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COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

TODAY AND TOMORROW

THROUGH DIFFERENT EYES

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COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

TODAY AND TOMORROW

(THROUGH DIFFERENT EYES)

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The extracts compiled in this volume represent the views of national leaders, administrators and other eminent persons on the Community Development Programme. The compilation is in chronological order.

FOREWORD

Community Development is an attempt to tackle the rural problem in an integrated way. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru gave the programme to the people to underline the moral and social content in the nation's continuing efforts for economic resurgence. It gave to the rural people a philosophy and an administrative structure to forge their future. One cannot overlook the contribution which such integrated approach has made to rural development through the instrumentality of the people and their institutions.

The village communities are today poised to move forward. They are more receptive to new ideas and new techniques and the task of Community Development at this stage becomes vital. It must provide to these communities the necessary guidance and opportunities for self-improvement. Once such a process of rejuvenation sets in the people will know how best to utilise the various services and institutions that are available to them in the blocks. The role of Community Development becomes more purposeful in the future in the context of agricultural development taking place in the rural areas. I wish Community Development will succeed in its great endeavour and justify the hopes expressed in the utterances of the eminent people contained in this booklet.

FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED

Q 671

1. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

The Community Projects appear to me to be something of vital importance, not only in the material achievements that they would bring about but much more so because they seek to build up the community and the individual and to make the latter a builder of his own village centre and of India in the larger sense.

What we are committed to is not a few community centres but to working for the biggest community of all and that is the community of the people of India, more especially those who are down and out, those who are backward. So, I hope that these community centres will not merely pick out ~~the~~ best and most favourable spots and help them start but also try to work out the problems of the other spots which are backward economically, socially and in other respects and thus gain a wealth of experience of various types and conditions in India, so that this tremendous problem of backwardness may be tackled in the best and quickest way possible.

*(Inaugural address at the First
Development Commissioners'
Conference, May 1952)*

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The concept of the Community Projects is based on the faith that *gram kalyan* can be brought about by the joint efforts of the services and the people, if they are properly coordinated and directed.

Work is the essential gospel of the Plan. The gospel of work was taught by Shri Krishna in the Gita. It was the theme of all Gandhiji's teachings through the spoken word and in writing. The people of these areas must be persuaded to work in close and intelligent cooperation with public servants and technical personnel.

When work is done by a few for the good of all, the task becomes a joy in itself.

(‘Kurukshetra’, Oct. 1952)

RAJENDRA PRASAD

Mahatma Gandhi attached the greatest importance to the welfare of the villages. It is a happy idea to inaugurate the Community Development programme on his birthday.

The terms 'Community Development' and 'Community Project' are new, but the concept is very old. Basically, the concept is of many-sided development as distinguished from development relating to particular aspects. This can be achieved only if the energies of the administrative machinery of the States and the best unofficial leadership and enthusiasm of the masses are all enlisted in its favour and concerted action is taken for the allround improvement of agriculture, education, health, sanitation, welfare of cattle, provision of employment etc. Under the inspiration given by Gandhiji, a large amount of selfless work has been done by his followers in various parts of the country and other organisations and individuals have also done considerable work in that direction. The resources, however, both in money and technical personnel, available to these have been limited and the progress consequently has not been as rapid or extensive as one would have wished.

*(Broadcast from All India Radio,
Delhi, Oct. 2, 1952)*

INDIRA GANDHI

For centuries our peasantry was reconciled to poverty and hardship and accepted these conditions uncomplainingly as God's Will. The freedom struggle brought a dream of better days along with the impression that the mere advent of freedom would miraculously cure all ills. Alas, there are no miracles and an old and deep-rooted order cannot be changed except through a tremendous effort by the people themselves. The idea of a welfare state is not that the Government takes care of the people but that the people identify with the Government and use it as a means of helping themselves.

In the circumstances the Community Development Programme was the only practicable answer. It was a means for the bringing of new ideas and new tools to the rural areas. It sought to create an understanding of governmental programmes and a climate for the acceptance of change.

*(From the Foreword to the book
"Village on the March")*

V. T. KRISHNAMACHARI

The Grow More Food Enquiry Committee observed that all aspects of the village life were inter-related and that no lasting results could be achieved if, individual aspects of it were dealt with in isolation. This, however, does not mean that particular problems should not be given prominence, but the plans for them should form parts of and be integrated with those for achieving the wider aims. The National Extension Service movement aims at placing this ideal—of bringing about an appreciable improvement in all aspects of rural life and making it fuller and richer—before the country and ensuring that the energies of the entire administrative machinery of the States and the best unofficial leadership are directed to plans for awakening mass enthusiasm.

*(Independence Day Number of
'U. P. Information', Aug. 1954)*

S. K. DEY

The Government of India is wedded to the establishment of a socialist pattern of society. But no society can be built from above. Society is an organism which, like vegetation, has to grow organically from the ground up. The programme of Community Development has started a new fire in the countryside—a fire that burns the sloth and filth that we have inherited over the centuries, and purifies us for a pilgrimage to our new destination. The greatest asset of India is her manpower. It is also her greatest liability, if unutilised. It is man that builds, it is he that conserves, it is he also that destroys. The Community Development programme has been designed to unleash the latent forces of creation.

(‘Kurukshetra’, July 1955)

GOVIND BALLABH PANT

We want to have a Welfare State. In fact, everybody who is connected with administration anywhere does profess that the objective is the promotion of the welfare of the people. So, that is true perhaps of every State. But we really have to concentrate on such

measures as will conduce to the growth and development of the personality of every citizen in our country. It is not merely economic advancement but something more comprehensive, something which covers a much wider ground. We want to rebuild manhood and to see that everyone here can lead a rich life not merely economically but also socially, culturally and if I may say so, spiritually. We have to work towards that end.

