlation of loyalties in such a manner that the lesser automatically give place to the greater and the lower to the higher. A lesson which needs to be inculcated in youth everywhere is that one of the surest marks of a truly cultured person is his ability and willingness to order his loyalties. Harmony within a narrow social group and disharmony without are not the marks of a sound social system.

Men are so constituted that a good many find it difficult to widen their horizons. The most that a large number are prepared to do is to concede the claims of the members of their own economic class, nationality or race. But beyond these limits their attitude is one of sullen indifference, if not of active antipathy. Some of them are, perhaps, atavistic survivals who cannot be trained to be other than what they are. But a good many can be changed by proper home and school training and the necessary environmental changes.

There are those who argue that conflict is at the very root of progress and that without it society will become stagnant. This is a questionable proposition. Conflict of ideas and ideals may be justifiable, but that need not take the form of waging a war against the bodies of those who differ in ideas and ideals. There is no reason why conflict should take the form of extermination—the extermination of one group or other. Healthy rivalry and competition are justifiable in evolving the best possible struc-

ture, but not ruthlessness or destruction. If the whole world is a vast laboratory in which different social experiments are to be conducted in our endeavour to secure what appears to be best for the time being, there is no justification for extermination. In this connection the Eastern ideal of "live and let live" has more to commend it than the Western ideals of discipline and regimentation, although for both the East and the West the right ideal will be "live and help others to live."

Platonic Justice

While social harmony ought to be the fundamental principle of any progressive society, it is not always easy to define it in concrete terms. Plato's idea of justice was that society was to be divided into rulers, warriors, and the working classes and that the members of each class were to perform the tasks assigned to them, without meddling with other people's business. While such a classification may very well fit into an authoritarian society, it cannot very well fit into a modern democratic society which aims at equality as much as at liberty. It is not possible to classify the main occupations of society into three main classes and compel people to stick to these occupations. The economic needs of man have multiplied by leaps and bounds since Plato's time, and the number of occupations is legion. Specialisation has gone on apace so that if we attempt to classify society on the basis of occupations we shall have a "Lilliputian society." Besides, there is no scientific evidence to show that skills are transmitted. It is true that there are families in India which have inherited certain occupational skills, but these are due to family training and close family secrets transmitted from generation to generation. The germ plasm itself is not affected. The Lamarckian theory of transmissibility of acquired characters does not seem to be based on any scientific foundation. As Aristotle discovered long ago, nature is not always consistent. To use his own language, the sons of slaves may be born with the minds of masters and the sons of masters may have only the physical excellence of slaves. This means that we have no right to keep a man to any particular profession, against his personal wishes and disposition. The society which we need today is a fluid society where it will be possible for a person to move up or down in the ladder according to his native gifts and capacities. Whatever the nature of future society may be, talent should not be allowed to perish for want of opportunity or encouragement.

The Caste System

If Plato's idea of harmony and justice is not suited for our times, the same may be said of the Indian caste system too. Under comparatively simpler conditions of society where external authority played a dominant part, caste no doubt had a useful role to play. But to-day it is largely an anachronism. Caste and occupation are no longer coterminous terms. The present war is obliterating the distinction between martial and non-martial classes by drawing into its vortex men and women of all classes and of differing abilities. Even now certain abilities are found more strongly present in certain caste groups than in others. The part of wisdom is to preserve these abilities and make them serve a social end. For this reason, we hesitate to recommend the abolition of caste root and branch. Where certain abilities are found firmly fixed, it will be suicidal to dilute them by thoughtless intermixture.

Even before caste intermixture takes place there should be social equality, legal equality, and equality of opportunity. One of the elementary truths which every student of social affairs should remember is that differences in themselves do not constitute superiority or inferiority. A given difference has a value only in the light of certain circumstances. When the circumstances change, the difference itself may lose its value. Our ultimate aim should be to make the whole of the Indian community intermarriageable, so that where there is a unity of mind and spirit marriages between members of different castes may take place without any comment or criticism. In the realisation of such an end equality before law and equality of opportunity can be of incalculable value.

If Indian society is to be planned aright, serious inroads have to be made into caste. Caste exclusiveness breeds communalism and communalism is a negation of nationalism. The institution of untouchability and the various disabilities that go with it should be put down by the strong arm of the State. A caste or group may organise itself for the social and educational uplift of its members, for the removal of caste disabilities, and for purposes of mutual aid. But no caste or group has any justification to so organise itself as to levy a toll from the rest of the community. Caste in politics and in administration has no place whatever. Yet it is a well-known fact that elections are often contested along the lines of caste; and appointments to public offices and promotions are sometimes unduly governed by the caste affiliations of

the ones at the top. In view of the caste and communal-ridden atmosphere which obtains in India to-day, it may be necessary for some years to come to retain something like a communal representation in the services. But it is nothing short of madness for each community and each caste to insist upon its exact mathematical percentage in all appointments and promotions. The right of the national community to be governed by honest and efficient administrators is much greater than the right of the various communities and castes of India to their share in the loaves and fishes of offices.

The bane of India to-day is the unduly important place given to caste and community. Hindu politics at its worst is caste politics just as Muslim politics at its worst is tribal politics. What is required is a genuine national politics. For good or ill the national community at the present stage of human development seems to be the right unit for the rousing of man's patriotic feelings and sentiments. Therefore, it is high time that attachments to caste and religious community were given a minor place when compared with loyalty to one's country. While the rest of the world is moving from smaller and smaller areas of co-operation to larger and larger areas, caste and communalism bid us do the reverse.

India and Over-Population

Leaving to a later place in the monograph the question of social harmony and justice in international relations, we may consider the question of over-population. A sound principle on which we may work in re-constructing society in India is that if we are to be progressive and hold our own in a world of conflict we must live in large numbers and live well. Malthus has grossly exaggerated the evil of over-population. At the time that he wrote no one dreamt of the almost limitless extent to which we can increase the productivity of the world by the application of science to agriculture, industry, and transport. The population of the world is not outstripping economic productivity to the extent imagined by Malthus. Whatever evils India may be subject to as a result of her teeming population, her millions have been her salvation. If it were not for these millions, the people of India in their contact with the aggressive nations of the West might have gone the way of the Maoris in New Zealand and Red Indians in America. It is our teeming millions which have prevented the effective colonisation of the country by the outsider, reducing us to pieces of curiosity in Government-managed reservations.

In saying all this, it is not suggested that quality does not matter. In India while the average span of life is ridiculously short (about 25 years), the life of the race has been inordinately long. Indians have been able to withstand the inroads of countless waves of foreigners, and they can be relied upon to withstand the inroads of the Britisher. While we want to improve the quality of the stock, it is not to be at the expense of numbers. At the present low stage of economic development, any campaign in favour of birth control will have a dysgenic effect. We shall breed from the bottom and breed out the top. If the man in the street to whom the population problem is a mere academic one is to be educated to the necessity of limiting his family, the proper place to begin is not to lecture to him on the virtues of birth control, but to raise his earning capacity and improve his standard of living. Even here it is not necessary for us to imitate the West in artificially raising the standard of living to such an extent as to favour certain vested interests. The aim of the social reformer in India should be to secure the maximum health and efficiency of the people at the minimum cost.

Good Living

Malthusianism puts the cart before the horse. Our method is to put the cart where it belongs so that first things can be attended to first. If the Indian society is to live in large numbers and live well, one of the urgent needs is to provide a civic minimum for everybody—a minimum necessary not only for food, clothing and shelter, but also for education, culture, and recreation. As time advances a family wage should more and more take the place of an individual wage. The highly industrialised society of the West cares more for worldly comforts and luxuries than for the procreation of children. It is one of the important duties of the State to provide every possible opportunity for the full growth and development of all its children. In attaining this end there should be a multiplication of State services. Wholesome food should be within the easy reach of everybody. For this purpose, when the war is over, it may be necessary to have a permanent Food Ministry, which will eliminate middle-men sharks in the transport and sale of the essential articles of food. Our economy should be such that no one will be able to make huge profits out of speculation in food. The procuring and sale of the principal articles of food should be in the hands of public corporations on which the Government and the consuming public will have a strong

representation. Whatever profit is made will go back into the coffers of the Corporation resulting in lower costs for the consumer.

There should be an ample provision of State medicine so that nobody need be deprived of the best possible medical attention for want of money to pay for it. The medical examination of children at school should not be merely perfunctory. Examination should be followed by adequate provision for treatment and the education of parents in the rules of sound health and nutrition. Education should be free even up to the University stage. Fees may be charged for professional education, but they should not be exorbitant. Those who are found to be incapable of benefitting themselves by any type of education at any particular stage should be speedily weeded out so that they might not act as a drag upon the rest. Alternative methods of training suited to their needs should be provided.

If the Indian society is to live in large numbers and live well, much greater attention should be paid to housing than has been the case hitherto. Most huts in our villages are huddled together in the midst of insanitary surroundings with little or no ventilation. The living habits of the people have to be changed by education, persuasion, and example; even by force if necessary. There is no reason why in such a vast country as India people should be huddled together and live in the midst of dung heaps. Dwelling places in towns and cities also call for immediate attention. There is no justification for several families living together in a single tenement with inadequate lavatory and bathing arrangements. The State and municipality should undertake large scale building work, making it possible for people to buy their houses in easy instalments. Small houses with open space all round are to be preferred to luxuriously equipped flats. Our cities should be transformed into garden cities and cheap and rapid transport should be provided so that people can get to their places of business without much loss of time. Houses and streets should be built according to a well-thought out plan, making ample provision for future development. All principal roads and streets should be lined with shady trees. There should be many more parks, public gardens, open fields, and playgrounds than what we have now. Wretched hovels in our tea and rubber plantations and 'coolie lines' attached to our factories should be rapidly replaced by dwellings fit for human habitation.

If far-reaching changes are to be brought about in making the good life possible for the vast masses, the State should assume a

positive role and not rest satisfied with the mere enforcement of law and order. Already there is a system of graded taxation by means of which the abler and more fortunately placed members of society are made to pay for the needs of the less able and the less fortunate. Graduated inheritance tax and progressive income-tax are in keeping with the ideal we have sketched, and we need a further extension of the principle underlying them. It may be that even after the war is over, there should be something like an Excess Profits Tax preventing huge accumulations of wealth in the making of which the social and economic conditions of the community have played a very large part. If a civic minimum is justifiable, it is natural to ask the question, why not a civic maximum as well? Plato was neither a knave nor a fool when he suggested in his *Laws* that nobody should be more than five times as rich as his neighbours. The time will soon come when severe restrictions will have to be placed on the inheritance of wealth, which gives some people undue advantage over others and releases some from the necessity of earning a living. It is doubtful whether the good life which we covet for everybody is possible apart from a thorough-going socialist planning. Capitalism also can plan for the benefit of society as a whole, but the dice is likely to be loaded in favour of the vested interests. As things are at present, there is a sharp cleavage between the interests of the capitalists and labourers, landowners and peasants, moneylenders and debtors. Legislation can do a great deal in breaking down the middle wall of separation between them; but an ultimate solution is possible only with the establishment of a socialist society.

Public Opinion and Self-help

While legislation can do much in removing unjust conditions and in providing equal opportunity, one must not lose sight of the important fact that public opinion and self-help can play in evolving a strong and stable society. It has rightly been said that no country suffers more from self-inflicted ills than does India. This is particularly true in the realm of social living. The evils of caste and untouchability, the marriage of the immature, the prohibition of widow remarriage, purdah, certain unhygienic ways of living, and faulty diet are fetters which we have forged upon ourselves. Therefore, the remedy for the most part rests with us. If the Sarda Child Marriage Restraint Act is hardly enforced, it is because of the apathy of the people concerned. The time has come to push up the marriage of girls from 14 years to 18 and of boys from 18 to 21. The marriage of

the immature is sapping the life of the nation; and we see that what has happened to the cattle of the country by ignoring the laws of scientific breeding is happening on a large scale to human beings also because of the marriage of the immature and of those who are too closely related to each other. In all these matters sound public opinion should assert itself, even though the law of the country may lag behind for a while. A better thing will be for the law itself to legislate somewhat in advance of the times so that it may serve as a lever in raising public opinion to a higher level. Law should also come to the aid of the progressive-minded in the community by enacting permissive legislation in such matters as inter-caste and inter-communal marriages, re-marriage of widows, and the like. Laws of inheritance should be so changed that whatever applies to sons will also apply to daughters. One set of legal rules and moral code for the husband and another for the wife are out of keeping with the tempo of our time. Both the personal laws of the Hindus and that of the Muslims need to be replaced by a commonsense system of law. If we are to progress there should be no scruple in giving up old religious customs and inhibitions which have ceased to have a meaning to-day. In the kind of society which we want to re-construct, purdah and prudery have no more place than licence which masquerades under the name of liberty.

All this leads us to say that no society can last long which does not rest upon stable moral foundations. No progress is genuine which is not moral. Marriage is not merely the coming together of a man and a woman for the satisfaction of their sexual impulses or even for the procreation of children. It is an enduring experiment in social living. A home at its best is a nursery of social virtues—a place where lessons are taught, more by example than by precept, in mutual aid and co-operation, in service and sacrifice, in friendship and hospitality, and in order and discipline. At its worst a home easily becomes a prison house of selfishness. It is in the home that the foundations of future character are laid and the habits and dispositions of children are formed. Such being the case, any scheme of social reconstruction is foredoomed to failure if it does not give a proper place to the importance of the home and home training. Caste pride and exclusiveness, communal prejudices, and anti-social and anti-national dispositions and attitudes can be set right by proper home training. For the giving of such training we want educated mothers who themselves are filled with a moral zeal and a social passion. The children in turn should be taught to regard the father and mother as a conjoint

authority in their moral training and religious education. One of the urgent needs of our day is the culling out of stories and passages from ancient Indian lore which have a moral and social import and which can be used to great advantage in the training of children. While Christian scholars and priests have made available to children a vast field of simple religious and devotional literature, Hindu and Muslim scholars and priests have practically neglected this task. It is time that social reformers learnt the truth that the foundation for their work is to be laid in the home with the aid of the best that a people's art, music, literature, and philosophy can furnish.

Social Harmony and Justice in the International Field

Attention hitherto has been confined largely to the reconstructing of the national community. We now turn our attention to the world community and see what vast changes have to be made there. If social harmony and justice between the various groups in a national community are of utmost importance, the same is true also of the relations between the national communities themselves.

1. *Racialism must go*: If the concept of a world community is to become a living reality, racialism must go root and branch. It is a significant sign of the times that in the present war the pigment of one's skin is not the basis of our alignments. The United Nations are fighting a 'coloured' race in the East and a white race in the West. The issues involved are economic, political, and moral. They are not primarily racial.

If racialism is to be rooted out, the proper starting point is not the advocacy of an indiscriminate intermixture of races. The proper starting point is the provision of racial justice. What the Negroes of America and other 'coloured' people are clamouring for to-day is justice and not charity. We must give the lie to the unwarranted assumption that the economic and social needs of the Westerner are greater than those of the Easterner and that the Western culture and civilisation are of a higher order. What recent years have shown clearly is that culture and barbarism are not the monopoly of any one people. They are found as much in the East as in the West. It is time that we learnt the simple truth that there is no pure race anywhere in the world and that purity in itself does not mean superiority or inferiority. One of the fundamental duties of all those who seek to bring about justice in racial relations is to work for absolute legal equality and equality

of economic opportunity. Earlier methods of dealing with backward peoples—the methods of enslavement, reduction to economic serfdom, and extermination by means of rum, gunpowder, and syphilis—are no longer in keeping with our changed notions regarding man and society. Whatever be the racial origin of a person, he should be given equal opportunity to strive and equal opportunity to reach positions of eminence by virtue of capacity. Equal wages should be guaranteed for equal work. Questions relating to immigration and emigration should be regulated not on the basis of colour, as is largely the case at present, but on grounds of cultural assimilability, educational attainments, social development, and standard of living.

