G.E.T.C. LIBRARY
4:8:92
991
KOVILPATTI.

Community Development in India

V. T. KRISHNAMACHARI

54 GOI

THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

V. T. KRISHNAMACHARI

THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

August 15, 1958 (Sravana 24, 1880)

Re. 1.00

PUBLISHED BY THE DIRECTOR, PUBLICATIONS DIVISION, MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, DELHI-8
AND PRINTED BY THE PRODUCTION OFFICER, UNITED PRESS, DELHI-8.

INTRODUCTION

India had been bypassed by ages of evolution during which a part of the world, now known as advanced, leaped from the cowdung to the steam, gasoline and electric age. India hugged on to life associated with the cattle and the dung heap. She continued revelling in her pastime of singing the glory of a dead past. Pre-occupation with philosophy and metaphysics was the only pride left to her. However, philosophy devoid of physics is but soul minus the body. No wonder we continued to be so dominated by the cult of the ghosts.

With noise and light concentrated in the towns and cities of India there was virtual darkness dominating the countryside which houses the bread-producers of this vast sub-continent—82 per cent of its population. The 5,50,000 villages of India, with their eyes turned towards the growing neon light civilisation in our urban settlements, struggled and just subsisted somehow. Every year saw a further influx of the active minds and muscles, and the product of these, in a one-way traffic towards these settlements. The spark of Community Development, ignited in 1952, introduced an unsettling element in this stagnant pool. The villagers pricked their ears, and began to sense something to which they were least accustomed. No wonder, everyone who gave a smile to the villager was hailed a hero, and the Community Development Programme which did appear to offer the substance of nourishment to the long-famished farmers received the encomium, both in India and abroad, surpassing by far anything that has happened in recent times.

Shri V. T. Krishnamachari is the oldest practising administrator living. He continues working on a dimension which is ageless and timeless and he is a marvel and an em-

barrassment to men half his age. As the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, he has been associated with this programme in a key position from its very conception. His enthusiasm for the programme has been a perennial source of inspiration. His pioneering experience of rural extension, while he was the Dewan of Baroda years back, had given him the conviction that villages constitute the key to the future of India. He had recognised further that it is the villagers, woven with each other in mutual relations through the panchayats and the village co-operatives, that will provide the foundation of the new village culture and society.

As Chairman of the Annual Conferences of Development Commissioners on which he has been presiding every year, as Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, as a senior Member in the Central Committee which controls the Community Development movement in India and as a public speaker, he has been advocating consistently and religiously his concept of every village having a panchayat and a co-operative, every family being a member of these by right, every family having a plan of production, every family contributing a part of its surplus labour to the community, every woman and child having a place in the village structure, appropriate to them. He has been emphasising throughout that "the movement should be judged in terms of human values; its aim is to make men and women 'imbued with a sense of both individual and joint responsibility so that they may rise individually to a full personal life and collectively to a full social life'. It is in this way that rural life can achieve social and moral cohesion, which is the only basis for national unity."

The National Extension Service pattern of administration for the Welfare State to which we are wedded is in fact the most significant contribution since our independence. To Shri V. T. Krishnamachari as the Chairman of the Grow More Food Committee and Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission is due the primary credit for both the concept as also its acceptance by Government. The inevitable frailties with which we are grappling today are there because zeal and enthusiasm of workers are no substitute for

institutional efforts of people working out the rugged physics of the programme.

The pages that follow in this new publication bring out the blending of the philosophy, programmes and administrative aspects of the movement as Shri V. T. Krishnamachari alone could provide. These messages have been delivered by him in person in conferences on Community Development and other allied forums. A study of these by our grass-root workers and also others who are directly or indirectly associated with this programme will go a long way to ease the present crisis of adolescence which the programme is passing through. Our grateful thanks are due to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting for this very important and timely compilation. I am indeed happy to have had the privilege of introducing this to fellow-workers and associates.

New Delhi,
July 20, 1958.