(*'Kurukshetra'*, Jan. 1959)

DOUGLAS ENSMINGER

In the whole process of development of the rural areas one of the great problems facing economic planners is ways in which to assure that programmes for economic development also are programmes which continue to develop a significant culture. By taking the programme to the people and by having it grown out of their own needs and wants, it at once becomes related to their already on-going cultural processes. In this manner Community Development faces the difficult problem of at once transforming village ways of living without tearing apart the cultural fabric which is the very heart of the social structure; but only a programme, such as India's, which attempts the development of all aspects of the community can succeed in this delicate area.

(*'Kurukshetra'*, Oct. 1961)

CHESTER BOWLES

More recently the key role of 80 per cent of the people who live in the rural areas of the developing nations has become strikingly apparent. Politicians are beginning to understand that peasants who see no tangible sign of economic progress cannot be expected to identify themselves with their government, and that an orderly political system, therefore, largely depends on what happens in the countryside.

The most difficult aspect of rural development, and at the same time the most significant aspect, is that it deals primarily with people, endless numbers of independent hands and minds which cannot be

centrally controlled and which are the only significant source of creativity in a developing rural economy.

The emphasis, however, must be on the delicate process of opening people's minds to new possibilities; efforts at arbitrary control will almost certainly fail.

(Lecture at the Delhi School of Economics, 1963)

K. S. V. RAMAN

There are nearly as many concepts of Community Development as there are people interested in the different aspects and stages of its progress. Some would be content with the awakening of the rural people to the possibility of a happier level of living. Others would insist that such awakening should be stimulated and not dictated from outside. Technical advice to help the people to improve their standards of agriculture, education, health, communication, etc. is a stage which is often mistaken for the whole. The building up of an adequate National Extension Service is an enormous administrative process which sometimes itself becomes the goal. The administrative re-organisation and coordination of various agencies is yet another process mistaken for the Movement. Many concerned with planning or its implementation consider the Extension Service, in fact the Community Development movement itself, as an auxiliary and an important tool for the implementation of the plans. They would 'force the pace' forgetting that lasting participation must be preceded by conversion. And the processes of conversion take time and cannot be fitted into five year plans. Physical targets can easily be drawn up on the basis of the Rule of Three, but to change people living in apathy and born in poverty, disease and ignorance into an active community determined to improve is a task of immense magnitude. Time targets are out of place.

(‘Kurukshetra’, Jan. 1964)

ASOKA MEHTA

Community Development is like agricultural operations; the social soil of a crusted society has to be upturned, only then can a harvest of

hope be granted. Community Development forfeits its *raison d'être* if it abandons these 'ploughing operations'. Because with them alone do the strangled springs gush forth, the slumbering fertility stir up again and the social sap rise.

*(Inaugural address at the Annual
Conference on Community Deve-
lopment and Panchayati Raj in
July 1964)*

2. PANCHAYATI RAJ

V. T. KRISHNAMACHARI

The foundation of any democratic structure in India must be in the village. You are all familiar with the part played by the village in India's polity through the ages.... It is true to say that it was owing to the life in the village communities and the measure of autonomy they enjoyed that we achieved social cohesion and stability and succeeded in preserving our traditional cultural values over many centuries. We must, therefore, recognise that modern democratic government can have a solid foundation only in village democracy. Let me not be misunderstood. What I have in mind is not restoring the old order of things. We should aim at reconstruction of the village to suit modern conditions.

We should build up village life so that it may meet adequately the demands of a modern technical and scientific civilisation. In more concrete terms, we should make every effort to reorganise village self-government so that the village may function as the primary unit for carrying out the philosophy and programme of Community Development.

(*'Kurukshetra'*, April 1958)

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

When we became independent we established the rule of the people and every citizen of India was given the right of vote. You elected your representatives to the State Legislature and to the Lok Sabha. In a way it was a step in the right direction but still after electing the people's representatives, real democracy did not come into being. If the big officers consult the people now and then, it does not usher in the rule of the people. India will make real progress only when the people living in villages become politically conscious.

We are going to lay the foundations of democracy or panchayati raj in our country....Rajasthan is the heart of India, historically as

well as geographically. The people of Rajasthan who come from villages and towns have pledged themselves to take upon their shoulders and the heavy responsibilities of democracy and the Government of this State have, by an Act of Legislature, handed over the responsibilities to them. It is a historic task and it would have given great pleasure to Mahatma Gandhi to know that such a historic step was taken on his birthday.

(Speech at Nagore in Rajasthan at inauguration of the programme of democratic decentralisation in that State on Oct. 2, 1959; published in the AICC Economic Review)

K. S. V. RAMAN

Some of the functions of the district administration cannot be democratised. The administration of justice as between individuals and groups, the enforcement of the regulatory measure of law and order or public health or decency, the designing or construction of a project requiring expert knowledge, to mention a few, are best done by experts and not popular opinion. Law might represent the general will but its administration against the law breakers is far too specialised a task for democratic functioning. The ultimate object in administration is to ensure that public duties are best performed in the interest of the community and democratisation by itself while desirable is not the only goal.

The administrative functions that can, therefore, be democratised at the district level fall largely on the development side. A certain amount of cooperative effort can be forthcoming and can be of use in certain aspects of law and order and revenue duties. In the purely residuary functions of the District Officer the scope is very limited indeed.

(‘Kurukshetra’, Oct. 1961)

HAREKRUSHNA MEHTAB

For the time being the attention of the villagers has been switched on to power politics in the Panchayats from the actual development work. Elections have started where there none and they have been accentuated where there were any. As it happens even in higher

circles, caste and political factions run into one another for purpose of elections. The down-trodden section in the village is not likely to be returned to power in the Panchayats for sometime to come simply because they have not the education nor the resources to contest the election.

Development work in these circumstances is bound to suffer. One cannot say how long this situation will continue. If it continues for a long time, then the country suffers. It should, therefore, be the sacred duty of all concerned to see that the period of transition is reduced to the minimum. This will be possible only if the Panchayats and Panchayat Samitis are left alone by the political parties, particularly the ruling party. Then again the question of maintaining a high standard of public life and scrupulous regard for correct methods for winning the election arises. Improper means to win the elections are bound to recoil adversely on the Panchayati Raj and the very foundation of the Community Development will be shaken.