There is no doubt that many of the Western nations are still victims of a superiority complex and if this war does not cure them of it, it will have been fought in vain. It is encouraging to find that many of the Eastern nations which quietly succumbed to Western aggression are now asserting themselves and are clamouring for a place in the sun. No lover of mankind wants to see a conflagration between the white and coloured races of the world in the future, but one fails to see how it can be avoided if there is a continuance of the kind of racial discrimination which is found in South Africa, East Africa, and portions of the United States—not to speak of the Nazi treatment of the Jews and its attitude towards Asiatic peoples in general. The U.S.S.R. is the only country to-day which seems to have satisfactorily solved the problem of race within its borders. Anti-semitism is punished as a treason to the State. Mr. Ickes, the Secretary for the Interior in the American Republic to-day, confesses that the treatment of minorities in his country, especially of the Negroes, is wretched when compared with the splendid treatment meted out to the minorities in the U.S.S.R. So far as we in India are concerned, one of our first duties is to cultivate in our children true manliness and courage. We have been assiduously trained for generations in slave virtues; and this has enfeebled our character placing a premium on dissimulation and deceit. True manliness does not mean priggishness. It means that a person may be the humblest of men in his personal relations, but will be the proudest of men when it comes to his ideas and ideals and the honour and self-respect of his country and his people. This kind of manliness will make not for war and conflict but for peace and co-operation.

2. *Imperialism and the Colonial system must go*: If racialism is to disappear, imperialism which is both the parent and the child of racialism must also disappear. When C. D. Burns claims that

imperialism is a half-way house between nationalism and internationalism and that it frees a person from the narrowness of village politics and makes him fit for the cosmopolitanism of world politics, he adds insult to injury. In modern times there have been different brands of imperialism ranging from the brutal and ruthless kind of the Germans and the Dutch to the mild variety of the British and Americans. But all at them forge fetters upon the people over whom they exercise authority. Whatever material gains may result from imperialism, there can be no doubt that it hurts souls. It is inimical to self-respect and self-development. It is synonymous with economic exploitation and political domination, however veiled these may be. For some years now British statesmen, including Sir Samuel Hoare of the notorious Hoare-Laval Pact, have been assuring us that the British Empire was fast transforming itself into a commonwealth, replacing coercion by mutual co-operation. But of late Mr. Winston Churchill, whose stubbornness is both his virtue and vice, has been trotting out the slogan "the British Empire and the Commonwealth of Nations." Suffice to say that, however eminent Mr. Churchill may be, he cannot both run with the hare and hunt with the hound. The clear implication of the "British Empire and the Commonwealth of Nations" is "the British Empire (i.e. the coloured part of it) for the sake of the Commonwealth (i.e., the white part)."

D. N. Pritt, the well-known Labour M.P. of Great Britain, has pricked the bubble when he says that all discussion regarding the surrender of absolute national sovereignty and the formation of world federation is not worth the paper on which it is printed if it is not preceded by the surrender of imperialism and the colonial system. Empire means war sooner or later, the crushing of individual and national self-respect, and economic exploitation. Imperialists may readily see the advantages that Empire gives in the realm of defence, trade and citizenship. But the enumeration of such virtues comes with good grace when it comes from the lips of those under imperial rule rather than from imperialists or their paid agents.

"The toad beneath the harrow
Knows where each sharp tooth goes;
The butterfly by the wayside
Preaches contentment to the toad."

3. *Elimination of causes provocative of war:* The greatest curse of mankind to-day is war. On account of the shrinkage of space and the dreadful weapons of war used which bring death

and ruin to those near and far, and the far-reaching economic consequences, everybody becomes involved in war sooner or later. Modern warfare is ruthless in its effects, sapping the energy and vitality of people for years to come depriving them of nutritious food and necessary social services. The gains accruing from it are infinitely small, when compared with the incalculable losses it entails. If the combined wisdom and good-will of the statesmen of our day can prevent war even for the next fifty years, they will go down history as among the greatest benefactors of mankind.

The time to stop a war is not after it has broken or on the eve of its breaking, but twenty or thirty years before. Nations go to war for various reasons. But the chief reason is economic. The fact that certain countries possess vast colonial possessions which stand them in good stead in trade and commerce provokes to war those who are without those advantages, especially when they happen to be ambitious and feel sure of their own might. It is possible to have those economic inequalities adjusted by means of friendly negotiation. But a nation sure of its own physical strength feels that it can get much more by forcing the issue at the point of sword than by peaceful negotiation and palaver. Such being the case, the greatest contribution to peace which colonial powers can make is to put all their possessions into a common pool and work out a system which will place in the forefront the social, economic, and political interests of these possessions and obviate international rivalry for raw materials and markets for finished products. The economic waste involved in modern warfare is so great and the gains accruing from it are so miserably small that one wonders why nations do not agree to give up war, if not for any lofty moral reason, at least as an economic necessity.

Wars must cease if the ideal of a world community is to become a practical fact. Nothing short of a world federation with a world police force accompanied by total disarmament can finally prevent war. In the meantime one may try collective security which in the most critical times turns out to be collective insecurity, a balance of powers, and the disarmament of aggressor nations. But none of these is bound to succeed. The only final solution is the complete surrender of national arms and the policing of the world, by the world, and for the world.

4. *The Creation of an International Mind:*—If we want to abolish war and the causes provocative of it, the creation of an international mind is an urgent necessity. Jingoism and chauvinism

are altogether out of keeping with the needs of the time. The citizen of the future should be a good nationalist and a better internationalist. He should learn to combine genuine nationalism with genuine internationalism. Whatever internal differences the people of India may have, they have no quarrel with the outside world. They have no imperialist designs or any desire to force their culture upon others. All that they want is that they should be allowed to develop their national genius without any let or hindrance. They have their nationals scattered in different parts of Africa and the Eastern world and all that they want for them is freedom from discrimination. Among such a people it is easy to create an international mind and an international outlook. The people of the world should be trained to regard each other, in fact as well as in name, as members of a vast neighbourhood. In facilitating such a training there should be increased mutual intercourse between the various countries of the world, in the form of exchange of professors and students, of scientists and philosophers, of poets and artists, of workmen and technicians, and even of merchants and businessmen. The ideal of a world unity and world community can become a practical fact to-day if we can re-orientate our minds to the changed conditions of our day. Provincialism, chauvinistic nationalism, social pride and exclusiveness, and absolute national sovereignty are outworn creeds which can only be kept up by artificial props. Chief Justice Venkataramana Rao, in his Convocation Address to the graduates of the Madras University (1943) strikes a right note when he says: 'In the architecture of the new world we reverse the principle of the old. We begin with the conception of world society and go down to nation, community and citizen. We must make the world consciousness and unity permanent terms of our thinking and the basic factors in our social life.'

Scope for the Expression of Individual Personality

We have said already that it is possible for a society to be strong and prosperous and yet its individual members may feel "cribb'd, cabin'd and confined." Such a society is a slave society. Social reconstruction is meaningless if it does not produce men and women of strong and upright character who can hold their heads aloft and who are provided with the fullest and freest scope possible for the expression of their personalities. National strength, military prestige, and favourable trade balance are but ashes if the individual members of a given society are not free to develop their best in them for their own satisfaction as well as for the

good of the community. This is particularly true in the case of a normal society which has not got to defend itself against marauders all the time.

All this means that a profound regard for human personality is the cornerstone of any lasting social structure. As a seventeenth century English writer observes: "The poorest he that is in England hath a life to live as the richest he;" and that is the sound basis of any true democracy. If human personality is sacred, there should be liberty for all for the expression of their personalities as well as equality within broad limits. Merely to say that men are born unequal in gifts and capacities and, therefore, equality is impossible of realisation is to beg the question. Our aim should be to reconcile the principle of equality with the fact of natural inequality. Society should be so organised that those who are favoured by nature with a superior intellect, skill or ability of some kind or another will not be allowed to levy a toll from the rest of the community. In order that they may exert themselves to the utmost, we may offer them slightly higher returns for their labour and greater social prestige. But the gulf between them and the ordinary people should not be as great as it is now.

Food and Health

The elementary needs of every individual, particularly of the individual in India, are food and health; and any social order which neglects these needs stifles itself. Writing to the *London Times* (about June 1, '44) Prof. A. V. Hill says that "the rate of mortality in India is four to eight times that of England and the expectation of life in India is 26 years as against 62 in England. There are between 100 and 200 million suffering from malaria yearly in India; and tuberculosis, cholera, small-pox, plague, guinea-worm, filaria infection, yawa and kala azar take toll of life and health. More than half the population is underfed living on the verge of starvation. Chronic malnutrition acts with disease in a vicious circle producing poverty and inefficiency!"¹ According to another authority, in 1939 the mortality rate per 1,000 in British India was 22.5 as compared to 12.4 in England and 17.4 in Japan. Child mortality at different age periods is four to five times higher than in England. In 1937 the number of deaths in India was 6,165,234. Of these, fevers of one kind or another alone—malaria,

1. Quoted from the *Hindu*, June 2, 1944.

kala azar and enteric—accounted for 58 per cent. While England spends 22·7 per cent of the total revenue on medicine and public health, India spends only 3·4 per cent. A populous province like the U.P. spends only 1 anna per head per year on medical expenditure.

Ill health and poor and inadequate food act and react upon each other. No figures are necessary to show that the bulk of the people of India are under-nourished. According to Mr. Amery's own confession, the production of foodstuffs per head in India has declined in thirty years by more than one quarter. The same authority says that a million people have perished from famine in Bengal during 1943. According to Mr. S. P. Mookerji's estimate, two and a half million have died of famine and a million more on account of disease following famine. How many are maimed and crippled for life, passing on their physical and mental debility to their offspring, will never be known. What all this means is that attention to food and health ought to be the first duty of the builders of a new India.

2. *Educational Opportunity*:—Inasmuch as man does not live by bread alone, his mental and cultural needs also are to be satisfied if he is to develop his personality freely. In a primitive state of society a person can learn all that he needs to know by his own personal experience without any formal instruction. But that is a costly and prolonged affair in modern society. Education places at the disposal of youth a fund of useful knowledge without which a person will be at a disadvantage in the struggle for existence. It is the quintessence of the experience of the race. It enables a person to understand within the shortest time possible the environment around him and to make his individual adjustment. From another point of view, education is a process of drawing out of the individual his innate gifts and capacities.

If education is to serve this two-fold purpose of 'drawing out' and of giving the individual a fund of necessary knowledge in making his adaptation to life, it should be related to life conditions. Both the Wardha scheme and the Sargent scheme of education recognise this simple truth and seek to build education in the early stages round some craft or trade with which the child may be familiar. The chief advantage of this method is that education becomes tremendously concrete and practical. Its demerit is that it may become too utilitarian and crassly materialistic. But properly handled, education can both impart useful knowledge and cultivate an eye for beauty and a passion for truth. It will be a

bad day for India if education becomes so narrow and circumscribed that a person has no interest in the satisfaction of his intellectual curiosity for its own sake, in the solution of an abstract mathematical problem, in the unravelling of some mystery of the universe, in discussion regarding the existence and nature of God, in the appreciation of beauty, or in adventure and travel.

A place where education has failed in India is in not giving the educated a capacity for the enjoyment of life. Education from beginning to end becomes taskwork. We are so bound by curricula of studies, set examinations, and government restrictions that there is a woeful lack of originality in thought and expression and capacity to see life as a whole and derive the maximum benefit out of it. Education becomes a material investment. Poor parents stint everything and give a son or daughter higher education in order that he or she may later become a material asset to the family. A great many of the educated are swallowed up in government offices doing mechanical and routine work. Their supreme concern is the making of money and not the enjoyment of life or even of work. Very few cultivate hobbies while at school or later. They do not know how to use their leisure in re-creating themselves in body, mind, and spirit. What all this means is that we need boldness and a spirit of adventure in the planning of national education and its execution.

This does not mean that there should be no rules regarding a minimum of subjects which should be taught to every child. In our modern complex society, it is desirable that every child should be taught the three R's, simple facts of economics and domestic science, outlines of natural science, laws of public health, simple facts relating to electricity and drainage, the duties of citizenship and civic living, and the like. He should also be taught to use his eyes and be skillful in the use of his limbs, making use of such vocations as carpentry, blacksmithy, painting, drawing and mechanical engineering. He might even be taught to cook his own food and make a wise selection of the articles of consumption.

After this minimum knowledge is given, comes the time for specialisation. Instead of making every child go through a cast iron system, we should individualise each child and give him the kind of education and training best suited to his needs and capacities. This means that we should make an abundant use of psychological experts in studying each child continuously. It is folly to make a final pronouncement regarding a child's capacity when he is 11 or 12, for he continues to grow till 17 or 18. New capa-

cities which were undreamt of at an earlier stage might flower into existence later. This means that children have to be continuously watched and guided till almost the end of their teens. All this is impossible unless education becomes a national responsibility, as important as defence and the enforcement of law and order. In the civic training of children it is necessary to inculcate in them a general law-abidingness. They should be taught that duties are even more important than rights and that rights are not selfish claims but are based on a universal desire. They should also be taught the meaning and value of self-government. Children who show a capacity for organisation and leadership should be encouraged to use their gifts in the service of the community.

It is a thousand pities that education in India has not meant the stirring of our civic consciences. Civic sense is still very low owing to a multiplicity of causes. Partly as a result of the caste outlook of a good many Indians and partly as a result of little or no home training, hundreds of our boys and girls have no realisation of their responsibility towards others. Consideration for the feelings and conveniences of others is woefully lacking. Speaking loud in personal conversation, wild gesticulation, impatience in listening to another person's point of view, immoderate and uninformed criticism, and hitting a man below the belt—all these are far too common; and only an intensive civic training at home and school can rectify these defects. In matters of election to public offices, appointments and promotions, extraneous considerations often play a dominant part. Instead of judging a man on his personal merits, caste and communal questions are allowed to influence one's judgment.

If all this is to be changed, we need a people's government which will take up the question of popular education seriously. Children should be taught, while still young, their duties towards their neighbours. A sense of justice and fair play should be instilled into them. Earnest efforts should be made to eliminate unemployment and the high degree of competition which obtains to-day so that people will have the time and inclination to cultivate civic virtues. One chief reason why people are guilty of anti-civic and anti-social practices is that the struggle for existence is frightfully keen; and when this situation is changed, it is bound to lead to a greater degree of civic attainment and gentlemanliness. But what is one to say of such practices as dumping the garbage on public roads, spitting wherever one happens to be, bad table manners, and the like? The remedy for

these lies in the home and the school. Training in social living is one of their most sacred tasks; and without that active training India can never hope to take her place of equality and dignity in the family of nations. In the realm of passive virtues, such as instinctive friendliness, spontaneous hospitality, meekness, humility, intellectual tolerance, and reverence for life, we stand head and shoulders above others. But should we not aim at such eminence in the realm of active virtues as well—such virtues as straightforwardness, manliness, courage, self-forgetful service, and standing up for the rights of the poor and the oppressed? Are not inconsiderateness and willingness to put ourselves out for the sake of others some of our be-setting weaknesses?

3. *A National Programme of Employment*:—Merely to educate boys and girls without providing them opportunity to pursue gainful occupations is suicidal. When a young man is educated we open up large vistas before him; and if he is not to become disillusioned and thoroughly disgruntled, he should have no difficulty in securing employment which will give him both a life and a living. Like the provision of education, the provision of employment also calls for a scheme of national planning. While the Western countries have myriad openings for their educated young men, the number of such openings in India is very small indeed, except in war time. Conditions are bound to remain what they are till India becomes the complete master of her political and economic destiny. Some people to-day argue that the economic planning of India on a national scale can be effected even when there are no far-reaching political changes. Such people do not know what they are talking about.

Vocational guidance is one of the first duties of a progressive State. Every individual should be employed in doing a work which will not only bring him rupees, annas, and pies, but also give him genuine satisfaction and scope for the expression of his native gifts and capacities. It is not right that an army of our young men should be destined to spend the best part of their lives in driving the quill for a mere pittance. While there may be a few who like to do dull, routine, mechanical kind of work, a great many have some creative capacity or other which craves for expression. These should be given ample opportunity for planning, designing, and perfecting of the work entrusted to them. Only then can they derive joy and satisfaction from work. The highly industrialised civilisation of our day makes a rigid distinction between work and leisure. In a well-ordered society a person ought to be able to get at least a part of his enjoyment and

recreation from work performed amidst congenial surroundings. The relation between the employer and the employed should be changed from the master-servant relationship to one of partnership. As far as practicable, there should be a periodical change of occupations and surroundings for those whose work is not particularly congenial or which is a heavy drain on their physical and emotional resources.

If unemployment is to be completely wiped out and individuals are to be given as far as possible the kind of work which suits them, we need a vast State organisation which takes a human interest in its citizens. It may be that the ultimate solution for the problem of unemployment is a socialist society where private capital and private profits are reduced to the minimum possible. But until that time comes, the existing State should pay more attention than it does to the relief of unemployment in general and the placing of young people in suitable occupations in particular.