S. K. DEY

[*The speeches and articles of Shri V. T. Krishnamachari, included in this volume, have been edited and rearranged for the purpose of presentation in book form.*]

CONTENTS

Chapter		*Page*
I	The Philosophy of the Movement ..	9
II	The Plan and Rural Improvement ..	25
III	Tests of Success	38
IV	Integrated Approach to Rural Life ..	43
V	Achievement and Perspective	48
VI	The Administrative Pattern	58
VII	Village Self-Government in Democratic Planning	67
VIII	Role of Agriculture in the Second Five Year Plan	83
IX	Administrator in a Welfare State ..	103
X	National Effort for Doubling Rural Incomes	113
Appendices		
I	Extracts from the Report of the Fiscal Commission, 1950	130
II	Extracts from the Report of the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee, 1952 ..	136
III	Rephasing of the Community Development Programme	152
Index	.. ..	155

I. THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE MOVEMENT*

The basic idea underlying the National Extension movement—viz., intensive development aiming at reaching every family in the countryside and at securing co-ordinated development of rural life as a whole—is not a new concept. It has been tried in the past. One can refer to such efforts as those of the constructive workers trained by Mahatma Gandhi, or Poet Tagore at Sriniketan, or Mr. Spencer Hatch of Y.M.C.A. at Martandam, or the rural reconstruction scheme of the former Baroda State, or the experiments conducted by Mr. F. L. Brayne in Gurgaon District in the Punjab, or, in more recent times, the Sarvodaya scheme in Bombay and the Firka Development scheme in Madras. The Grow More Food campaign launched by the Government of India was also an effort in this direction, although it suffered from the limitation of its original objective.

After a careful review of these efforts the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee, which reported to the Government of India in June 1952, made important proposals which were endorsed by the Planning Commission and the Govwere endorsed by the Planning Commission and the Government. In the first place, the Committee recommended that there should be organised a National Extension movement covering the entire country within a period of seven or eight years. Secondly, it worked out the pattern of the official and non-official organisation at all levels—the State, District, Sub-Division and Village—best suited to meet the needs of this new policy, and which might be summed up as the Welfare State in action. Thirdly, it recommended Central aid for the establishment of the service in the States.

---

* An article contributed to the Independence Day number of *U. P. Information*, Lucknow, August 1954

Following these recommendations, it was decided in consultation with the State Governments in May 1952 to launch the Community Development Programme. This programme was inaugurated in 55 project areas all over India on October 2, 1952. More Community Projects were launched in 1953 in two successive instalments. Now there are 223 Development Blocks covering about 23,650 villages with a population of 21.5 million.

The Community Projects involve intensive operations spread over a period of three years; but improvement in rural life is a permanent process. For this reason and based on the recommendations of the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee and the Planning Commission, the Government of India decided early in 1953 that the Community Projects should be supplemented by a less intensive scheme of development to be known as the National Extension Service. This Service was inaugurated all over India on October 2, 1953, a year after the inauguration of the Community Development Programme. As a first instalment, 259 blocks were allotted for the year 1953-54.

Inter-related Stages

It is necessary to explain the inter-relation between the Community Development Programme and the National Extension Service. The movements have identical aims. The N.E.S. is a permanent organisation and will cover the whole country. It provides the basic organisation—official and non-official—and a minimum financial provision for development. Further funds will be found from the Central Government's assistance to States for different kinds of development and from the States' own allotments under different heads. N.E.S. blocks in which successful results have been achieved with the maximum popular co-operation are selected for intensive development for a period of three years. These are called Community Projects. How many N.E.S. blocks can be taken up every year for such temporary intensive development will depend on the available resources and on local support and enthusiasm.

The total programme for the first Five Year Plan is to undertake 1,200 N.E.S. blocks. Out of the latter, 700 blocks consisting of about 70,000 villages and a population of 40 million will receive attention under the intensive development programme. The remaining 500 blocks consisting of about 50,000 villages and a population of 35 million will come under the Extension Service. It is expected that by the end of the second Five Year Plan the entire country would be covered by the Service.

The aim of the National Extension Service is not merely to provide for ample food, clothing, shelter, health and recreational facilities in the village. All these are there, but what is emphasised is a change in the mental outlook of the people, the instilling in them of ambition for higher standards of life and the will and the determination to work for such standards. This is essentially a human problem—how to change the outlook of the 70 million families living in the countryside, arouse in them enthusiasm for new knowledge and new ways of life. This is truly one of the most difficult problems that has ever faced a nation in the history of the world.

Concerted Approach

In the past, Government's efforts to bring about improvement in rural areas were directed through fairly well-organised Development Departments such as Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Co-operation, Health, Education, etc. These, however, worked independently of one another, following their own programme and without a sense of common objective. Each Department approached the villager through its own hierarchy, the weakest link in each Department being the last official, who had to be in touch with the villager. This official was, in most cases, inadequately trained and incapable of providing guidance to the villager. The area covered by him was so vast that a villager hardly felt his presence. The activities of these Departments were also not linked up with those of Revenue officers of the area, or with the local bodies which, under the law, are res-

ponsible for some of the welfare services like communications and water supplies. The result of all this was that there was no concerted effort to improve all sides of village life, to change the outlook of the farmer and to mobilise local initiative and resources for the betterment of rural conditions.