(‘Kurukshetra’, July 1962)

TARLOK SINGH

The introduction and extension of Panchayati Raj marks a major transformation in the scheme of administration within the district, assigns to the local people and local leadership a clear and positive role as agents of social change, raises more directly the question of harmonising local and national priorities and, finally, points sharply to the issue whether, under the conditions now envisaged, the local community will in fact be able to mobilise resources by way of manpower, organisation and capital formation which otherwise may be but thinly drawn into development. Would these developments, for instance, speed social change rather than retard it by giving greater influence to the existing leadership in rural areas? Would they help achieve more comprehensive and continuous area development and greater interaction and continuing impact between rural and urban development in each area?

(‘Kurukshetra’—Adapted from a paper prepared for the UNESCO Working Group on Social Pre-Conditions to Economic Growth, April 1963)

BALVANTRAY MEHTA

On the successful working of Panchayati Raj depends the future of democracy in the country. Its great merit lies in its structure which teaches people a democratic way of life. The better and smoother its working, the brighter and more glorious will be the future of democracy.

....The higher, the nobler and the loftier idea that has brought about Panchayati Raj is the strengthening of democracy and generating a climate that will inspire people to practise democracy in their day-to-day life. Under these conditions alone, human values can triumph and the glory that is latent in democracy find full expression; and the destiny of the country will not be in the hands of groups or of a few privileged persons, but in the hands of the people.

It is incorrect to say that the concept of Panchayati Raj is new to the country. It is probably as old as the hills. It is a distinct creation of our forefathers, and is born out of the genius of our people. With the passage of time and intermingling of civilisations, the concept of Panchayati Raj was pushed into the background, but it was never wiped out. It lived in the villages and in the system of caste Panchayats. But, it had lost all its force and its dying embers had to be rekindled. It was, therefore, necessary to give it form and shape to suit the requirements of the modern age and the needs of a new situation. The old idea of Panchayati Raj was confined to the lowest level *i.e.* the village. But, with the development of modern education and spread of new ideas the Panchayat had to be taken from the village to the taluka and district levels to create the three-tier system of Panchayati Raj.

Local leaders are answerable to the local people. They live with them. They can neither decide nor do things as they will. A man living in the midst of the people has to think much more about them, than a man who is away from them. Local leaders cannot be monarchs. History is a witness to this. Even the Sultan of Turkey, at the height of his power, was bound by traditional codes and customs. If this be so, the leaders who derive their power from the people who live with them and whose future depends upon the good that they do for their fellowmen, cannot go astray in their action. On the contrary, they will have to work hand in hand with the village

people and attempt to earn a good name. This is not an ideal and airy imagination. It is practical deduction, which is nearer the truth if not the whole truth.

(*'Kurukshetra'*, Oct. 1964)

RENUKA RAY

There are some genuine fears that when responsibility devolves on the villagers it may accentuate the existing orthodoxy and prejudices and prove an impediment to progress. It is mainly in the villages of India that prejudices still continue to operate against the socially and economically under-privileged sections. Whether it be women of Harijans or Tribals or any section of the community which has been kept backward due to the prevalence of hide-bound customs, it will not be easy to overcome this if those who are responsible for their observance are the very people on whom the power devolves. Certain built-in safeguards have been suggested and these, no doubt, will help to mitigate the situation. The socially under-privileged persons have been represented in the village councils. But will mere representation help unless those who act as representatives have learnt to take their place along with others? It is not the number of representatives that will count but their ability to make themselves felt. This problem must engage our attention today. The opportunities to these sections must be provided irrespective of whether the Panchayats are willing to shoulder this responsibility so that while we pursue the path of democratic decentralisation, guidance and control in matters relating to the so-called backward classes will have to continue from central sources.

(*'Kurukshetra'*, Oct. 1964)

3. ADMINISTRATION AND ORGANISATION

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Obviously, it is necessary to plan, to direct, to organise and to coordinate; but it is even more necessary to create conditions in which a spontaneous growth from below is possible. I wonder if this Community Scheme is something which is likely to bring about a union between the top and others. By the term top I do not mean that some people are superior; I mean those who guide, the organisers; and by others I mean the millions who will participate in the work. . . . Even the initiative for the Community Projects should come, wherever possible, from the people who are most affected by them.

That itself is a tremendous thing covering, as it possibly will, a very large proportion of our population. I was thinking of something slightly different in addition. Take a centre in one place comprising about a hundred villages; what you do there in a concentrated way will percolate through to the surrounding villages. If the work is too officialised, this will not happen. It will never spread beyond our immediate vision. It must not become something too rigid but be something which has an element of spontaneous growth within it. And it can only happen when you catch the imagination of the people. Then it grows automatically. There is always a danger—I am myself guilty of it often enough—that by direction and authority we may make a thing rigid, not flexible, making it a part of the official hierarchy. Now, official hierarchies are, I suppose, necessary. But with all the good they do, they have a certain deadening influence on anything that is spontaneous or vital. Community Projects will never grow if they are approached in that way. You must always think of the element of spontaneity.

*(First Development Commissioners'
Conference, May 1952)*

V. T. KRISHNAMACHARI

The significant thing about the administrative arrangements is that they aim at the transformation of the existing general administrative cadres of Government into Welfare Cadres rather than the establishment of a separate Welfare Cadre distinct from the normal machinery of the Government. This implies that the machinery which was at one time devised to look after the functions of revenue collection and maintenance of law and order is being changed into a welfare administration and the resources of all the Development Departments of Government are being utilised to the maximum advantage for a concerted attack on the problem of rural development.

Alongside the administrative organisation, the NES programme aims at the closest cooperation with the best non-official leadership at every stage. In essence the NES organisation is both official and non-official; both have to work together, development programmes are drawn up after the fullest discussions with the people and their representatives at the various levels.

*(Independence Day Number
of 'U. P. Information', Aug. 1954)*

S. K. DEY

The Community Development programme has served to give this country for the first time in its history an administrative unity and a common pattern of development.