4. *Freedom of Expression*:—A man may have the best possible education, employment, food and shelter; but if he does not have the freedom to think, speak, and write what he likes he is among the most miserable of men. What distinguishes man from the lower animals is that he has a soul or personality which craves for expression and perfection. In recent years, especially with the advance of the authoritarian State, serious inroads have been made into the liberty of the individual to express himself. The present war will have been fought in vain if it does not result in the absolute vindication of the right of self-expression.

No one contends that there are not certain natural limitations to the right of self-expression. In the name of this right one is not justified in uttering blasphemous, libellous or slanderous remarks. Even in speaking the truth which may do much harm to another person's interests or prestige, one should be moderate in one's expression, and one's chief object should be the promotion of public good. To use a Biblical expression, one should speak the 'truth in love'. In times of war or similar national emergency certain natural restrictions have to be placed on the freedom of speech and writing. But this does not justify the administration in muzzling honest criticism or any point of view which does not happen to meet with its approval. In its own interest as well as in the interest of the nation at large, a war-time government should welcome well-informed criticism of its methods and policies. Otherwise, it is likely to be sitting on Olympian heights, far removed from the common level where people think and act, and

be guilty of doing most foolish things which may have disastrous consequences to the nation. It is only when there is free and frank discussion that truth can be discovered. Very few people have the capacity or the necessary means to know the entire truth of a matter. One person gets hold of one side of a truth and tends to exaggerate it. Others do the same. Therefore, if we are to have the whole truth and nothing but the truth, we must have free and untrammelled discussion. If the meaning of democracy is 'government by discussion,' complete freedom of thought, speech, and writing, subject to the general qualifications above mentioned, is its cornerstone.

5. *Freedom of Worship*:—Freedom of worship is a corollary which follows freedom of expression. Some one has rightly said that man is incurably religious. Whether any particular religion or sect is valid or not, the fact is that most men believe in some power outside themselves which is responsible for the creation and maintenance of the universe. They further believe that it is a righteous power and deserves to be worshipped.

Worship is both individual and communal. In either form it should be free so long as it does not offend the generally accepted moral code of the community and does not bring into contempt the religious beliefs and practices of others. Religious freedom means not only the freedom to profess one's faith but also the freedom to propagate it, using the art of persuasion and of moral appeal. It is exceedingly difficult to draw a line between proselytism and conversion; and public opinion, rather than the law of the land, should frown upon unworthy methods employed in conversion. If the freedom of expression is the inalienable right of every individual, so is the right to change one's religious faith. Therefore, to place legal impediments in the path of one's conversion is a serious violation of the law of personality.

While one may change one's beliefs regarding God, the universe, life after death, and the like, as one is guided by the spirit of God, one need not renounce one's social and national heritage, unless such renunciation is a logical corollary of one's change of faith. 'Religion in danger' is a meaningless cry. One need not take up the cudgel on behalf of one's religion; for if a religion has truth and vitality, it can take care of itself.

In a world which is crying for co-operation, understanding, and good will, religion ought not to be a divisive factor. It should be a unifying factor, bringing together all men and women of goodwill on a common platform in the fight against sin and evil,

selfishness and greed, insincerity and hypocrisy. There should be an inter-religious conspiracy for the improvement of all religions. More attention should be paid to religion as an instrument for the alteration of human suffering and the removal of injustice than as a means of grace or salvation. The more that Hinduism purifies and revivifies itself the more should the Christians and Musalmans rejoice. For we are not out to steal sheep from each others' flock, but to help and inspire each other so that all together may reach a higher level of religious and moral attainment.

Mrs. Roosevelt's Four Freedoms

Apropos of what we have said, especially on the side of the individual in a sound scheme of social reconstruction, and as a supplement to the four freedoms listed by her husband, Mrs. Roosevelt lists the following :—

1. Equality before law, which assures us of justice without prejudice, for Jew or Gentile, for any race or colour, as far as human beings can obtain justice.
2. Equality of education for everyone, because of the need for an equal opportunity in life.
3. Equality in the economic field, which means we are so organised in our communities and in our system of economics that all men who want to work will have work and that work will be suited to their capacity and will be rewarded without prejudice.
4. Finally, because we believe in the democratic and republican form of government, by which we are governed through the consent of the governed, we must give to all the citizens of a democracy a chance for equality of expression. We believe there should be no impediment which prevents any man from expressing his will through the ballot.

EARLY EXPERIMENTS IN MUSIC

By

P. SAMBAMURTI



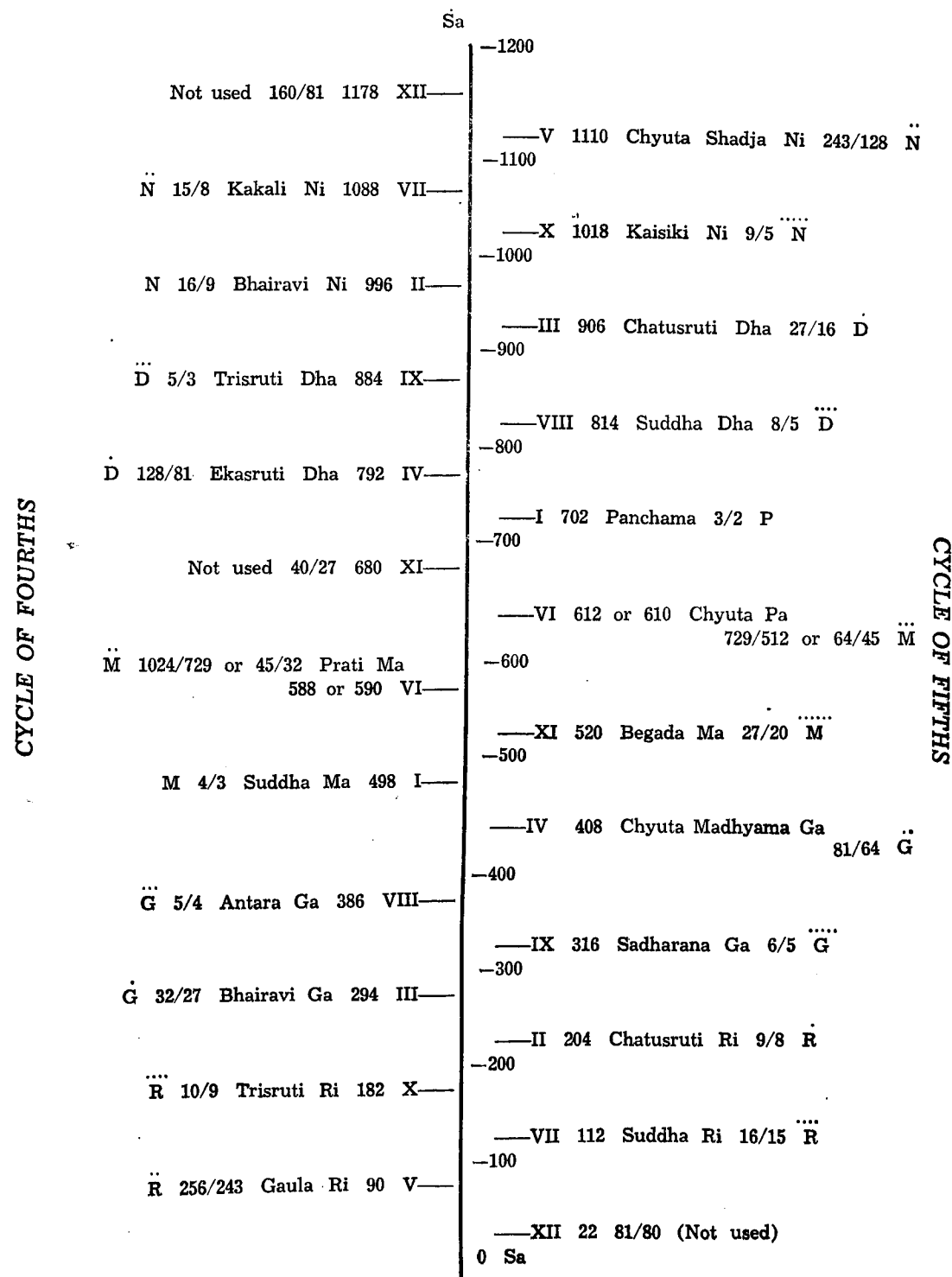
Much of the knowledge that we owe at present regarding the nature of scales and srutis (quarter-tones) is due to the experiments in music carried out by scholars in ancient and medieval times. These experiments performed with great care and accuracy led them to perceive the beauties of the scale of just intonation and the frequencies of subtle srutis. The early perception of the highly concordant notes, Panchama ($3/2$ or 702 cents) and Madhyama ($4/3$ or 498 cents) led them to work out the cycles of Fifths and Fourths to their logical conclusions. Although the cycle of Fourths is implied in the cycle of Fifths, the Fourth (Suddha Madhyama) being an inverted Fifth (Panchama) from sa, still it was found useful to work out the series of Fourths as well. The knowledge of the 22 srutis was obtained by working out these two cycles. The scale of equal temperament, which became a necessity in Europe on account of the exigencies of harmony, was unknown in India.

Cycle of Fifths, or Spiral of Fifths means a series of Fifths or Panchama svaras. (The Panchama svara is the third harmonic note and next to the octave is the most consonant interval). In this process, the Fifth of each note of the cycle is taken as the tonic note and its Panchama determined; the relation of the new Panchama to the original tonic note, shadja is determined. For instance, with the middle octave shadja as the starting note, we find its Fifth is the Panchama of the same octave, frequency $3/2$. Taking this Panchama as shadja, its Fifth is found to be $3/2 \times 3/2 = 9/4$ or the Chatusruti Rishabha of the tara sthayi. The Fifth or Panchama of this note is found to be $9/4 \times 3/2 = 27/8$ or Chatusruti dhaivata of the tara sthayi. The Fifth or Panchama of this note is found to be $27/8 \times 3/2 = 81/16$ or the Chyuta Madhyama gandhara of the ati tara sthayi and so on. The process was continued till the 12th cycle in each case when it was found that the 12th note of the cycle in one case and the 11th and 12th notes of the cycle in the other were found to be higher or lower than Shadja or Panchama by the small interval of a comma or

Pramana sruti. These notes were ignored as not being of practical importance and the remaining 22 notes were retained and these are the 22 srutis of the ancient Indian scale. The further notes obtained in the two cycles were only of academic interest, since all the notes, important from the point of view of practical music were already obtained.

In the accompanying illustration, on P. 153 all the notes marked on the right of the thick central line, belong to the cycle of Fifths and those marked on the left, to the cycle of Fourths. The roman numerals indicate the order in which the several notes occur in the cycles of Fifths or Fourths. All compound intervals arrived at in working out this process are reduced to the middle octave for the purpose of easy comparison, the precise octave of the note however being indicated in notation against each note. In the scale of equal temperament, the octave is divided into 1200 equal parts or cyclic cents and each semitone comprises 100 cents. The illustration visually shows the points of difference in the frequencies of the notes belonging to the scales of just intonation and equal temperament. Since none of the notes of the scale of equal temperament are used in Indian Music, the unsuitability of the harmonium and other fixed-toned instruments (tuned to the scale of equal temperament), for playing correct Indian music is obvious. The limitations of the uncultivated human ear being what they are, it is too much to expect the average person to perceive the refined distinctions in the frequencies of the notes belonging to the two scales, but nevertheless these distinctions are solid and aesthetic facts.

Most of the conclusions arrived at by ancient scholars can be proved by modern methods. The beauty and symmetry underlying the scale of 22 srutis is clear from the illustration. There are the ten pairs of notes and these with the *sa* and *pa* give the 22 srutis of the Indian musical scale. The two notes constituting each pair are found to be uniformly separated by the interval of a comma or pramana sruti. The interval of a comma though small, is still recognisable by the trained ear. Of the ten sets of twin notes, the note of the lower pitch belongs to the cycle of Fourths and the note of the higher pitch to the cycle of Fifths and this is naturally so, since *ma* is a note less in pitch compared to *pa*. At the sixth stage of each cycle, a small but negligible correction of 2 cents is introduced to facilitate easy calculation. In the cycle of Fifths, two cents are subtracted and in the cycle of Fourths, two cents are added. All these delicate srutis, are the pride and glory of Indian music and are carefully treasured up in the compositions of great composers.



SUGGESTIONS ON INDIA—A UNION OF SOVEREIGN STATES ?

By

K. VENKOBA RAO

1. *Division of India into Sovereign States: Which authority has legal competency to do?* If India is to be divided into 2 or more sovereign States that can only be done by the British Parliament which is the sovereign authority for India. This means that the totality of sovereignty has to be resumed by the Crown and redistributed among the new States.

2. *Boundaries of New States: Basis of.* The setting up of the new States will have to be on some equitable basis. It may be in line with the Lahore resolution or the Gandhi-Rajagopalachari formula. It cannot be on the basis of existing boundaries—especially as regards the Punjab, Bengal and Assam. For the text of the Lahore resolution see p. 80 of Part III of Prof. Coupland's "Constitutional Problem in India". As to the readjustment of boundaries on the basis of economic regionalism (a concept which has been successfully put into practice in the development of the Tennessee Valley River Basin running through several States in the U.S.A.) see Coupland Part III, Chapter X (and especially as regards the Tennessee Valley Authority pp. 117 to 119 of Coupland).

3. *Problem of Well-organised and considerable minorities living in contiguous areas.* Two examples of this might be given. In the Ambala Division of the Punjab there are 3,099,000 Hindus, 240,000 Sikhs and 1,318,000 Moslems. The Lahore resolution excludes Ambala from the Punjab. By this exclusion the Muslim majority in the Punjab is raised from 57.1% to 62.7%. Again, the Burdwan division consisting of 8,125,185 Hindus and 1,429,500 Muslims is also proposed to be excluded from the North Eastern India zone of Pakistan by the Lahore resolution. By this exclusion the Moslem majority in the North Eastern zone is raised from 54.7% to 65%. Would not giving effect to the Lahore resolution be a denial of the right of self-determination to the respective communities concerned? Dr. Ambedkar in the *Times*, May 13, 1943 suggested that this difficulty would be met if Parliament were

to pass an Act providing for two plebiscites in the areas for which partition was proposed, one among the Muslims and the other among Non-Muslims, the results to determine as far as practicable the subsequent demarcation of the frontiers by a boundary commission. Another solution of the difficulty would be to administer such areas directly through the central machinery that is to be set up under our scheme. They will occupy more or less the status of the present Chief Commissioners' provinces which are directly administered by the Central Government. But this would raise difficulties as regards Calcutta city which contains 1,531,512 Hindus, 497,535 Moslems and 79,844 other Non-Moslems. In the 24 Parganas district in which Calcutta is situated there are 2,309,996 Hindus, 78,210 other Non-Moslems and 1,148,180 Moslems. Thus, deprived of Calcutta with its great port and foreign trade, North East India would become a dubious proposition. The solution would appear to lie in providing that, though Calcutta will be administered by the Central Authority, it will have to pay some monetary compensation to the North Eastern Zone in which it is situate and from which it is cut off for loss of trade, etc. See Coupland pp. 80-90. A division of India into Hindustan, Pakistan and 2 or 3 additional regions on the economic or river basin system suggested by Prof. Coupland is feasible.

4. *Constitution-Making Body: Details of:* After separation has been effected by British Parliamentary legislation will come the question of constitution-making, a constitution for Pakistan, a constitution for Hindustan and a constitution for the central machinery. As far as the last is concerned the best course will be to leave it to a select committee of experts set up by the newly created, sovereign states. This committee will settle the details of the central machinery to be set up. A constituent assembly is rather impractical. Alternatively the task may be left to the British Parliament which may fulfil the role of an impartial umpire, but this may ruffle nationalist susceptibilities. See Coupland p. 35. In the interim period between the creation of the sovereign states and the inauguration of the central machinery the present executive will have to carry on the government or a provisional national government can be set up with British Parliamentary sanction.

5. *Constitution for Hindustan and Pakistan.* These should be on a democratic basis. We do not want any form of theocracy. There should be coalition ministries on some fair basis; perhaps

also with the necessary concomitants of separate electorates and reservation of seats. See Coupland pp. 63-64.

6. *Central Machinery: Composition, Powers, etc. of:* The Centre to be set up will have a limited number of functions but very wide powers in administering them. Since it is not to be a federation we must have at the centre a system of checks and balances and make the central machinery, the central judiciary and the units dependent on each other. As Munro says in his "Government of the U.S.A." p. 546: "A government organized on the principle of checks and balances derives both strength and weakness therefrom. Division of powers makes for safety. It provides the ship of state with watertight compartments. When one compartment floods the others hold firm keeping the craft afloat and on its course. So long as the balance of powers is preserved no one branch of government can arrogate itself to any dangerous excess of authority. But, on the other hand, the triple division of powers means that there can be no full concentration of responsibility for what is done. The public interest suffers whenever the 3 departments fail to work in harmony and the community as a whole has no effective leadership". But perhaps the defect in this system pointed out by Munro is the price we have to pay for the Muslim suspicion of a Hindu domination at the Centre in order that we may have some central authority though not of an ideal kind.

7. *President of the Indian Union.* The President of the Indian Union may be elected for a term of 4 years out of a panel of 3 members set up in rotation by the Hindustan and Pakistan and Indian States. Election may be according to the American Presidential election, i.e., the candidate who secures the majority of votes in any of the constituent units will have the entire votes of the delegates to which that unit is entitled. Munro explains the American Presidential election thus (p. 122). "In each State the political parties put forth their slates of electors nominated in whatever way the State laws prescribe. These electors are usually prominent party workers but must not be federal office holders. Their names go on the ballot in parallel columns and on the day set for national election in November the voters in each state decide which group of electors shall be chosen. When the voter marks his ballot for a certain group of electors, however, he is in reality indicating his preference for one or other of the

candidates already named by the national conventions. The ballots do not bear the names of these presidential candidates or if they do it is merely to guide the voters in voting for the desired group of electors. To all intents nevertheless the ballot is just as direct as though there were no intervening electors at all. The real election takes place on the Tuesday after the first Monday in November. What occurs later unless something untoward happens is nothing but a formality. The people pay no attention to it".

8. *Vice-President of Indian Union: Advisability of having post of:* In America the Vice-Presidency was established as a consolation prize to be bestowed on the candidate getting the second highest vote in the nomination conventions of the party. The Vice-President meets with promptness unexpected emergencies created by the President's death, resignation or inability to discharge the duties of office. The Vice-Presidency in America goes as a rule to balance the ticket geographically or to someone who can placate a disgruntled or disappointed faction of the party or bring some doubtful State into line or secure large contributions to the party's campaign funds. In India it may be laid down that if the President is a Hindu the Vice-President should be a Moslem and vice versa.

9. *President of the Indian Union and Indian States.* If Indian States join the Indian Union what is the method by which they are to be associated in the election of the President? Direct election of delegates to the Presidential convention from the Indian States would be asking too much of the States who have in some cases not yet completely shed off real or seeming despotism and who have yet to don the democratic garb. It may be provided that the ruler of each State (or if there are smaller states a group of states) can nominate an agreed number of delegates to the Presidential convention.

10. *Removal of President from office.* The President may be removed from office by a motion made by the central legislature of Pakistan or Hindustan which is carried by a 3/4 majority and made before the Supreme Court.

11. *Board of Commissioners to assist the President.* The President shall be assisted by a Board of not less than 4 or more than 6 commissioners to administer a few matters of common interest like foreign relations, defence, communications, food,

customs, etc. Since the scope within the centre is to function is circumscribed the President with his Board of Commissioners may serve both as an executive and legislative organ within that field. See Coupland p. 133. The President shall choose the Commissioners from a panel of names submitted by the Hindustan and Pakistan legislatures and by the rulers of the States. In the case of smaller states they can have representation on the Board by rotation. On the Board Hindustan and Pakistan shall have representation on a 50-50 basis for 25 years from the inception of the Union.

12. *Is it necessary to have a central legislature?* If the plan in para 11 of combining in one body the legislative and executive functions at the Centre is not feasible because deference has to be paid to popular sentiment which always favours the outward tokens of democracy a small central legislature on the U.S. Congress model (unicameral) consisting of 40 to 50 members may be constituted. Members can be elected indirectly from the Hindustan and Pakistan legislatures and nominated by the rulers of States.

13. *Orders of the President: How to be executed:* Prof. Coupland suggests that the interregional centre of his plan (p. 130) should give its own orders to its soldiers and officials and pay its own way. Such a centre would be more than a confederacy in which the decisions on which the units are agreed are executed only by the units at their own expense but less than a normal federation. But it is submitted that acceptance of the Coupland plan would not be relished by those who always harp on the dangers of a strong centre. On the other hand, the mere equation of the central machinery with a confederacy or a league or loose alliance would provide no sanction by which the units would be forced to adhere to their compact. So a middle course is suggested. Defence furnishing a whiphand through the centre may coerce a recalcitrant unit into submission, the orders of the President in regard to defence should be directly executed by the central machinery. But this necessarily implies that the central machinery will have to find funds to foot the bill. Defence expenditure is Rs. 46,18,00,000. This can be met if customs and income-tax are also directly administered by the central machinery. The revenue from customs is Rs. 40,50,53,000 and from income-tax Rs. 13,74,44,000. See pp. 191 and 196 of Coupland. But it may be argued that the cutting off of these large slices from Pakistan revenues would tend to make Pakistan an unsound proposition financially. The remedy for this is (1) Pakistan should cut down

expenditure; (2) it may tap some elastic sources of revenue like estate duty, sales tax, etc; (3) subventions and contributions from the central machinery may also be considered. Unless the vital subject of defence is administered in fact as well as in name by the central machinery (with the corollary that customs and income-tax should also be similarly, administered to enable the Centre to pay the way) each unit's will will be law and no practical co-operation among States in matters of common interest is possible. Thus the orders of the President can be executed only through the agency of Hindustan and Pakistan and State Governments except in matters of defence, customs, income-tax and minority rights where the orders of the President shall be enforced directly.

14. *Commander-in-Chief.* He shall be appointed by the President for a term of 4 years from Hindustan and Pakistan and States by rotation. Representation for Hindus and Moslems on defence forces may be roughly in the proportion of 60 and 40.

15. *Declaration of War.* If Hindustan or Pakistan or a State is attacked by a foreign power it may at once declare war without the permission of the President, but in other cases declaration of war rests solely with the President. See Newton "Federal Governments".

16. *Central Services.* In the central services Pakistan and Hindustan may be represented on a 1 to 3 basis. State representation also may be provided.

17. *Acquisition of citizenship.* Five years' residence may be required for the acquisition of citizenship in the States. Any business started in Hindustan or Pakistan should have at least 50 per cent of its assets and management in that state. See pp. 119 to 124 of Keith's "Constitutional Laws of the British Empire" (1933).

18. *Supreme Court.* There should be a Supreme Court to adjudicate on disputes arising out of matters of common interest and especially as regards minority rights which will be incorporated in the constitution. Membership of the Court may be 4 from Pakistan and 6 from Hindustan and some state representation. The judges should be appointed by the President and be ineligible to get titles or any other honours and should not have taken any active part in politics. They should hold office for life and should be liable to be removed by a 3/4 majority vote of Hindustan or Pakistan legislature. See Munro pp. 401-417.

19. *Operation of Checks and Balances.* In this system of checks and balances the President controls the Supreme Court by appointing the judges; he controls the units by directly executing his orders in regard to customs, income-tax, defence and minority rights. The units control judges because they can remove them by a $\frac{3}{4}$ majority vote; they control the President because all his orders (except in regard to defence, customs, income-tax and minority rights) have to be enforced by them and they can refuse to do so. The supreme court controls the President by deciding on his removal and declaring the legislation passed by him or the units as unconstitutional.

20. *Inviolability of constitution.* The two states shall agree to declare this constitution providing for the centre as inviolable for 30 years and to be reenacted periodically after that with such changes as are mutually agreed upon. Within the 30 years changes may be made in the constitution by a majority of votes in each state and by a $\frac{2}{3}$ majority of the total number of votes.

21. *Responsible Government in Indian States.* The constitution shall contain a clause recommending to the Indian States which agree to join the Union that they should as far as practicable try to bring their legislature, judiciary and executive up to the standard obtaining in Hindustan and Pakistan.

NEXT STEPS IN SOCIAL LEGISLATION

By

V. JAGANNADHAM

Existing social legislation in India is far too meagre to achieve its purpose. Gross inequalities, oppressive poverty, devitalizing diseases and mass illiteracy still keep large sections of people below the margin of decent civic life. The abolition of these hardships is the first task of future social legislation. Such legislation should remove the disabilities of women and children and of caste; should provide minimum economic needs, promote the well-being of the people and create a favourable atmosphere for sound mental and moral culture. In short, it should provide opportunities for the development of human personality, for contented homes and social solidarity.

The removal of the disabilities of women and children should receive immediate attention. The status of women is absurdly low. In order to raise it, one of the important steps is the abolition of the double standards of morality between men and women. Monogamy should be made a universal rule and polygamy should be abolished. The Hindu and Muhammadan personal law should be changed in this respect. Where marital life turns out to be unhappy either owing to initial wrong selection of the life partner or to some supervening circumstances after marriage, freedom to dissolve marital union should be granted by recognising the right of divorce for both sexes under certain circumstances.

In the present condition of India, the task of improving the status of women is all but impossible owing to infant marriage. Early and frequent maternity and child widowhood are the direct results of such marriage. The Age of Consent legislation proved futile in putting down this evil. Public apathy and the indifference of Government have rendered the Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929 ineffective in practice. The Act should be so amended as to make the performance of child marriage a cognisable offence and rule out such marriages as unlawful *ab-initio*. Marriages between old men and young girls are not infrequent and law should prohibit them. Reasonable ages of parties for marriages should

be prescribed. The Widow Remarriage Act should be so amended as to delete the forfeiture clause, recognise the rights of the widow to guardianship over her children and declare the aurasa sonship of sons born after remarriage.

Sagotra and Saprawara marriages should be legalized. The status of women may also be improved by bringing the heavy claims of dowries under legal control. Legislation in this respect raises the crucial problem of enforcement. A practical solution for the problem may be found in the provision available in the Muhammadan law, requiring the return of dowry to the wife either on separation from or death of her husband, and creating a charge for such amount on the husband's estate. Legislation should require compulsory registration of births and marriages. Such registration would facilitate the repudiation of false evidence adduced as regards the age of married couple and bring the matter of marriage to the notice of administrative authorities. It would make the enforcement of Sarda Act easy and effective; and facilitate the prevention of marriages between the old and young. A civil law of marriage embodying these suggestions would make marriage law simple and uniform. The Marriage Codification Bill largely satisfies these suggestions and should be passed immediately. Instead of marriage being regarded as compulsory for every individual especially in the case of girls, Marriage may be left to individual option. Like *Brahmacharya*, voluntary spinsterhood for the purpose of spiritual realisation or the service of the community may be regarded as noble.

The rights of Hindu women in respect of property should be enlarged. The Hindu Law of Succession Bill recently introduced in the Central Legislative Assembly is satisfactory in this respect. Its scope however should be enlarged so as to create absolute rights over property for women. Further the Provincial Governments should supplement it by providing corresponding legislation applicable to agricultural property in each province.

Children of the present generation are citizens of the future. Legislation relating to them should provide ample opportunities for their growth. As soon as children are conceived begin their rights over society. The pregnant mother needs special attention by way of nourishing food, medical examination and freedom from long hours of work. The safe delivery of the child should be ensured by providing skilled medical aid and nursing facilities.

For the proper growth of children nursing mothers should be given milk and nourishing food where necessary. The provisions of the Maternity Benefit Acts in respect of working class mothers should be popularized and vigorously enforced. Creches for children, accompanying their mothers to places of work should be provided in those places. Education in kindergarten schools for children below five years should be provided by the State. Where the family means are too meagre to ensure the proper growth of children, financial benefits should be given.

Though the practice of employing children in industries subject to Factories Acts is declining, unregulated industries still employ them in considerably large numbers. Special legislation should be passed in all the provinces on the lines of the C.P. Unregulated Factories Act.

There is a crying need for passing Children's and Young Peoples Act on the lines of a similar Act passed in England in 1932. Juveniles courts should be established in greater number and Children's Aid Societies should be organised in every district. The defective and dependent children should be protected against exploitation by providing institutional care. In the case of necessitous children in schools midday meals should be given free.

The division of Hindu Society into numerous castes and sub-castes is a stumbling block to social unity. Their rival jealousies and petty outlook eat into the vitals of Hindu society. Modern industrial life and political democracy have done much to undermine the foundations of caste. The state should establish social democracy by abolishing caste restrictions and the galling civic disabilities of Harijans. The axe must be laid at the root of caste outlook (i) by the removal of legal disabilities and (ii) by the elevation of the lower castes to a higher status.

Civic Disabilities Removal Legislation should be passed in all provinces and should be vigorously enforced. Inter subcaste marriages, though not unlawful, are not popular. Means should be adopted for popularising them. The special Marriage Act recognises intercaste marriages but this provision is not widely known. The provision relating to intercaste marriage in the Marriage Codification Bill are satisfactory and the Bill should be enacted into law. Inter-dining can be popularised in hostels, public places and community gatherings. Temple entry legislation as

a symbol of our determination to abolish caste outlook should be extended all over the country.

In elevating the lower castes two methods may be adopted: (1) Educational and (2) Economic. If universal literacy becomes the order of the day caste barriers will break asunder. And if, to add to it, economic status is also raised by providing equitable opportunities to all, caste exclusiveness is bound to disappear, for, economic equality is the surest way to social equality.

In the case of the depressed classes additional welfare measures are necessary. Debasing customs like carrion eating, trading in the skin of dead animals and scavenging should be prohibited. Special treatment should be given to the depressed classes by providing munificent scholarships for education, free-boarding in hostels, technical training for employment in industries and a certain amount of preference in the matter of appointments.

One chief object of social legislation is to narrow down the gulf between the rich and the poor. Protection of the common people from the risks and hazards of life in the complex industrial society and the making available for all the benefits of modern science and industry are inspiring forces behind social legislation in advanced Western countries. The need for such provision in India is no less urgent. There is no security of work. Fear of unemployment scares the worker every day of his life. Wages are inadequate and housing conditions miserable. To remedy this state of affairs a comprehensive Social Security Act should be passed and avoid repeating the miseries of early industrial civilization in the West. By learning from the experience of others the time-lag can be abbreviated and unnecessary hardships avoided. The Social Security Act should provide relief against the numerous risks and hazards of industrial life such as unemployment, sickness, old age and accidents. The premature death of the earning member renders the family destitute. Extra expenditure on special occasions like marriages and funerals leads labourers into the deep-waters of unrepayable debts and interest charges. Addition of children to the family unaccompanied by enhanced earning power lowers the standard of life. In these cases, a well-worked out Social Security Act will be a great blessing.

For every able-bodied worker the State should guarantee the 'right to work'. This implies imparting such education to every

citizen as would fit him for work in which he can realise his best self. It also involves the responsibility of the State to direct them to places where able-bodied citizens can find work. In practice this responsibility can be discharged by the State acting as an intermediary between the employer and the employee. Through organising Labour Exchange Bureau, the State in India can fulfil that responsibility. The right to work also logically implies the right to adequate wage; and the State should enforce it through minimum wage legislation. Workers should have a right to participate in the profits of industry. The benefits of co-operative movement should be extended to them. Where there is diminution of a person's earning capacity, either due to social or natural causes, the State should provide adequate monetary assistance. Where the disability becomes so great that a person is unable to support himself, the State should provide institutional care as in the case of dependents and defectives. Where employment cannot be found for all, the State should organise work-houses abolishing beggary altogether. The State should train disabled men and women in appropriate arts and crafts and create in them a new hope and a new sense of personality.

Advances in Science have placed in our hands tremendous powers for prolonging life and promoting the well-being of people. Diseases which were formerly regarded as incurable can now be cured. A comprehensive Public Health Law should be passed in all the provinces. Such a law should provide for environmental service like water-supply, conservancy and drainage and good and adequate housing. Through Town Planning legislation the State should beautify the towns and cities and require factories to be located outside municipal areas. Workers should be housed in decent colonies at a safe distance from factories. Through rapid means of communication they may be enabled to come and go from places of work to their quarters. The State should prescribe standards of nourishing-food and make such food available for all. By bringing about an increase in the purchasing power of the people health standards should be raised. Health rules should be made popular and relief facilities through Rural Dispensaries and General hospitals should be extended. For those who cannot afford costly medical treatment; especially skilled medical aid, it should be provided free of charge. School children should be medically examined thrice every year.