The programme has helped to develop an uniformity in organisation, personnel and finance of the Block which has now been accepted as the unit of development all over the country. The Programme has also introduced a new language and vocabulary of development.

While there are several forces working to tear into pieces the unity of the country, silently hundreds of thousands of people, in Government service and elsewhere, are working to make the foundation for the unity of administration strong throughout India. The Programme has also helped to instill in the States a sense of partnership with the Centre. The latter pooled the experience of various Units and placed it at the disposal of the States through this Programme.

*(Address at the Conference on
Community Development at Mysore, July 1959)*

V. ISVARAN

We should take note of what the Community Development programme aims to do to the administrative machinery itself. A few months ago I met a Professor from USA who was studying agricultural production in our country. I asked him what he thought of our administrative system. After handing out the usual compliments about its efficiency, he said that the one feature about our administration which a foreigner finds it difficult to understand is the extreme status-consciousness among Government employees. This is perhaps a relic of foreign rule; or, it may go back even further to the times which saw the rise of the caste system. The Community Development projects brought in the concept of team work among the administrative personnel employed in these projects. The status barriers between different grades of workers have begun to break down.

Lastly, the community programme has given the whole country a uniform pattern of administration. Till now, only the administration of justice and also perhaps police administration were of a common pattern in all the States. In the matter of other departments—especially nation-building departments—each State went its own way. It would have been difficult to administer a country-wide programme through any of the existing departments. Those who formulated the Community Development project must be congratulated for making a common pattern of administration, one of the chief planks of the project. This makes it easier to compare achievements in different parts of the country. Development officers visiting other States feel quite at home as the administrative machinery is the same. Discussion of common problems becomes more easy in all-India Conferences. All these create a sense of unity among those working in this field in different States—a feature that is highly significant from a national point of view.

(*'Kurukshetra'*, Oct. 1959)

4. PROGRAMME

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

While we utilise science to the best advantage; it is essential that we keep human values in their proper perspective. Science has so much developed now-a-days that paradoxical though it may appear, the machine has become really human while human beings have become machines. That is not a desirable consummation; human values must win over machines.

(Observations at First Project Officers' Training Course, 1952)

K. M. PANIKKAR

Perhaps the greatest effort in the direction of social education that India is undertaking is being taken through her Community Projects. New ideas, new social values, new techniques are penetrating our countryside through these projects. They are transforming the mind of our villagers in a manner that no formal methods of social education can hope to achieve. Similarly, the trade union movement is performing a major educational function among urban labourers. These are genuine practical movements for social education which will in the no distant future awaken the masses from the stupor of ages and make them alive to the changing conditions of society.

(‘Kurukshetra’, Mar. 1956)

V. T. KRISHNAMACHARI

The objective of Community Development is to bring about social change. This change is sought to be achieved by a number of carefully devised social and economic programmes. The most important programme is for increased employment and increased production through the practice of scientific agriculture and through supplementary occupations like cottage and small industries.

Secondly, progress is to be achieved through self-help—people helping themselves—and with the widest possible application of the principle of cooperation.

Thirdly, we want the widest possible recognition of the principle that in an underdeveloped economy, community assets should be built up by the united efforts of the people. The unutilised energy in the countryside should be harnessed in all areas for building up assets of permanent value to the community.

Lastly, we want not only the men but also the women and the young people to participate fully in the movement.

(*'Kurukshetra'*, April 1958)

* * *

The efforts of the block staff should aim at building up permanent assets for the villages—like small irrigation works, afforestation and soil conservation, fuel plantations and improved village pastures. A five-year programme should be prepared for each block in which programmes of work for (i) individual villages, (ii) groups of villages and (iii) the entire block should be prepared on a co-ordinated basis and each village authority should carry out its own share of this comprehensive plan.

(*'Kurukshetra'*, Oct./Nov. 1958)

DOUGLAS ENSMINGER

Community Development must, and does, contribute to economic development, and from one point of view, this is its primary contribution to national development, for without a boost in their rural economy, the villagers cannot, and should not, be expected to want the many other things that are indicative of deep seated attitudinal change.

Since agricultural development is an integral part of family and village culture, experience in India has demonstrated that farmers can be expected to respond more effectively and rapidly to the need for increased food production when extension education for food production is organised and carried out as an integral phase of community development rather than as a merely technical programme.

(*'Kurukshetra'*, Oct. 1961)

S. K. DEY

Youth leadership in the village is something that cannot be generated artificially. Leadership is incidental to the youth programme. If there is activity on the ground which has captured the mind and attention of the youth, someone will automatically emerge as the leader to further accelerate that activity or to expand the field of that activity. You will then have an activity-oriented leadership instead of the politics-oriented leadership that we usually generate whenever we try to establish leadership for an activity.

(Based on inaugural address to the Annual Conference of the State Directors of Youth Programme, Delhi, May 1962)

T. N. SINGH

The growth of Panchayats and democratization of the village administration should prove helpful in the organised effort that the Rural Industries Planning Committee have in mind. The task is very difficult. The existence of democratic institutions in the villages which has thrown up a number of non-official workers and leaders should provide conditions where the rural industries programmes can have a chance of success. Technological and other improvements will be necessary.

(‘Kurukshetra’, Oct. 1962)

ZAKIR HUSAIN

A movement must have a philosophy of its own from which it can draw nourishment to sustain the spirit. But no movement can survive for long without a physical programme providing the substance. India can look forward to sound politics only if she builds up a sound economy. Indian economy rests on agriculture which constitutes the primary industry especially of the people who inhabit the rural areas. The Community Development movement, Panchayati Raj and Sahakari Samaj can survive and flourish only in the measure in which they promote the primary industry through a mobilization of the latent energies in our people.