The need for the abolition of Devadasi system is long over due and legislatures should brook no more delay. The adoption

of girls by professional prostitutes should be disallowed. The obligation to do service in temples as a condition for enjoying the temple property should be withdrawn and their estates should be enfranchised. Amendments to the Madras Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act should be carried out so as to make its administration effective. It should be extended to all the districts. Rescue homes should be provided on a larger scale and rehabilitation of prostitutes should proceed apace. By relieving congestion in the cities the State can banish some of the potent causes of prostitution.

The recent suspension of Prohibition is in the face of strong public opinion; and is suicidal to the cause of reform. As soon as popular ministries assume office prohibition law should be reenacted and extended to all areas in the country. India should be a dry country at the earliest possible date.

Social legislation should improve not only the physique of the members of a community and their economic interests but also their mental powers. In this respect the next immediate step is the liquidation of illiteracy. The scheme of Education suggested by Mr. John Sargent, Educational Adviser to the Government of India, is comprehensive and should be implemented without delay. Reference has already been made to the imperative need for providing vocational training. The education of women should receive special attention, for without women's education little progress can be expected. The blind and the deaf-mute should receive education suitable to the development of their faculties.

Unoccupied leisure is a source of potent danger. With the development of large scale production, the problem of leisure has become more acute. The State should provide opportunities for healthy recreation and amusements and thereby prevent dissipation in amusements like gambling and races. It can open public libraries and parks in large numbers; it can encourage travel to places of historic interest; it can produce educational films and inculcate through them sound values of social life. By changes in the system of education it can create in pupils a love of hobbies.

To carry out these suggestions, bold imagination and planning are necessary. A five year or ten year plan should be drawn up. But any scheme without prospects of immediate realisation has no greater value than the paper on which it is drawn. To carry any planning successfully there must be a popular government

at the helm of affairs. Even such government will be failing in its task if it adopts mere palliatives and enacts window-dressing legislation. Every piece of social legislation must be implemented in practice. The financing of social services is the crux of the problem. Without touching the pockets of private capitalists, landlords, zamindars and Rajas, no bold programme of social legislation can be implemented. In fact, the government should assume control over the means of production and public utilities; it should implement democracy in the sphere of industry and social relations. It should encourage the developments of personality by providing equitable opportunities to all and the basic needs of civic life.

MUNICIPAL AUDIT

By

V. VENKATA RAO

Audit is the final aspect of financial administration. It is at the end of a long sequence of events commencing from budgeting and ending with the payments of monies. By auditing we mean a "systematic examination of the books and records of a business or other organisation in order to ascertain or verify, and to report upon the facts regarding its financial operations and the results thereof" by a person who had no part in their preparation.¹

Kinds of Audit.—Audit is of three kinds, post audit, pre-audit and administrative audit. Post audit is performed at the end of a given period. It is some times referred to as "locking the barn door after the horse is stolen"² That is, post audit is conducted after the payment of monies in satisfaction of claims. It discovers and not prohibits the misuse of funds. With a view to secure the latter end pre-audit has been instituted in some countries. Pre-audit is conducted before the payments are made. Of the two, pre-audit is the most effective. It checks wastefulness. It compels the executive to stick to budgetary provisions. In other words, money will be spent economically and according to the wishes of the budget sanctioning authority.³ However, post audit is in use in a great majority of the countries. Post audit may be either a detailed audit or a test audit. Test audit scrutinises a part and not the entire financial transaction and is satisfied if the portion selected for the purpose reveals no irregularities. The basis of test audit is confidence in the administration. For instance, the audit of profession tax items and the receipts of the secondary schools is a test audit. Administrative audit occurs prior to the payment of monies and is done by the accounts section and the executive.

Basic objectives of Audit.—The basic objectives of municipal audit are three. The first object is the "settlement of and adjustment of claims". In other words, the auditor must satisfy himself that all the sums due the council have been properly brought to account. It is called in popular language the 'audit of receipts'—rather a misleading term. By settlement of and adjustment of claims we mean the executive authority determines the claims, the auditor checks these claims and settles them. Thus the assessments and levies made by the executive authority are provisional in character and the auditor is authorised to go into the facts of these assessments and closely scrutinise and discover any omission in assessments or wrongful assessments. For instance, if the council levies a tax or a fee which is otherwise illegal, the auditor may direct the refund of the amount to the person concerned. If a claim falls short of the amount due, the auditor may direct the person concerned to make good the loss. But it is not the business of the auditor to see that sums due to the council are collected. All that it must concern itself is to determine and settle the claim.

The second object is to see that the funds have been expended on purposes for which they are intended and in accordance with the conditions prescribed by rules and regulations and discover any fraud or embezzlement committed or any wrong application of funds. This is called the audit of expenditures. In performing this function he should bring to light not only cases of irregular expenditure but also expenditures which in his judgment appear to be improper and wasteful even though the accounts may be in order and no obvious irregularity has been committed. In discharging this function he may fix up standards of expenditure to which the council must conform.⁴ The mission of audit is therefore not merely to discover cases of bad faith but also to "protect the rate-payers from the effects of honest stupidity or unpractical idealism."⁵

The final object of audit is to surcharge persons responsible for the irregular expenditures disclosed by audit. Here also audit decides the question of quantum. It determines how much of an

1. White. Introduction to the study of Public Administration.
2. Buck. Municipal Finance. p. 110.
3. Willoughby. Principles of Public Administration Pp. 630-35.

4. A Century of Municipal Progress. p. 434.
5. Lord Sumner's judgment in the famous Poplar Wage Case.
9

item of expenditure is lawful and how much is unreasonable and unlawful and therefore recoverable. Power to disallow a payment *prima facie* includes power to allow a severable part of it. Thus the auditor occupies the position of a judge and determines what is legal and what is not legal.

Relations with the Provincial Government.—The Local Fund Audit Department, from its inception was under the control of the Auditor-General. With the introduction of the Reforms of 1919, the Local Fund Audit was declared a provincial subject. At present it forms a part of the Finance Department, Government of Madras. The Examiner is the Ex-officio Under Secretary of the Finance Department. But he is independent of Government in the sense that he is endowed with authority by the Act to exercise control over municipal accounts, and to issue surcharge certificates on persons responsible for irregular expenditure or for short collections of the claims due to the council. Even if Government gives a direction to him not to surcharge a particular item of expenditure, the auditor may ignore such an order and proceed to surcharge the person or persons concerned leaving it to Government to pass such orders as it pleases on the statutory appeal that may be preferred by the aggrieved party. Therefore Government has no power to interfere with the discretionary powers vested in the Examiner. Further an order of the Government condoning an illegal expenditure can only succeed but cannot precede an order of surcharge. From the above facts it must be evident that the auditor is not expected to seek and the Provincial Government is not expected to offer advice as regards the propriety of surcharge in any given case.⁶

Limitations.—There are, however, certain limitations which the auditor should observe. Firstly, as the audit is conducted on behalf of Government the auditor should not criticise the orders issued by Government. Nor should he prescribe the rules that

6. Speaking about the relationship between himself and the Auditor, the Minister for Public Health said in the House of Commons, "It has been said that the Auditors are my Auditors. They are not my Auditors. They are entirely independent of me. I have never attempted to give a District Auditor instructions as to what he should do; I have never sought to influence a District Auditor in carrying out his duties. . . . As a matter of fact the action of the District Auditor has often been the cause of some embarrassment". Speech of Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Hansard, 13—12—1927.

should be observed by the councils. Secondly, he should not survey or review the administrative functions of the various departments. He should confine himself to the criticism of the accounts placed before him. Thirdly, he should not suggest new sources of taxation. But he may make a running commentary on the financial position of the council. Fourthly, the auditor is prohibited from conducting independent enquiries from private individuals for obtaining information connected with audit.⁷ Whatever information he wants he should ask the executive authority to furnish and if he fails to do so he may issue summons to him in the following form.

To,

Mr. A. B. C.

Municipal Commissioner,

E. F. G.

Sir,

You are hereby required to produce or cause to produce before me on the 4th Day of December 1944 at 12 o'clock the following documents, the perusal or examination of which is believed to be necessary for the elucidation of accounts of the year 1943-44.

Yours

H. K.

Auditor.

Fifthly, it is not his business to pass judgment on the wisdom or intelligence or diligence of an employee of the council. Sixthly, while financial rules and orders must be observed, he should not enforce them rigidly and literally lest the audit may degenerate

7. But the auditor may summon any person to produce any book, deed, contract, account, voucher, receipt or other document which he believes necessary for the elucidation of accounts, and answer any question relating thereto. It should be remembered that there is a distinction between enquiry and summons. See Rule 57, Sch. IV, Madras Act V 1920.

into an unintelligent audit. Undue insistence on trifling errors and technical irregularities should be avoided and more time should be devoted to important aspects of financial administration. Finally, all his observations in regard to the irregularities noticed in the course of audit, should be accurate, dispassionate and couched in courteous language. Innuendo is prohibited.

Historical Background.—Let us now turn our attention to the historical development of audit. Under the Town Improvements Act of 1871, the Provincial Government had power to determine the persons by whom and the manner in which the municipal accounts should be audited. However, in practice, the 'commissioners' (now called councillors) appointed local auditors to audit municipal accounts. As auditing of accounts by local auditor was lax, the Committee on Local Self-Government, 1883, recommended that they should be audited by the Inspector of Local Fund Accounts.⁸

Under the Act of 1884, the Inspector of Local Fund Accounts, a subordinate of the Accountant General was appointed to audit municipal accounts. Under him there were about ten Assistant Inspectors with headquarters at Madras and in each district there was a district auditor. The accounts of the bigger councils were audited by the Assistant Inspector assisted by the district auditor and the accounts of the smaller councils were audited by the senior clerks of the district audit office. The audit was an annual one. It was found to be unsatisfactory and gave place to a half-yearly audit in 1903.⁹ After the 2nd half year's audit, a report containing the results of audit for each council was sent to Government. This was the position in 1920.

The main defect of the audit was that it was not concurrent. It took place once in a half year and over-payments and frauds generally associated with non-official administration came to light long after the event. It afforded opportunities to persons dishonestly inclined to practise frauds and to make up false vouchers. The Financial Relations Committee accepting the principle laid down by the Government of India that the audit of municipal accounts should not in any way be less strict than that

applied to provincial expenditures, recommended the centralisation of audit under the immediate supervision of the Examiner. That is, all the vouchers were to be forwarded periodically to the Examiner's office at Madras for audit.¹⁰

The Accounts Committee did not accept the recommendations of the Financial Relations Committee. It came to the conclusion that the maximum of efficiency would be obtained only by centralizing audit at each district headquarters. They therefore recommended the appointment of district officers to be in charge of all local funds audit for each district and a number of Assistant Examiners to supervise the work of these district officers and to assist the Examiner in the discharge of his duties as a presidency officer.¹¹

A scheme for the re-organisation of the audit department on the lines recommended by the Committee was prepared by the Examiner. The main features of the scheme were, the presidency should be divided into three circles and each circle should be placed in charge of a gazetted officer. One of these three should be designated as Deputy Examiner of Local Fund Accounts with headquarters at Madras. Secondly, there should be in each district a senior officer called the Inspector of Local Fund Accounts. Thirdly, the audit should be concurrent in the case of headquarter municipalities and quarterly in the case of other municipalities.

The Government accepted the scheme as prepared by the Examiner, but deferred its execution to a later date due to financial reasons.¹² In 1924 Government ordered quarterly audit for the outlying municipalities and concurrent audit for the headquarter municipalities.¹³ Later on the entire scheme of the Examiner was put into execution.

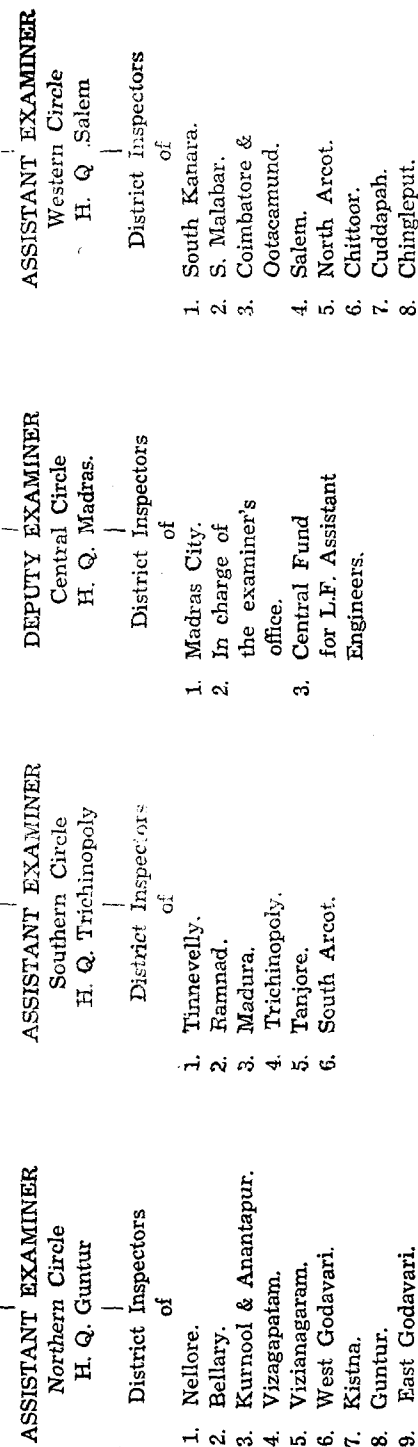
At present the audit department is organised as follows.

8. Report of the Local Self-Government Committee, 1882 p. 57.
9. Report of the Financial Relations Committee, p. 43.

10. Ibid. p. 44.
11. Report of the Accounts Committee.
12. G.O. No. 1016. F. 27—11—1922.
13. G.O. No. 3155. L.M. 8—2—1924.

EXAMINER OF LOCAL FUND ACCOUNTS

Head Quarters, Madras.



The diagram given above is self-explanatory. The Deputy Examiner is immediately under the Examiner to assist him in the administration of the department.

As regards the functions of the various officers the Examiner is a presidency officer. He supervises the general administration of the department; he inspects the offices of the Assistant Examiners and the District Inspectors. He exercises the powers of disallowance and surcharge.

The Assistant Examiner supervises the work of the district officers, scrutinises and approves the audit reports prepared by the district officers; he inspects the accounts of the councils once a year; he reviews the latest audit report and discusses the pending objections at the time of annual inspection with the executive authority.

The duties of the District Inspector of Local Fund Accounts are arduous and responsible. He is given several items of original work. He is also responsible for all the audit conducted by his subordinates. Often he is required to arrive at decisions on important questions arising in the course of audit.

The difference between the audit conducted under the Madras District Municipalities Act and the audit conducted under the Local Government Act of 1933, England is that the Minister for Public Health in England has power to order an extraordinary audit of any account. But the Madras Act does not make a similar provision.¹⁴

Procedure.—We now come to the procedure adopted for conducting municipal audit. It is an obligatory function of the executive authority to prepare accounts in the prescribed form before the prescribed date and submit the same to the auditor.¹⁵ After the receipt of accounts the auditor informs the executive authority of the probable dates when he will take up the audit.¹⁶

14. *Tulasiram. vs. Chairman Municipal Council, Madura.* 62. M.L.J. 77.

15. G.O. No. 4264. L.M. 4—11—1927.

16. The procedure adopted in England is as follows. At least seven days before the date fixed for audit, the accounts of the council must be made available for inspection by any interested person; and all such persons are at liberty to take extracts or copies from the same without paying any fee. If the officer concerned either refuses or neglects to allow any person for the inspection of records he shall on proof be liable to a penalty of £ 5.

The auditor is generally assisted by an assistant. Both of them divide the work amongst themselves. Generally the auditor takes the expenditure side and the clerk the revenue side of the accounts. While checking the revenue side of the accounts it is particularly seen whether all the out-standing items of revenue have been verified by the executive authority and entered in the arrear demand register; whether the bills relating to the outstanding items are intact; whether the demand notices for all taxes were issued in time; whether the bills were checked before they were issued either by the Revenue Officer if there is one or by the executive authority;^{17 & 18} whether there was periodical check of the outstanding bills by some responsible officer; and whether any improper collections were made by forged bills.

Further, he must also see that the levy of taxes has been authorised by law and that the prescribed procedure has been observed; that the rate of tax levied has not exceeded the prescribed limits; that there have been no omissions in assessment; that exemptions have been granted only to persons eligible to receive them; that the growth of revenue has been watched; that the amounts written off were really irrecoverable; that the remissions were given in accordance with rules; that all collections have been remitted by the bill collectors in time in the municipal treasury; and that the arrears of revenue have not been allowed to become time-barred.

While checking the revenue derived from the properties leased out, it must be seen whether the properties usually leased out have been leased out; whether all the leases have been publicly auctioned after sufficient publicity; whether the highest bid has been accepted by the council; whether a registered agreement has been obtained from the lessee and whether the amounts due from the lessee have been realised according to the agreement.

Finally, he must see whether all the grants due from Government have been claimed in time.

The right to inspect accounts includes the right to employ accountants for the purpose of taking notes and extracts. Further any rate-payer or owner of a property may present himself at the time of audit and object to the entry of any item in the accounts. See Robson Local Government Audit, p. 22.

17. & 18. G.O. No. 2268. L.A. 15-8-1941.

The auditing of expenditure side of the accounts consists in checking all the paid vouchers. All the vouchers are sorted out into several categories, viz, establishment vouchers, public works vouchers, contingencies vouchers. The establishment vouchers are audited by reference to the entries in the establishment audit register. While auditing public works vouchers it must be seen whether an estimate has been prepared for each work; whether it has the sanction—technical and financial—of the competent authority; whether tenders have been invited publicly and the lowest tender has been accepted; whether the work has been measured and checked and whether it has been executed to the satisfaction of the checkmeasuring officer.

After the audit is over the auditor must personally discuss the results of audit with the executive authority and settle as many objections as possible, and then decide as to which of the objections are to be included in the audit report and which of them in the audit objection statement.

Audit Report. The audit report on the general funds is divided into four parts. The first part deals with the financial position of the council, whether it is deteriorating or improving. If the financial position is bad the auditor should comment upon it. The second part deals with the financial administration. It informs us whether all the revenues have been realised; whether any expenditure has been incurred in excess of the budget provision; whether the interests of the council have been disregarded; whether illegal payments have been made; whether earmarked funds have been diverted for purposes for which they were not intended; whether all the surplus funds have been invested and whether there have been defalcations. If defalcations have been rendered possible as a result of the relaxation of rules, the fact should be mentioned. Defalcations detected during audit should be reported fully. The third part deals with the accounts irregularities, i.e., with the preparation of accounts, violation of account rules etc. In the last part the results of audit are mentioned. It simply says whether the financial administration was 'satisfactory' or 'fairly satisfactory' or 'unsatisfactory'. In characterising audit, complete objectivity must be shown and it should be fully supported by omissions and commissions noted in the report.

Minor irregularities are noted in the audit objection statement.

The Audit Report and the Audit Objection Statement must be sent to the council concerned within six months from the end of the financial year the accounts of which were audited.¹⁹ The executive authority should rectify the defects noted in the report and the statement. He must also prepare answers to the objections raised in the report and the statement, place them before the council for its consideration,²⁰ and forward the report together with the replies and a copy of the council resolution, to the Examiner of the Local Fund Accounts within two months from the date of its receipt.²¹ If the report, together with the replies is not returned to the Examiner within the prescribed time, Government may proceed to take such action as they deem fit.²²

The Examiner forwards the replies received from the executive authority to the Secretary to Government, Local Administration Department, and the Education and Public Health Department as the case may be²³ together with his remarks in which he may draw the attention of Government to the serious irregularities noted during the audit; he may request the intervention of Government to enforce an audit objection; he may suggest disciplinary action against an officer responsible for gross negligence; or he may ask for the interpretation of rules which are contested.

The Government reviews the replies furnished by the executive authority and the forwarding remarks of the Examiner and passes orders.

Warning Letter. Apart from the audit report the Examiner issues warning letters to the individual persons who are responsible for any improper expenditure or illegal remission. The warning letter invites the attention of the person concerned to the irregularity noticed by the auditor and informs him that if he does not rectify the same within a period of two months from the date of receipt of the letter, action would be taken against him under

19. G.O. No. 3204. L.M. 22-8-1927.

20. G.O. No. 2449. L.M. 25-5-1929.

21. G.O. No. 4000. L.M. 14-9-1926.

22. G.O. No. 1639. L.A. 26-4-1939.

23. G.O. No. 1373. L.M. 25-8-1924.

the surcharge rules. The letter is accompanied by particulars of the irregularity. If the person concerned fails to rectify the defect, to the satisfaction of the Examiner, action may be taken against him under the surcharge rules.²⁴

The persons who are surcharged are normally the councillors. But such of them as did not attend the meeting of the council when the subject of surcharge was considered and such of those as voted against the subject are not surcharged. Further surcharge certificates should not be issued against the legal heirs of the deceased person. But if the surcharge proceedings had been served on the person concerned before his death it should be enforced against his heirs to the extent of his assets in their hands.²⁵ Again Municipal Commissioners should not be surcharged and such cases should be taken to the notice of the Inspector of Municipal Councils. If the commissioner happens to be a member of the Indian Civil Service or of the provincial civil service, the matter should be referred to Government.

The surcharge certificate should be in the following form:

"I, A.B. Examiner of Local Fund Accounts, Madras do hereby certify under Rule No. 60 of the Schedule IV of the Madras District Municipalities Act as amended that sum of Rs....being the loss caused to the...council is surchargeable on and due from Sri.....Chairman,,.....Council, ex-Councillors..... Municipality named below jointly and severally for the reasons set below."

Before 1930 it was a peremptory duty of the auditor "to disallow every item contrary to law and surcharge the same on the person making or authorising the making of illegal payments." But in that year it was made a discretionary duty by an amendment to the surcharge rules,²⁶ for the reason that the auditor had no option in the matter of surcharge and the surcharge certificates had to be issued even for small items. In order to save the Examiner from this unprofitable labour and to relieve the executive

24. G.O. No. 7010. L.M. 26-1-1929.

25. Memo. No. 2986. L.A. 20-9-1940.

26. G.O. No. 3144. L.M. 4-8-1930.

officer from the consequent annoyance, the issue of surcharge certificates was made a discretionary function. The discretion thus conferred on the Examiner is unfettered. However, the Examiner is required to observe certain instructions issued by Government. For instance, no surcharge certificates should be issued against the servants of the council; secondly, no surcharge certificates should ordinarily be issued in respect of items involving a total amount of Rs. 50. But this concession does not apply to the councils which are habitual offenders,²⁷ or to councils which were grossly negligent in financial matters.

Surcharge and Disallowance. Let us now examine the principles on which a surcharge is made. It is well at this stage to know the distinction between the two terms, surcharge and disallowance. Disallowance broadly means the refusal of the auditor to allow an item of expenditure to stand in the accounts. Every disallowance must be followed by some consequence and the exact consequence depends on the circumstances. It may be a recovery of the amount disallowed or it may be a mere transfer from one account head in which it is improper to another account head in which it is proper. Surcharge means broadly charging the person responsible for the loss incurred or the deficiency caused by the negligence or misconduct of that person. That is, before issuing a surcharge certificate it should conclusively be proved that there was gross carelessness or wilful defiance of rules on the part of the person concerned. Otherwise there would be no negligence or misconduct within the meaning of the term.²⁸ Mere imprudence is not enough, or grave error of judgment is not enough or mere want of judgment is not enough.²⁹ For instance, mere payment of penal interest does not entitle an auditor to issue a surcharge certificate. If the council had funds and even then payment was not made in time, then *prima facie* it is a case of negligence. Otherwise not.

Supposing provident fund amount recovered from the employees was not remitted in the postal savings bank before the 4th of the month as required by rules, due to a bona-fide mistake

27. G.O. No. 1424, L.M. 30—4—1931.

28. *R. S. Naidu vs. Examiner*, I.L.R. 1943. Madras. Pp. 282-90.

29. Robson. *Local Government Audit*.

in the interpretation and application of rules or to an honest belief that it was proper to retain the amount for meeting the current expenses, there is no case for the issue of a surcharge certificate.

Again incurring of expenditure without the previous sanction of the competent authority cannot be a ground for the issue of a surcharge certificate. It does not matter whether the sanction is obtained previous to or subsequent to expenditure. All that is required is the sanction of the competent authority.

A question has been raised whether the payment of monies for works for which tenders have not been invited is legal, and whether a surcharge certificate can be issued against persons who make such payments. Here the learned Advocate General held the view that if it is possible to fix the exact loss caused as a result of not inviting tenders surcharge certificates may be issued. If it is argued that inasmuch as the terms of the statute have not been observed, requisite for a valid contract, the contract itself is unenforceable and therefore any payments made in pursuance of the contract is illegal and therefore surchargeable, it raises a delicate question. If the council received 'quid pro quo' it has benefitted itself to that extent. To surcharge it under such circumstances is neither reasonable nor just. If there is no 'quid pro quo' the payment is illegal and it may be surcharged.

Supposing the executive authority does something relying on the confidence of his staff and if that results in loss to the council it cannot be said that the executive authority was negligent. "Business cannot be carried upon the principle of distrust" observed the learned judge. "Men in responsible positions must be trusted by those above as well as those below them, until there is reason to distrust them. . . . If every one is distrusted, it is impossible to have any intelligent devolution of labour".³⁰

The grounds on which surcharge certificates may be issued are several. Firstly, a council may be surcharged if it allows the taxes and fees due the council to become time-barred. The Bezwada Municipal Council for instance failed to recover the electricity fees due from a councillor, even though the audit department specially

30. *R. S. Naidu vs. Examiner of L. F. Accounts*, I.L.R. Madras. 1943. Pp. 282-90.

182 JOURNAL OF THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY

requested it to do so, and allowed the amount to become time-barred. Subsequently the council wrote off the amount. The audit department objected the write off and surcharged the councillors concerned.

Secondly, relaxation of account rules resulting in loss to the council may occasion the issue of a surcharge certificate.³¹ For instance, the executive authority of the Tinnevely council permitted the lessee of the municipal market to enter on the municipal property and exercise the rights of a lessee without taking the lease deed. The lessee defaulted in the payment of the lease amount and the court held that in the absence of a registered agreement the council was entitled to recover only the sum equivalent to the advantages received by the contractor and not the entire lease amount. As the executive authority relaxed the rule by permitting the lessee to enter on the property without taking the lease deed and thus caused loss to the council, he was surcharged.³²

Any expenditure incurred in connection with an appeal against a surcharge certificate, without the previous sanction of Government is surchargeable.³³

Any expenditure incurred on conveyance for the use of councillors or inspecting officers for the inspection of municipal institutions is illegal and therefore surchargeable. The Bezwada council hired a taxi to take the District Educational officer for the inspection of municipal schools. The expenditure incurred on the taxi was disallowed and surcharged.³⁴

Fee concessions granted, not in conformity with the educational rules and the loss thereby caused to the council is surchargeable.³⁵

The closure of schools on days other than holidays recognised by the Education Department and the consequent expenditure incurred on the establishment on those days is illegal and wasteful and therefore surchargeable.³⁶

Any expenditure incurred on educational institutions which are not recognised by Government is illegal and therefore surchargeable. The Guntur Municipal council resolved to introduce national system of education during the non-co-operation days in all the institutions under its management; to dispense with grants and to conduct municipal elementary schools without Government supervision or control. The Government informed the council that the expenditure on such school was not legal. The auditor surcharged the chairman and the councillors for incurring an expenditure which had been declared to be illegal by Government. The surcharge was upheld by the Madras High Court.³⁷

Any expenditure incurred in connection with the employment of unqualified or dismissed persons is illegal and therefore surchargeable.³⁸

Filing of law suits even though advised by legal opinion not to do so and the consequent expenditure on them is wasteful and therefore surchargeable. For instance, the Revenue Department claimed the payment of ground rent from the Coimbatore council for the land occupied by the municipal market. The council objected to the claim and threatened to file a suit. The Collector of the district, the legal adviser of the council and Government advised the council to pay the ground rent. The council did not pay heed to the advice rendered and filed a suit in a court of law and the decision of the court was not favourable to it. The auditor surcharged the council on the ground that the decision to file a suit against the Revenue Department was taken in defiance of the rules even after its attention was drawn to them by Government, the Collector and the Municipal Vakil.³⁹

Acceptance of a higher tender without adequate reasons may occasion the issue of a surcharge certificate. The Guntur Municipal council accepted a higher tender for laying a Shellcrete road on the ground that the tenderer was an Andhra. In selecting tenderers, other things being equal, the lowest tender should ordinarily be accepted. The lowest tender may be rejected only if the tenderer is not a solvent person or has not enough technical

31. G.O. No. 315. L.M. 25-1-1927.

32. Examiner's Office L.F. No. 26. dated 20-6-1941.

33. G.O. No. 2490. L.M. 10-6-1926.

34. G.O. No. 4425. L.M. 14-10-1926.

35. G.O. No. 3109. L.M. 15-3-1927.

36. G.O. No. 2235. L.M. 7-5-1934.

37. *Belgrami Sahib vs. Sadasiva Rao*. I.L.R. 49. Madras. p. 57.

38. G.O. No. 3028. L.M. 26-6-1927.

39. Examiner's Office L.F. No. 440. dated 24-4-1934.

equipment. The community or domicile of the tenderer does not and cannot in any way affect the satisfactory execution of the contract. Therefore the ground on which the lowest tender was rejected was not sound. The chairman and the councillors were surcharged for accepting a higher tender.⁴⁰

Payment of salaries in excess of the scales fixed by Government or payment of gratuity to persons not eligible to receive it,⁴¹ or expenditures on lunches even of a moderate character are all illegal expenditures and therefore surchargeable.

Appeals.—Any person aggrieved by a surcharge may appeal either to a court of law with original jurisdiction or to Government. That is, a person who prefers an appeal to Government cannot have recourse to legal action after having received an adverse decision from Government. But if the surcharge certificate itself is not validly issued, the person aggrieved has a right to go to a court of law if Government does not give him adequate relief.⁴²

The court or the Government have power to confirm, vary or squash the surcharge certificate of the auditor. If the order of surcharge is reversed all the persons surcharged will be benefitted. If it exonerates one as not responsible for the act done, he will be benefitted.

Further, Government has power to waive at any time the recovery of the whole or any part of the amount certified to be due by the auditors. We are unable to understand the need for the possession of such an extensive power by Government,

40. Examiner's Office. L.F. No. 3634, dated 6—9—1929.

41. Ibid. L.F. No. 3970, dated 2—9—1941.

42. *Tulasiram vs. Municipal Council Madura*. 62. M.L.J. 83. The facts of this case were, Government ordered a special audit of the accounts already audited. The contention of the appellant was that the Act does not contemplate a second audit. The defence counsel held that the appellant had no right to appeal to a court of law after having once appealed to Government. The court held that inasmuch the Act does not contemplate a second audit, the surcharge certificate issued by the examiner as a result of it was not valid. The learned judge observed, "it is idle to suggest that force and effect is to be given to a so called certificate given on an audit unauthorised by rules and further to suggest that the aggrieved party has no remedy against this illegal demand being enforced against him under the summary procedure of certification except that provided by the rules which are framed for an entirely different purpose."

especially when a considerable provision has been made for appeal. In the writer's opinion this power is intended to be exercised when cases of surcharge upheld by a court of law come before them. This power enables the Government to reopen such cases and waive the recovery of the amount certified to be due. The possession of this power by Government is not desirable, for they are exposing themselves to the possibility of pressure of an unpleasant kind from party men. In order to prevent Government from exercising this power injudiciously, an amendment was proposed that whenever an order is issued waiving the recovery of a surcharged amount, the reasons for the same should be recorded in writing and laid on the table of the House.⁴³ The Minister for Local Administration did not accept the amendment on the ground that it is difficult to place them (the reasons) on the table of the House and demanded for a *carte blanche* and the House without demur acceded to the demand.⁴⁴ The House does not seem to have realised the dangers involved in conceding this power to Government.

The above survey reveals the position which the Examiner occupies. Not only he is given power to issue surcharge certificates but also to determine what is lawful and what is unlawful. The system as it stands at present may give opportunities to the auditor to over ride the views of the elected councillors. It may therefore be asked whether the Examiner has the necessary training and knowledge of local affairs to exercise this enormous power. Dr. Robson argues that the auditors are not fitted by any training to exercise such extensive powers over the financial administration of the council; that they do not possess a knowledge of the local affairs; that their outlook is excessively narrow and lacking in vision.⁴⁵ He therefore suggests the establishment of an audit commission, consisting of representatives of all the local authorities, the Ministry and the Finance Department. The Commission will inherit all the powers now exercised by the Local Administration Department.