(‘Kurukshetra’, Aug. 1964)

FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED

Improving the nutritional status of the country has now become a major concern of national planning. The approach of the Department of Community Development has been to focus the effort, as far as possible, on the vulnerable groups and weaker sections of the community. The core of the activities is nutrition-education; supported on the one hand by the drive for production of nutritive foods of all kinds and on the other, by the programme of demonstration feeding. . . . The whole effort relies heavily on community support and participation. The Applied Nutrition Programme has now been continuing for some years. A new scheme 'Composite Programme for Women and Pre-School Children' has been launched to strengthen further the efforts in the field of nutrition. These two schemes between them carry a total Central outlay of Rs. 13.90 crores for the Fourth Plan period.

I would like to make particular mention of a new Centrally-sponsored scheme entitled 'Pilot Research Project in Growth Centres'. The Project aims at evolving a broad research methodology and pattern for identifying growth centres and to indicate how the growth potential of these centres can be promoted through a comprehensive and scientific study of overall development needs, and to weave these centres meaningfully into the frame of the District plan. . . . The success of this pilot scheme can open up a large vista of decentralised development which is indispensable for our dominantly rural economy.

*(Welcome address at the meeting of the
Consultative Council on Community
Development, July 1970)*

5. TRAINING

M. S. RANDHAWA

“Extension” is fundamentally a system of out-of-school education for adults and youths alike. It is a system where people are motivated through a proper approach to help themselves by applying Science in their daily lives, in farming, home-making and community living.

It is a system where the extension teacher trains his pupil to be a teacher to teach without school and where the trained pupil in turn motivates the village people to accept the improved practices for better living directly or through village leaders and local institutions.

Extension training, therefore, is a heavy responsibility. Gram Sevak trainees come to our training institutions with little technical training in the various subjects in which they must develop competence if they are to help villagers in understanding and dealing with their many problems.

(‘Kurukshetra’, Aug. 1956)

S. K. DEY

It seems essential that our staff in the training centres develop a student’s outlook to the programme and team spirit between themselves. The programme is growing. The staff of our training centres should grow equally and remain abreast of the movement. The best of our instructors in the training centres, even in an ideal set up, would have a tendency to stagnate with the repetitive courses which we are inflicting on them at close intervals throughout the year. We should adopt special measures to counter this trend. . . . The field problems should be discussed in seminars of trainees which should form an integral feature fo the training programme both for Social Education Organisers and Block Development Officers.

(‘Kurukshetra’, Oct. 1957)

GOVIND BALLABH PANT

You know that there are training schools for Block Development Officers and workers. Formerly, we had only a few community development projects; now in the form of National Extension Blocks they cover a large proportion of villages in the country and constitute the most extensive programme of rural development that the world has seen.

The people who serve in these blocks have to have a sense of inspiration. To serve the villagers, you have to identify yourself with rural life; to find joy in the air you breathe and in the consciousness of the fact that you are engaged in the act of building a new society. You have to train people in the art of life and the art of living. It is easy to put up a school building, a hospital, but it is much more difficult to teach a man so that he may attain mental and physical health himself. But that is what you have to learn here and that is what you have to teach to others.

(*'Kurukshetra'*, Jan. 1959)

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Probably in the Community Development movement the most important individual is the Block Development Officer. The success of Community Development will, therefore, depend upon the quality of the BDOs. They are or should be the salt of the earth. If we build up a high-level, competent and enthusiastic body of BDOs all over the country, we have provided the where-withal for rapid progress. The BDOs must, of course, have competence and enthusiasm. He must be clean. That, in the final analysis is something which gives quality to an individual and which communicates itself to others.

(*'Kurukshetra'*, Aug. 1959)

U. N. EVALUATION MISSION

Probably no single aspect of community development work in India has received more attention than the need for, and the way to carry out, training schemes. Other countries, less advanced than India in establishing a community development movement to raise standards

of living in rural areas, will find the history and development of training schemes in India, even over the short period since the first projects began, of great value, in establishing their own schemes.

(Report of United Nations Community Development Evaluation Mission in India, 1959)

B. MUKHERJI

The biggest problem of training arises from the magnitude of the task, that we have to train not only the personnel directly working on the Programme, but everyone in the administration from the village level up to the national level, in every department, generalist or technical, and a vast army of non-official leaders from those functioning in the humble village panchayat and a Panchayati Samiti to those working in the Zila Parishad, in the State Legislatures and in the National Parliament. And we have also to train leaders in the co-operatives, in the farmers' organisations, and in the women and youth organisations. We have even to train farm leaders and the village school teachers. In fact, the training programme at the village level merges into the programmes of Adult Education or education for citizenship, the scope for which is limitless. It can thus be realised how great is the magnitude of the Programme and, therefore, the problems that this create.

We began with the training of three new kinds of functionaries which the programme had introduced, *viz.*, the B.D.O., the V.L.W., and the S.E.O. One by one we had to take up the training of other classes of personnel.....

We have been gradually improving upon our training methods by introducing such methods as syndicates studies, guided library work and study circles. Greater attention is also now paid to practical work in the villages as a part of the training, as for example, work of surveying a village, conducting village meetings, participating in the training camps of village leaders and in activities of youth clubs. Still, the practical training given in our training centres continues to remain weak.

(‘Kurukshetra’, June 1961)

S. C. DUBE

The training programme has had to grow by a slow and painful method of trial and error, learning at every step from its successes and failures.

Community Development is, above everything else, a movement of planned social change.... There are too many gaps in our knowledge regarding contemporary Indian society. Available social science sources are helpful, but they do not go far enough. More systematic planning of research, even on the descriptive and factual plane, is thus indicated to provide a solid sociological base to the training programme in all its aspects.

The possibilities of research functioning as a support to training are many and varied, but they are only beginning to be explored now.

(‘Kurukshetra’, June 1961)

DOUGLAS ENSMINGER

The important task before us is the future, and we must ask in what ways can the established educational institutions be integrated in the training programme and what steps should be taken to reorient and readjust training policies to the needs of the future.

(‘Kurukshetra’, June 1961)

B. S. MURTHY

When the Training Programme was devised initially, the Community Development movement in the country was a novelty, but a programme does not thrive on novelty alone, if only because it wears off. The training programme, like other programmes, must retain sufficient resilience to adapt itself to growing requirements. The training centres must, indeed, serve as beacon lights and lead the way. It is up to them to inculcate in the various functionaries attending their courses that sense of dedicated service and devotion to the people which has always been visualised as the essential attribute of an extension worker.

*(Address to the Conference of Principals
and Directors of Orientation and Study
Centres and Social Education
Organisers’ Training Centres, Nilokheri,
Mar. 11, 1964)*

6. EVALUATION

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

The last two years or so have, I think, justified this great experiment of community projects and both those who are in some sense connected with this vast undertaking and the general public have begun to realise the significance of this work. It is not merely working for some improvement in some selected places. The conception is much vaster. It means really covering the whole of this great country and building up a new India from the roots upwards.

(*'Kurukshetra'*, Mar. 1954)

* * *

I regret to say that the Community Development movement has only very partially succeeded. Why is it so? I think that the only way to get a response is to trust the peasant....Essentially, authority and power must be given to the people in the villages. Let them function and let them make a million mistakes. Do not be afraid about it. We are restricted in our thinking, and in our movement because of the way of our thinking. Let us give power to the Panchayats.....

(*'Kurukshetra'*, Dec. 1958)

CARL C. TAYLOR

It is correct to say that the Programme in day-by-day operation has never become a "people's programme". It has been and continues to be primarily a Government programme. I believe furthermore that it will continue to be a Government programme until relatively more emphasis is put on the skills of extension and relatively less emphasis on the skills of planning and administration.

Permitting and helping the village worker, local groups and their group-selected leader to do the things they think should be done, not dictating what will and must be done, will develop village people

and village programme dynamics. Helping these things to work in 5,00,000 village communities will develop more dynamics than any administratively regimented programme in the world can develop.

(‘Kurukshetra’, Jan. 1959)

ARNOLD TOYNBEE

Go to India; visit some of the thousands of villages there in which the Community Development Plan is already in operation; and you will see, with your own eyes, new hope and purposefulness and energy breaking into flower. This is, to my mind, the most wonderful sight that there is to be seen in the present-day world. And this world-revolution of the peasantry is the most glorious revolution that there has been in the world’s history so far.

(Public lectures delivered at the University of Pennsylvania, Spring 1961)

K. S. V. RAMAN

The National Extension Service machinery has been converted into a useful stepney wheel of the normal administration and misused to meet urgent administrative needs, e.g. food production drives, relief in the event of natural calamities, even drives to collect land revenues or loans. Such diversions have led to the disappearance of the social content in the Movement, making the machine an additional tool for supplementing the normal administration. The stress on the economic aspects and physical targets in a basically social movement has been unfortunate.

(‘Kurukshetra’, Oct. 1963)

S. C. DUBE

The experience of Community Development in India has indeed been comprehensive and imaginative. Experimental and flexible in nature, it has refused to adopt a doctrinaire approach. In terms of conveniences extended and production increased its record is impressive but in achieving the true ideals of Community Development it

has experienced difficulties almost at every step. There is the relative absence of community consciousness in the Indian villages. Evolving a community perspective out of the multiplicity of narrow and segmental loyalties is proving a task of great magnitude. Beyond the recognition of certain minimum needs in terms of the immediate present, there is no consensus on short-term and long-term economic and social goals. Orientation of the people to kin and caste rather than to identifiable larger interests is another major obstruction. This blocks the emergence of an unified leadership capable of giving the community a sense of direction and of taking over the programme as an ongoing process.

(*'Kurukshetra'*, Oct. 1963)

HIREN MUKERJEE

For the last few years, it has been repeated *ad nauseum* that Community Development areas are placing increasing stress on agriculture. One encounters reference to multifarious instructions given to village level workers, and the paper work on this score will, not doubt, reveal impressive figures. One is told over and over again also that at the national level steps have been taken to achieve closer coordination between Ministries concerned with Agriculture, Cooperation, Community Development and Irrigation. However, the ways of bureaucracy which we have inherited and cannot indeed do without—are mysterious. If justification is by results and not by faith in Government resolutions, it will be hard to discover justification in this very vital sphere of national work.

(*'Kurukshetra'*, Jan. 1964)

S. CHAKRAVARTI

Has the Plan effort at different levels stimulated the local potential for growth? The answer is yet a hesitant 'yes'. To start with, the emphasis was on welfare rather than wealth, on amenities rather than on productive activities. The contribution of the people in terms of labour, land, material and cash on this account has however, been substantial.

One assumption of local planning is that once it succeeds in a particular sector, the successful experience would provide the base for additional projects being undertaken by the community on their own initiative to improve their economic position. However, a study made of economic change in a fringe village near Delhi shows that rationality all along the line cannot be automatically assumed. This study reinforces the view that unless the Programme can impart further impulses to innovation, self-propelling changes cannot be assumed. Social planning has, therefore, a continuing creative role to play.

(Based on a paper prepared for the United Nations' Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of Less Developed Areas, Geneva, April 1964)

LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI

One of the complaints sometimes received about conditions in the countryside is that the strong often oppress the weak. It is even said that the Panchayati Raj institutions which we have introduced with so much faith and trust are being utilised in some areas by stronger sections of the village community to further their own advantage. In natural life, within a given species, it is seen that the stronger of the species always try to protect the weaker. We must try and bring this simple law of nature into operation in the working of our human institutions also, at least in the countryside. The stronger elements in village society should regard the powers and privileges given to these institutions as a trust to be utilised for the benefit of the weaker sections.

(Message to the Annual Conference on Community Development and Panchayati Raj, 1965)

C. SUBRAMANIAM

Prejudices against Community Development have developed and crystallised mostly due to reasons historical. Some decry Community Development as mere 'star-dust and dew', a wasteful airiness. They,

of course, close their eyes to the major accomplishments of Community Development wrought with vision, patience and tenacity. More than anything else, Community Development has brought an unified administrative apparatus closer and made readily accessible to the village people; in this process has emerged Panchayati Raj, which has made the meeting of the modern political system and traditional village society possible.