Dr. Robson's suggestion if accepted will result in the creation of a complex and costly machinery. Further he seems to

43. Speech of Mr. G. E. Walker. M.L.A.P. Vol. 12 p. 256.

44. Speech of Mr. B. Gopala Reddi. Ibid.

45. Robson, Development of Local Government.

exaggerate the abuse of powers by auditors. The writer has made a careful study of a number of surcharge certificates issued by the Examiner, some of which have already been quoted in the previous pages and he is convinced that there was no such abuse of authority by the auditor. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the number of surcharge certificates issued was comparatively few and the amounts involved were also infinitesimal when compared to the total amount brought under audit. The table given below illustrates the point.

Year.	Number of surcharge certificates issued.	Total Revenue of the councils in lakhs.	Amount surcharged.	Appeals filed before		Number of certificates set aside.		Amount Recovered.	Amount Waived by Govt.
				Court.	Government.	Court.	Government.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
			Rs.						
1931	2	—	1059	—	2	—	2	100	959
1932	2	196.05	396	—	2	6	1	281	15
1933	21	203.16	8424	4	14	2	11	1413	372
1934	21	204.07	8075	3	15	3	14	1814	5681
1935	5	216.42	930	1	2	1	2	229	610
1936	7	209.49	4489	3	4	1	4	411	1979
1937	13	222.73	6007	4	8	4	4	—	3370

During the years 1938-1944, only 37 surcharge certificates were issued involving an amount of Rs. 16,256. The total number of surcharge certificates issued during the period 1st June, 1931 to 10th August, 1944, was 108. That is, on the average 8 certificates were issued annually. To go into the details is still more interesting. Of the 108 certificates, 56 were issued to the councils situated in the Andhra districts, 50 to Tamil Nad and the remaining two to the West Coast. Of the 82 councils, only 37 of them received all the 108 certificates. Of the 37 councils, the Guntur council had the unique honour of receiving the largest number of them viz, 14. Chidambaram got 8, Coimbatore 6, Conjeevaram and

Palni 5 each; nine councils got 4 certificates each, two got 3 each, seven got two each and fourteen got one each. Some of these councils got this honour during the chairmanship of particular individuals. For instance most of the surcharge certificates issued to the Guntur, Chidambaram and Madura Councils related to the period when Messrs. N. V. L. Narasimha Rao (Guntur) Venu-gopala Pillai, (Chidambaram) and R. S. Naidu and L. K. Tulasiram (Madura) were the executive authorities of the respective councils.

Of the 108 certificates, 34 were challenged in a court of law and 60 before the Provincial Government. The court set aside 13 of the 34 certificates and the Government allowed 39 appeals fully and 13 partly and confirmed the remaining 8.

All these facts show that the number of surcharge certificates issued were few and the amount involved was not even one-twenty-fifth per cent of the total revenue audited even in the year when largest number of certificates were issued; that the number of appeals set aside by courts either fully or partially did not exceed 33 per cent of the total number of appeals filed before them and a careful reading of the judgments of the Madras High Court show that most of the appeals were allowed merely on technical grounds. Therefore, there was no abuse of authority on the part of the auditor in issuing surcharge certificates. It is true that Government allowed 70 per cent of the appeals filed before them. But this does not mean that there was an abuse of the discretionary authority vested in the auditor. Far from that. On the other hand, the surchargees found the filing of a revision petition before Government to be less costly and less difficult with greater chances of getting the surcharge certificates set aside. If only we can get at the political relationship that existed between the surchargees and the Minister for Local Self-Government and the forces and motives which impelled the latter to allow the appeals we are sure to get at the most interesting materials. But space and time forbid us to go into these details. Suffice it to say that Government were not always guided by altruistic motives in allowing appeals.

As regards the charge that auditors have no knowledge of local affairs and therefore not fitted to exercise the powers of surcharge, we fail to see the need for the possession of local knowledge or of local politics. It appears to us that the absence of such knowledge is very essential for conducting audit in an

impartial manner. Further the auditor is concerned with the municipal accounts and we fail to understand the relation between local knowledge and municipal audit.

In conclusion it must be said that the audit administration was thoroughly efficient during the period under review (1920-37). But for the audit large amounts would have been defalcated and many cases of corruption would not have been brought to light. The auditor had a difficult time when the executive authority was the non-official chairmen. He did not get adequate co-operation from them.⁴⁶ The councils did not submit their replies to the audit reports in time,⁴⁷ and some of the councils showed persistent indifference in the settlement of audit objections.⁴⁸ However, there is an improvement in the situation with the appointment of commissioners. But one thing appears to be lacking. There does not appear to be that mutual trust and co-operation between the auditor and the municipal staff. Some of the auditors seem to have that mentality of a police officer who always distrusts human nature and thinks that all human beings are habitual criminals. They are under the impression that municipal administration is largely incompetent and corrupt—an impression formed by them when the executive was the non-official chairman. They still carry this impression with them. Further they assume that they are the agents of the Provincial Government sent to check, to control and to teach the erring council. The Municipal staff on the other hand look upon the auditor as an intruder, an alien and not a friend, philosopher and guide and adopt at times an unreasonable attitude of non-co-operation. We trust that in course of time these clouds of suspicion and mists of misunderstanding will be removed and a perfect understanding of each other's function will be established.

46. G.O. No. 578. L.M. 12-2-1932.

47. G.O. No. 1474. L.M. 27-6-1933.

48. G.O. No. 2622. L.M. 18-6-1926.

REVIEW

COMMUNAL SETTLEMENT—By Dr. Beni Prasad, Professor of Politics, University of Allahabad. Pp. 48. Hind Kitab, Bombay.

The future constitution of India is at present taxing the ingenuity and occupying the time of the best legal and political brains in England and India and since the whole question hinges on a satisfactory solution of the communal problem in India the brochure under review, which is a thought-provoking and lucid contribution on the subject, is timely. Dr. Beni Prasad is against any grant of unbridled sovereignty to the Units. For, as he points out (p. 21), "In any international crisis the small States may find their independence as illusory as the independence of Iran, Iraq and Egypt, not to speak of European States like Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia, etc.". Hence Dr. Beni Prasad envisages a federation with the key subjects of foreign affairs, defence, transport, currency and exchange and customs under central control. As he observes on p. 24, "It is no casuistry to suggest that the curtailment of complete independence and sovereignty suggested here for autonomous units is indispensable to the spiritual flowering that the protagonists of Pakistan rightly have at heart". In regard to social insurance, industry, commerce, etc., the Centre will pass normative legislation to enact Statutes within the normative frame. The residue is to belong to the units on the American model.

Dr. Beni Prasad's thesis may be unexceptionable so far as logic is concerned, but one has to remember that though copy-book maxims have their value in philosophy and axioms have their value in mathematics, law and politics do not always conform to logic. It has been experience. The proved necessities of the times and the prejudices which judges and politicians share with their fellowmen have shaped the course of law and politics more than maxims and axioms have ever done. The fact that the very mention of a strong centre and federation makes some fear the danger of Hindu domination at the Centre seems to have been completely overlooked by the learned writer. The only reasonable

position to take is this: the dangers of a confederation have to be avoided and the suspicions of a federation have to be allayed. This can be done by restricting the powers of the Centre to 2 or 3 important subjects like defence, custom and income-tax and making it an agency centre as regards other matters of common interest. Such a harmonious blending of the federal and confederate ideals induced by the necessities of the Indian political situation would be a unique contribution of India to constitutional development.

As regards the vexed question of boundaries, Dr. Beni Prasad dismisses the Lahore Resolution, the C.R. formula, the compulsory transfer of population, and the treating of minorities as hostages. As regards C. R.'s scheme of plebiscite he says (p. 42), "Such a plebiscite is superfluous if it can reasonably be assumed that all Moslems will vote in favour of partition and non-Muslims against it. But if the assumption is unwarranted the plebiscite may inflict a grave and enduring injury on Hindu-Muslim and Muslim-Sikh relations". "The communal outbursts which may accompany the canvassing for and against partition may provoke general reaction in favour of rule by a third party" (p. 43). Even though Dr. Beni Prasad, marshals all the arguments against these alternative modes of deciding the boundary issue, he refrains from putting forward any constructive proposal in regard to this matter. The suggestion of Dr. Ambedkar that plebiscite should be restricted to certain areas like Ambala, Burdwan, etc., deserves consideration. Of course Dr. Beni Prasad favours coalition ministries at the centre and in the Units.

In these days of acute political passion when calm thinking is at a discount, it is refreshing to find a scholar of Dr. Beni Prasad's eminence summing up the essential facts of the situation with coolness, candour, and courage.

K. VENKOBA RAO.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY

(Text-books, Calendars and Question Papers have been omitted.)

TO BE HAD OF

LITTLE FLOWER CO., VILLIPURAM, S.I.Ry.

<i>Name of Publications</i>	<i>Price</i>
Rs. A. P.	

Sources of Vizianagar History, by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, available from the Superintendent, Govt. Press, Mount Road, Madras	each 4 8 0
The Nayaks of Madura, by Mr. R. Satyanatha Ayyar, available at the Oxford University Press, Madras ...	*8 0 0
History of Pallavas, by Mr. R. Gopalan, M.A. ...	... 5 0 0
Hindu Administrative Institutions, by Mr. V. R. R. Dikshitar ...	... 6 0 0
Historical Inscriptions in S. India, by Robert Sewell. Ed. by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar ...	... 10 0 0
Origin and Early History of Saivism in India, by Mr. C. V. Narayanan ...	... 5 0 0
Studies in Cola History and Administration, by Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri ...	... 4 0 0
Mauriyan Polity, by Mr. V. R. R. Dikshitar ...	... 6 0 0
The Colas, by Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri Vol. I. Vol. II.	... 8 0 0 ... 10 0 0
Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara, by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya ...	... 5 0 0
Economic Conditions in Southern India (A.D. 1000- 1500). Vols. I and II, by Dr. A. Appadorai ...	... 10 0 0
Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas, by Dr. C. Minakshi ...	... 5 0 0

* Members of the staff of colleges will be offered copies of the book for sale at Rs. 2 per copy. Applications for copies should be endorsed by the Principals of the Colleges concerned.

University Publications—(continued)

Name of Publications.	Price.		
	Rs.	A.	P.
Foreign Notices of South India, by Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri ...	4	8	0
Some Aspects of Vayu Purana, by Mr. V. R. R. Dikshitar. (Reprinted from the <i>Journal of the Madras University</i>) ...	1	0	0
Dutch Beginnings in India Proper, by Mr. T. I. Poonen ...	1	0	0
A Report on the Modi MSS. in the Tanjore Palace Library, by Mr. R. S. Shelvankar ...	1	0	0
Vijayanagar—The Origin of the City and the Empire, by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya ...	2	0	0
The Matsya Purana—A Study, by Mr. V. R. R. Dikshitar ...	1	0	0
Velugotivarivamsavali, by Dr. N. Venkata Ramanayya ...	2	0	0
Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar, by Mr. T. V. Mahalingam ...	7	0	0
Historical Method in Relation to Problems of South Indian History by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri ...	1	12	0
Lalita Cult, by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar ...	3	0	0
The Early Muslim Expansion in South India, by N. Venkataramanayya ...	6	8	0

DEPARTMENT OF SANSKRIT

Katyayana Pratisakhya, Ed. by Pandit V. Venkatarama Sarma ...	4	0	0
Rgvedanukramani of Madhava Bhatta, Vol. I, Ed. by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja ...	3	8	0
Brhati, Ed. by Pandit S. K. Ramanatha Sastri Part I ...	5	0	0
Part II ...	2	8	0
Linguanuhasana, Ed. by Pandit V. Venkatarama Sharma ...	1	8	0
Taittiriya Pratisakhya, Ed. by Pandit V. Venkatarama Sharma ...	2	0	0

University Publications—(continued)

Name of Publications	Price		
	Rs.	A.	P.
Critical Studies on Katyayana's Sukla Yajurveda Pratisakhya, by Pandit V. Venkatarama Sharma ...	4	0	0
Sphotasiddhi, by Pandit S. K. Ramanatha Sastri ...	3	0	0
The Unadi Sutras in Various Recensions, Ed. by Dr. T. R. Chintamani—Part I ...	3	0	0
" " " II ...	2	8	0
" " " IV ...	4	0	0
" " " VI ...	3	0	0
The Rg Veda Bhashya of Skandaswamin (First Astaka)— Ed. by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja ...	6	0	0
Prakatarthavivaranam, Vols. I and II Ed. by Dr. T. R. Chintamani ...	13	0	0
Nanarthasangraha of Ajayapala, by Dr. T. R. Chintamani ...	1	8	0
Sarasvatikanthabharana of Bhojadeva, Edited by Dr. T. R. Chintamani ...	6	0	0
Nayaviveka of Bhavanatha Misra, Edited by Pandit S. K. Ramanatha Sastri ...	3	0	0
Sahityaratnakara, by Dr. T. R. Chintamani (Reprinted from the <i>Journal of the Madras University</i>) ...	1	0	0
Raghunathabhyudaya of Ramabhadramba, Edited by Dr. T. R. Chintamani ..	1	0	0
Sarvatobhadra of Ramakanthacharya Ed. by Dr. T. R. Chintamani ...	5	4	0
Vararucaniruktasamuccaya, by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja ...	2	0	0
Slokavartikavyakya, Edited by Pandit S. K. Ramanatha Sastri ..			
Slokavartika Vyakhya by Umveka Edited by S. K. Ramanatha Sastri ...	6	8	0
Prakriyasarvasva by Narayana Edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja ...	3	4	0

University Publications—(continued)

Name of Publications.	Price.
	Rs. A. P.
DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY	
The Siddhantaśaṅgraha of Appayya Dīkṣita, Ed. by Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri	
Vol. I,	... 5 0 0
Vol. II. Roman and Sanskrit Text	... 3 0 0
Sanskrit Text	... 1 8 0
Samkhya Karika Studied in the Light of the Chinese Version (Bulletin No. 1), by Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri. (Reprinted from the <i>Journal of the Madras University</i>)	... 1 0 0
Sivadvaita Nirṇaya, by Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, M.A., B.Sc.	... 2 8 0
A Critique of Difference (A free English Rendering of the Bhedadhikāra of Naraśimhasaṁin), by Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri and Mr. T. M. P. Mahādevan	... 1 0 0
Tattvasuddhi of Jñānaśānāpāda, An Advaita Classic of about the 10th century A.D., Edited by S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri and E. P. Rādhakṛṣṇan	... 3 8 0
Sivadvaita of Śrīkanta, by Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri	... 5 0 0
Saṅkhyakārika, (3rd edition) by Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri	... 2 8 0
DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS	
Some South Indian Villages, by Dr. G. Slater. Available at the Oxford Univer- sity Press, Madras	... each 5 0 0
Industrial Welfare in India, by Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, M.A., D.Sc.	... 4 0 0
Indian Agricultural Statistics, by Dr. P. J. Thomas and Mr. N. Sundararama Sastry	... 3 0 0
The Economic Results of Prohibition in the Salem District, by Dr. P. J. Thomas	... 1 0 0

University Publications—(continued)

Name of Publications	Price
	Rs. A. P.
Commodity Prices in S. India, 1918-1938 by Dr. P. J. Thomas and Mr. N. Sundararama Sastry (Bulletin)	... 1 0 0
Handloom Industry in South India by Dr. K. S. Venkataraman (Bulletin)	... 3 0 0
Some South Indian Villages: A Resurvey Edited by Dr. P. J. Thomas and Mr. K. C. Rama- krishnan	... 9 0 0
Economic Conditions in the Madras Presidency 1800-1850 by A. Sarada Raju	... 10 0 0
DEPARTMENT OF MALAYALAM	
Kuṣelavṛttam and Kṛṣṇavilasam, by Dr. C. Achyuta Menon, B.A., Ph.D., (London).	1 0 0
Subadraharaṇam, by Mr. V. T. Sreemaṇavikrama Paṇikkar	.. 1 0 0
Ballads of North Malabar, Vol. I, by Dr. C. Achyuta Menon, B.A., Ph.D., (London).	3 0 0
Kavyajivita Vṛtti, by Mr. P. Kṛṣṇan Nair.	
Vol. I	... 4 0 0
Vol. II	... 6 0 0
Attakatha, by Mr. P. Kṛṣṇan Nair	... 2 8 0
Ezuttaccan and His Age—A Critical Study in English of Ezuttaccan, the Epic poet of Kerala. by Dr. C. Achyuta Menon, B.A., Ph.D., (London).	3 0 0
Kavyalokam, by Mr. P. Kṛṣṇa Nair	... 4 0 0
DEPARTMENT OF TAMIL	
Agastya in the Tamil Land, by Mr. K. N. Sivaraja Pillai B.A., ...	... 1 0 0
Purāṇanūtrīṇ Palamai, by Mr. K. N. Sivaraja Pillai B.A., ...	... 0 12 0
Chronology of the Early Tamils, by Mr. K. N. Sivaraja Pillai	... 5 0 0
Paranar, by Mr. V. Venkatarajulu Reddiyar	... 2 8 0
Kapilar, by Mr. V. Venkatarajulu Reddiar	... 2 0 0
Nānarthā Dipikāi, by S. Anavartavinayakam Pillai.	6 0 0