*(Address at the Annual Conference on
Community Development and
Panchayati Raj, 1966)*

INDIRA GANDHI

The Community Development movement has made visible contribution to the progress of rural India in the last 14 years. When it was started in 1952, the chief problem was to make people dissatisfied with the *status quo*, to prompt them to an awareness of their legitimate needs and demand their fulfilment. So great has been the impact of the Movement and of the whole process of development and democracy, that the problem now is not so much to create awareness as to reach to farmers the supplies and technical advice they demand.

Today the Community Development movement has been brought closer to the regular agricultural administration in order to meet these demands.

The Movement can rightly claim that it has given sustenance to Panchayati Raj and to the cooperative sector.

It is only natural that the campaigning spirit of Community Development should have yielded place to the quieter impulse of consolidation. But the C.D. staff have a big enough task cut out for them—to help rural India to produce more and to spread new knowledge in the countryside.

(‘Kurukshetra’, Oct. 1966)

DOUGLAS ENSMINGER

Our evaluation of the Community Programme must be based on its successes in moving towards its objectives over a time period of

a generation. It takes time to produce and to observe cultural change through cultural growth, as it takes time to grow a forest.

It is in the field of planning programmes for and with the people that the Community Programme has to date had its greatest success and also experienced its greatest frustrations.

To the surprise of many, the village people early proved articulate in expressing their many problems. They made known that they would change their present ways of doing things if someone could teach them a better way.

The Community Programme is making progress... But complacency emerging from the initial success of the Community Programme is today India's greatest danger.

(‘Kurukshetra’, Feb. 1967)

FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED

The operation of the Blocks in two 5-year stages was based on the assumption that, by the end of 10 year period, there will be adequate mobilisation of resources by the local institutions, and sufficient channelling of other Plan funds, to make any separate provision thereafter for the Blocks unnecessary. Community Development in other words, was after the 10 year period, to be fully self-reliant and locally rooted. I am afraid, these assumptions have not materialised. By and large, the Programme continues to depend on Government initiative and more so on Government funds. Where funds have been lacking, activities have languished and the staff has remained largely inactive; on the other hand, where administrative and financial support has been forthcoming, the Community Development programme has been able to make significant contribution to rural development. There is no doubt that the Community Development programme has provided a new dimension to the developmental effort and, within the limitation of resources, the Programme has attempted to secure integrated rural development with community support and participation. Improvement of agriculture has remained in the forefront throughout. The Block organisation has been virtually the only field agency for carrying out various developmental activities.

*(Welcome address at the meeting of the
Consultative Council on Community
Development, July 1970)*

7. FUTURE TRENDS

CHESTER BOWLES

Because of budget (and other) limitations progress thus far has failed to meet the excessively-optimistic standards of the Community Development programme's proponents.

Under the circumstances it is not surprising that a debate should develop between those who might be described as 'community firsters' who believe in the balanced development of the whole rural community and the 'agricultural firsters' who think primarily in terms of increased agricultural output.

In my opinion those who favour integrated development have the best of this argument. Experience in every developing country has demonstrated that the sustained increase of agricultural output simply cannot occur in a social and political vacuum. It must be at one and the same time a product and a cause of a general betterment in the life of the farmer.

(Lecture at the Delhi School of Economics, Dec. 1963)

ASOKA MEHTA

It is obvious that the choice one is often asked to make between concentrating on agricultural production or on community development is unreal. Physical inputs are important, enthusiasm and social change by themselves cannot produce grapes from thistles. But the golden harvest we seek will never be unlocked unless the physical inputs are matched and mixed with the intangible social and psychological tools that the Community Development movement can provide. Our present desperate situation demands that we pay the utmost attention to agricultural production; a real break-through will need constant involvement in community effort. The more intensive use of irrigation, wider and deeper dosage of chemical fertilizers, the union of electricity with agriculture—each item of this essential change will

demand a corresponding community initiative and response. From the strand of efforts and aspirations it is not possible to extract the thread of agricultural work, rather it has to be the crimson coil that, as it were, moves through the strand and determines the patterns and purposes in it.

*(Inaugural address at the Annual Conference
on Community Development and
Panchayati Raj in July 1964)*

* * *

Talking of the future, it is perhaps possible to see a little more clearly the contours of the Community Development programme for the next few years than it was possible last time. Broadly speaking we will have to keep before us the following objectives. The Programme will have to make a much more concentrated effort in the field of agricultural production than it has done so far. It will have to work harder to provide certain minimum amenities of life to the rural population. It will be required to address itself much more seriously to the task of helping the weaker and the more vulnerable sections of the community. It will seek to improve the training and technical skill of the village level workers. It will have to utilise more effectively the seasonally idle rural manpower and to equip its younger elements with new and varied skills. Finally, it has to develop the Panchayati Raj institutions into effective instruments of area planning.

In the years to come, it will have to address itself increasingly to the twin tasks of devising an ideal size for our village communities so that purposeful area planning is possible and of supplying to these communities a more cohesive pattern of motivations and behaviour. It is with these basic tasks that we have to come to grips in the course of the next 25 to 35 years. In doing so, we should not hesitate to raise basic questions regarding our community life and organisations. It should be realised that 15 or 20 years of experimentation may not be sufficient to change the course of history of more than 5,000 years. We are only at the threshold of a long march and we should not be afraid of raising questions about our routes or even changing them in the light of experience.

We are indeed once again in the early spring of a new civilisation. At this stage practically all the questions of social organisation and social behaviour are open. We need not close some of these questions in a hurry, for that may not be to our ultimate advantage.

(Inaugural address at the Annual Conference on Community Development and Panchayati Raj in July 1965)

C. SUBRAMANIAM

The twin forces of discontent and dedication are an essential aspect of Community Development. All that I am anxious about is that the healthy discontent should not degenerate into an unwholesome despair and the inspiring impatience should not, in any unwary moment, lead us to any hasty abandonment of the essential core and basic premises of Community Development.

What is more meaningful in Community Development is its comprehensive approach to rural development, integrating the various functional agencies of development within the framework of composite area development. The task before us is to utilise this only coordinated field agency for development more fully, more purposefully. In other words, the Community Development organisation, which started as an agency to provide minimum scale of development, has now to assume the role of a promoter of a fuller integrated development of the rural sector.

The fulfilment of this new enlarged role, which I should really like to call the second phase of Community Development, would be greatly facilitated by the institutional framework of Panchayati Raj. Panchayati Raj institutions are a vehicle at once of economic and political development.

It is, if I may say so, a lack of appreciation of these two basic aspects of Panchayati Raj that has in some places and at some times led to a certain ambivalence in attitude and some hesitancy in action. These are effects of pulls from two polarities, which I should like to call the "un-political" and the "anti-political. By the "un-political" I mean those who are imbued with an idealistic fervour to strive for the realisation of basic human values but who abhor the normal processes

of politics. By the "anti-political" I mean those who place efficiency over ethics, those who have no faith in the common man's political wisdom and those who assert that they could run the lives of others more efficiently and beneficently than they can themselves.

(Inaugural address at the Conference of State Ministers of Community Development and Panchayati Raj, 1966)

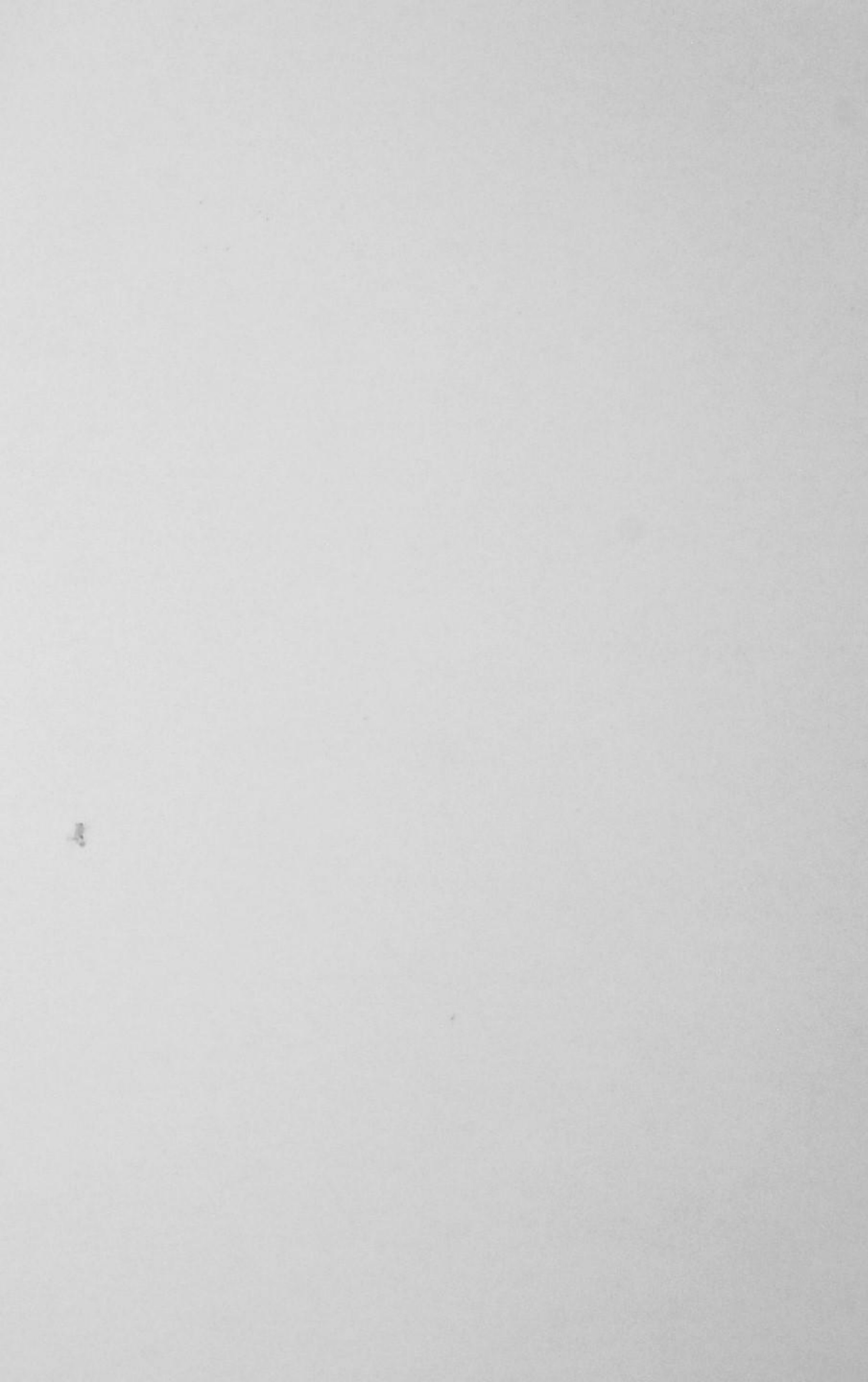
JAGJIVAN RAM

Indian agriculture is on the march imparting new dimensions to the socio-economic growth of rural communities. This growth, if uneven among the various sections of the rural community, will create new problems. This imbalance will lead to social tension adversely affecting the growth. Agencies like the Community Development and Panchayati Raj can play an important role in this field. They can help the drive for a new strategy in agriculture in such a way that.... will ensure that the benefit from returning prosperity in the rural areas is evenly distributed.....

Productivity alone, without enhancement of the community well-being, cannot lead far. Essentially the problem of community welfare is one of values, aspirations and attitudes; and these will not change till the cultural norms of the community themselves undergo a change....

The Community Development and Panchayati Raj agency is what we have at present to spearhead rural advancement. The Block structure may have built up, over the years, a certain amount of experience and expertise. This deserves to be utilised further and to better advantage by such reorientation as may be necessary. There has to be a reaffirmation of faith in the continued validity of integrated approach towards rural development and the instrumentality of the people and their institutions.

(Address at the Conference of Chief Ministers and Ministers of Community Development and Panchayati Raj, June 1968)



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