University Publications—(continued)

Name of Publications.	Price.
	Rs. A. P.
Sri Sivagra Yogin's Siva-Neri Prakasam, by S. Anavaratavinayakam Pillai ...	... 1 8 0
Purattirattu, 2nd Edition by Mr. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai ...	... 2 8 0
Kayataram, by Mr. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai ...	... 1 0 0
Dravidic Pronouns, by Mr. V. Venkatarajulu Reddiar ...	... 1 0 0
Grammatical Essays, by Mr. V. Venkatarajulu Reddiar ...	.. 1 0 0
Dravidic Studies, Part I ...	... 0 2 0
Do. Part II ...	... 0 8 0
Do. Part III ...	... 0 12 0
Do. Part IV ...	... 0 12 0
Tamil Literature under the later Cholas by Srimati T. N. Thanu Ammal ...	... 0 8 0
Tamil Kavyas, their nature and history by Mr. K. V. Jagannathan ...	... 1 0 0
Sangattamilum, Pirkalattamilum by Dr. V. Swaminatha Ayyar ...	... 1 0 0

DEPARTMENT OF TELUGU

Vishnu Puranam, Ed. by Mr. K. Ramakrishniah. Ordinary bound ...	... 1 8 0
Calico „ ...	... 2 8 0
Prabhavati Pradyumnam—its sources by Mr. P. Lakshmikantam ...	... 0 8 0
Vishnumayanatakam, Ed. by Mr. K. Ramakrishnayya ...	... 2 8 0
Studies in Dravidian Philology, by Mr. K. Ramakrishnayya ...	... 2 0 0
Sandhi (A historical treatment of the Principles of Euphonic Combination in Telugu), by Mr. K. Ramakrishnayya, M.A. ..	.. 1 8 0
A Critique on Nannichodadeva's Kumarasambhava, by Mr. S. Lakshmiapati Sastri (Bulletin). ...	... 2 0 0
Navanadhacharita. of Gaurana, Ed. by Mr. K. Ramakrishnayya ...	... 3 0 0

University Publications—(continued)

Name of Publications	Price
	Rs. A. P.
Vallabhabhyudayam of Kodandarama Kavi Ed. by Mr. K. Ramakrishnaiya and Mr. S. L. Sastry ...	... 1 8 0
Telugu Literature outside the Telugu Country by Mr. K. Ramakrishnaiya (Bulletin) ...	0 8 0
Paratatvarasayanam of Phanibhatta Ed. by Mr. K. Ramakrishnaiya and Mr. S. L. Sastry ...	... 1 8 0

DEPARTMENT OF KANNADA

Rasaratnakara by Salva, Ed. by Mr. A. Venkata Rao and Mr. H. Sesha Ayyangar ...	... 2 4 0
Abhidhana Vastu Kosha Ed. by Mr. A. Venkata Rao and Mr. H. Sesha Ayyangar ...	... 3 8 0
Pushpadanta Puranam, Ed. by Mr. A. Venkata Rao and Mr. H. Sesha Ayyangar ...	... 4 0 0
Kavirajamarga, Ed. by Mr. A. Venkata Rao and Mr. H. Sesha Ayyangar ...	... 1 8 0
Sabdamanidarpana (with the commentary of Lingamaradhya) Ed. by Mr. A. Venkata Rao, B.A., L.T., and Mr. H. Sesha Ayyangar ...	... 2 8 0
Osadhi Kosam Ed. by Mr. A. Venkata Rao, B.A., L.T., and Mr. H. Sesha Ayyangar ...	... 2 0 0
Abhidhanaratnamala (with Nagavarma's Kannada commentary) Ed. by Mr. A. Venkata Rao, B.A., L.T., and Mr. H. Sesha Ayyangar ...	... 2 0 0
Neminathapuram of Karnaparya Ed. by H. Sesha Ayyangar ...	... 5 0 0
Khagendramanidarpana, Ed. by Mr. A. Venkata Rao, B.A., L.T., and Mr. H. Sesha Ayyangar ...	... 5 0 0

University Publications—(continued)

Name of Publications	Price
DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN MUSIC	
	Rs. A. P.
The Ragas of Karnatic Music	
by Mr. N. S. Ramachandran ...	... 3 0 0
Tyagaraja's Nowka Charitram	
Ed. by Mr. P. Sambamoorthy ...	... 1 0 0
South Indian Music: Book IV,	
by Mr. P. Sambamoorthy ...	... 1 8 0
Available at the Indian Music Publishing House G. T., Madras	
DEPARTMENT OF ARABIC, PERSIAN AND URDU	
The Biographical Sketches of the Musim Poets of Southern India,	
by Muhammad Munawwar Gawhar Sahib Bahadur (Bulletin No. 1) ...	... 2 0 0
Sources of the History of the Nawwabs of the Carnatic,—Part I	
by Dr. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar ...	... 5 0 0
Sources of the History of the Nawwabs of the Carnatic,—Part II	
by Dr. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar ...	... 5 0 0
Sources of the History of the Nawwabs of the Carnatic,—Part III	
by Dr. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar ...	... 3 0 0
Seydakkadi Nondi Natakam	
By Dr. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar (Bulletin No. 3) ...	... 0 12 0
Hindi, High Hindi, Urdu, Dakhni Hindustani	
By Dr. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar (Bulletin No. 4) ...	... 0 12 0
Diwan-I-Azfari,	
by Mr. Muhammad Husayn Mahvi ...	... 1 8 0
Waqiat-I-Azfari,	
by Mr. Muhammad Husayn Mahvi ...	... 2 8 0
Diwan-I-Bedar,	
by Mr. Muhammad Husayn Mahvi (Bulletin No. 2) ...	... 2 8 0
Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India,	
by Mr. Muhammad Husayn Nainar ...	... 6 4 0
Tuhfat-Al-Mujahidin-English Version	
by Dr. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar (Bulletin No. 5) ...	... 1 0 0

University Publications—(continued)

Name of Publications	Price
MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS.	
	Rs. A. P.
History of Sri Vaishnavas,	
by Mr. R. Gopinatha Rao ...	... 0 10 0
Psychological Tests of Mental Abilities,	
by Dr. A. S. Woodburne ...	... 2 8 0
A Study of the Optical Properties of Potassium Vapour,	
by Dr. A. L. Narayan ...	... 1 12 0
Absorption Spectra and their Bearing on the Struc- ture of Atoms and Molecules,	
by Dr. A. L. Narayan ...	... 0 8 0
Investigations on the molecular scattering of light,	
by Dr. K. R. Ramanathan ...	... 1 12 0
The Kaveri, the Maukhari and the Sangam Age,	
by Mr. T. G. Aravamudan ...	... 2 4 0
Stone Age in India,	
by Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, M.A. ...	... 1 0 0
Anatomical and Taxonomic Studies of some Indian fresh and Amphibious Gastropods,	
by Mr. H. Srinivasa Rao, M.A., D.Sc. ...	... 1 4 0
India through the Ages,	
by Dr. Jadunath Sirkar, K.T., M.A., Ph.D. ...	... 1 8 0
Political Theory of the Govt. of India,	
by Mr. M. Ruthnaswami, M.A., C.I.E. ...	... 1 0 0
Ante-natal, Natal, Neo-natal, mortality of infants,	
by Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, M.D., L.R.C.P. ...	... 2 0 0
Critical Survey of the Malayalam Language and Literature,	
by Mr. A. Krishna Pisharoti ...	... 0 8 0
Records of the Indian Museum, Vol. XXXI, Part I,	
by Mr. K. S. Padmanabha Ayyar ...	... 1 0 0
Restricted Relativity,	
by the Rev. D. Ferroli, S.J., D.Sc. ...	... 4 0 0

University Publications—(continued)

Name of Publications	Price		
	Rs.	A.	P.
Rasa and Dhvani, by Dr. A. Sankaran, M.A., PH.D. ...	...	1	12 0
Essay on the Origin of South Indian Temple, by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya ...	...	1	8 0
Indian Currency System, 1835-1926, by Sir J. C. Coyajee ...	...	5	0 0
Political Theory of Imperialism, by Prof. K. Zachariah ...	...	0	8 0
Problems of World Economy, by Prof. V. G. Kale ...	...	2	0 0
New Light on Fundamental Problems, by Dr. T. V. Seshagiri Rao Naidu ...	...	3	0 0
Civilization as a Co-operative Adventure, (Principal Miller Lectures of 1931) by Prof. A. R. Wadia. (Reprinted from the <i>Journal of the Madras University</i>) ...	...	0	8 0
The Anatomy and Mechanism of the Tongue of Rana Lexadactyla, by Mr. C. P. Gnanamuthu (Thesis for the Maharaja of Travancore Curzon Prize, 1931) ...	...	1	0 0
An Indian Federation, by Diwan Bahadur A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, M.L.A. (Reprinted from the <i>Journal of the Madras University</i>) ...	...	0	12 0
The Challenge of the Temporal Process, Principal Miller Lectures for 1933—by Dr. A. G. Hogg ...	...	0	8 0
Purpose and Progress, Principal Miller Lectures for 1934—by the Rev. John Mackenzie ...	...	0	8 0
Considerations on some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity, Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar Lectures, 1914—by Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar (Second Ed.) ...	...	2	0 0

University Publications—(continued)

Name of Publications	Price		
	Rs.	A.	P.
Inter-Statal Law, The Law affecting the Relations of the Indian States with the British Crown—by Sirdar K. M. Panikkar (Sundaram Ayyar—Krishnaswami Ayyar Lectures for 1933-34) ...	...	1	0 0
Problems in Filariasis. (Maharaja of Travancore Curzon Lectures, 1934-35), by Dr. T. Bhaskara Menon, M.D. ...	...	1	0 0
Some Trends of Modern Public Finance with Special Reference to India. (Sir William Meyer Lecture, 1934), by Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar ...	...	2	8 0
Studies in Tamil Literature and History, by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar ...	...	5	0 0
The Marriage Customs and Songs of the Syrian Christians of Malabar, by Dr. P. J. Thomas (reprinted from the Indian Languages Number of the University Journal, April 1936) ...	...	0	8 0
Humanism and Indian Thought, by Mr. A. Chakravarti (Principal Miller Lectures 1935) ...	...	0	8 0
Indian Political Theories, by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar. (Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri Lectures 1936-37). ...	...	0	8 0
Ophthalmology in its Relation to Clinical Medicine, by Rao Bahadur Dr. K. Koman Nayar (Maharaja of Travancore Curzon Prize Lectures, Medicine, 1936-37). ...	...	0	8 0
A Critique of Nicolai Hartmann's Ethics, by Mr. P. V. S. Narayana, M.A., B.L. ...	...	1	8 0
Individual and Social Progress, by Mr. Hari Das Bhattacharyya ...	...	0	8 0
Pre-Historic Civilization of the Indus Valley, by Mr. K. N. Dikshit ...	...	2	0 0

University Publications—(continued)

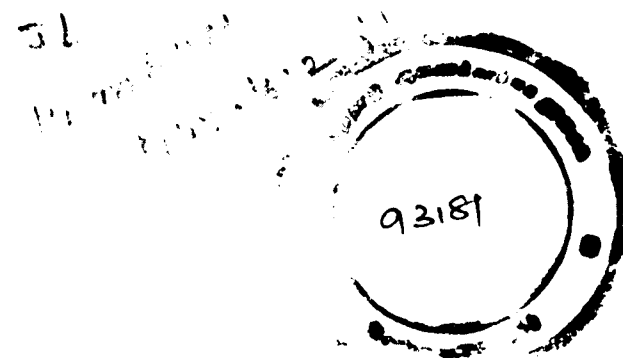
Name of Publications	Price		
	Rs.	A.	P.
Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture, by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar	...	2	0 0
Tamil Lexicon :			
Vol. I—Part I ...	...	4	0 0
" " II ...	...	4	0 0
" " III ...	...	2	0 0
Vol. II—Part I ...	...	2	0 0
" " II ...	...	2	0 0
" " III ...	...	2	0 0
" " IV and Vol. III—Part I	...	2	0 0
Vol. III—Part II ...	...	2	0 0
" " III ...	...	2	0 0
" " IV ...	...	2	0 0
" " V ...	...	2	0 0
Vol. IV—Part I ...	...	2	0 0
" " II ...	...	2	0 0
" " III ...	...	2	0 0
" " IV ...	...	2	0 0
Vol. V—Part I ...	...	2	0 0
" " II ...	...	2	0 0
" " III ...	...	2	0 0
" " IV ...	...	2	0 0
Vol. VI—Part I ...	...	2	0 0
" " II ...	...	2	0 0
" " III ...	...	2	0 0
" " IV ...	...	2	0 0
" " V ...	...	2	0 0
Tamil Lexicon Supplement, Part I ...	...	2	0 0
" " " II	...	2	0 0
" " " III	...	1	4 0

Note :—200 complete sets are offered at half the published price.

University Publications—(continued)

Latest additions

Name of Publications	Price.		
	Rs.	A.	P.
Kausitaka Grhya Sutra, by Dr. T. R. Chintamani ..	..	4	8 0
Kali-Worship in Kerala, by Dr. C. Achyuta Menon ..	..	5	0 0
Sri Puranam, by Mr. V. Venkatarajalu Reddiar ..	..	9	0 0
Tirikatukam and Sirupancamulam, by Rao Sahib S. Vaiyapuri Pillai ..	..	3	4 0
Tolkappiyam Eluttadhikara Varaicci, by Mr. V. Venkatarajalu Reddiar ..	..	2	8 0
Dravidian Cognates, by Mr. K. Ramakrishnaiyya ..	..	5	8 0
Sources of the History of the Nawwabs of the Carnatic—Part IV, by Dr. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar ..	..	4	0 0



Printed and published by G. Srinivasachari, at G. S. Press,
Narasingapuram Street, Mount Road, Madras.

PUBLICATIONS
OF
THE INTER-UNIVERSITY BOARD, INDIA

	<i>Price</i> Rs. A. P.
1. Handbook of Indian Universities ..	3 0 0 or 5s
2. Facilities for Oriental Studies and Research at Indian Universities ..	0 8 0
3. Facilities for Scientific Research at Indian Universities ..	0 12 0
4. Bulletin of the Inter-University Board, India, Nos. 1 to 13 ..	1 0 0 each
5. Biological Outlook on Life and its Problems. By J. Arthur Thomson, M.A., LL.D., Regius Professor of Natural History, University of Aberdeen ..	0 2 0
6. Second, Third and Fourth Conference of Indian Universities ..	1 0 0 each
7. Training of Teachers in Indian Universities ..	0 8 0
8. Bibliography of Doctorate Theses in Science and Arts (Accepted by Indian Universities from January 1930 and from 1934) ..	0 8 0 each
9. Annual Report of the Inter-University Board for 1940-41 ..	1 0 0

[POSTAGE AND V. P. CHARGES EXTRA]

Available from :

BANGALORE PRESS,
"LAKE VIEW," MYSORE ROAD,
BANGALORE CITY.

JOURNAL OF THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY

ISSUED TWICE A YEAR

Subscription Rs. 4 per annum

(Rs. 3 for Principals and Teachers of Colleges)

Back Numbers contain Important Contributions from well-known scholars on Literature, Philosophy, Mathematics, Botany, Zoology, History, Economics, Politics and Ethnology.

Among the Supplements are "The Origin of Saivism", "Vyasa Siksha" (Sanskrit), "History of Shakespearean Criticism", "Samkhyakarika", "Vayupurana", "Sahitya Ratnakara" (Sanskrit), "Indian Federation", and "Handloom Weaving in the Madras Presidency."

BACK NUMBERS ARE AVAILABLE

Apply to the Editor :

JOURNAL OF THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY,

University Buildings,

MADRAS.