Earlier Proposals

Much thought had in the past been given to the kind of organisation required to be set up to meet the many-sided needs of the villager. As early as 1926, the Royal Commission on Agriculture commended the system of Village Guides devised by Mr. F. L. Brayne for his Gurgaon experiment.

The Fiscal Commission* set up by the Government of India in 1949 observed in its report (June 1950) :

"In our view the greatest need at present in India is an extension service with the object of bridging the gap between research and the practices of producers, similar to those which have been found so valuable in the U.K., the U.S.A., etc. What we have in mind is an Extension Officer with the necessary staff for a group of 40 or 50 villages working on a demonstration farm. The officer will be the agent of all the Development Departments in the implementation of the schemes of improvement for the villages in the Centre, and the guide and friend of the farmers in the area and in close contact with them."

When, with the establishment of the Planning Commission in March 1950, we began to plan for large-scale economic and social progress, agricultural improvement was the most urgent question facing the country. Obviously, no advance could be thought of unless the great majority of the population living in the villages were roused from torpor. The paradox of the situation was that though our agricultural research and our work on animal husbandry had won international recognition, and though we had in the field of co-operation men with a wide knowledge of the

---

* See Appendix I

movement and with missionary zeal, rural life had remained almost stagnant for many decades. Agricultural improvements had not been adopted over large cultivated areas, and co-operation had touched only a fringe of the population. What were the fundamental factors responsible for this state of affairs?

Between 1950 and 1952 the Planning Commission gave concentrated thought to this crucial issue in the country's economic development. They had before them the report of the Fiscal Commission which had recommended a National Extension Movement covering the entire country. Following wide consultations, the Commission, in the "draft outline" of the first Five Year Plan published in July 1951, made proposals for a rural extension service and the manner in which it should be organised for securing integrated development.

In February 1952, the Food and Agriculture Ministry appointed a committee to examine the Grow More Food activities of the Government which had been in progress from 1947 onwards, and to suggest measures for ensuring rapid expansion of agricultural production. The concept of a rural extension service, briefly referred to in the Fiscal Commission's report, was further developed by the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee.* The Committee pointed out that there was imperative need for an organisation for intensive rural work which would reach every farmer and assist in the co-ordinated development of rural life as a whole, similar in conception to the "extension" or "advisory" services in the U.S.A., the U.K. and elsewhere.

The functions of such an extension service have been very well summarised in the following extract from the report on extension of the meeting of the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organisation held in August 1949 :

> "Extension or Advisory services and other allied services have the following indispensable functions : instructing farm people in agriculture and domestic science and in agricultural affairs; bringing them the

---

* See Appendix II

latest results of research in these fields, on quality and cost as well as on the quantity of production, and teaching them improved techniques of farming and rural living; calling the attention of research institutions to the agricultural and home problems that require study; and providing opportunities for farm people to meet together for the purpose of learning from each other and developing leadership in agricultural affairs".

G.M.F. Committee's Recommendation

The Grow More Food Enquiry Committee recommended that for the Extension Organisation the taluka or tehsil—the lowest administrative unit—consisting of 100 to 120 villages would constitute a convenient development block in charge of a Development Officer or Extension Officer. The Sub-Divisional Officer or Revenue Divisional Officer would have to be relieved of his other duties by a special Assistant appointed for the purpose, so that he may perform the functions of the Extension Officer in his area. The Extension Officer at the block level will have to be assisted by Technical Officers dealing with agriculture, animal husbandry and co-operation. This organisation will function as a team constantly consulting one another and exchanging experience. The organisation will establish the closest contacts with agriculturists and be their friend and guide. Below the block level there would be (1) a group of villages 5 to 10 in number with a population ranging from 5,000 to 8,000, and (2) the village itself.

To sum up, the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee, which examined the economic aspects of village life in great detail, observed that all aspects of rural 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 pooblems 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 N.E.S. movement aims at placing before the country this ideal of bringing about an appre-

ciable improvement in all aspects of rural life and making it fuller and richer. It seeks to ensure that the energies of the entire administrative machinery of the State and the best unofficial leadership in the area are directed to plans for awakening mass enthusiasm and enlisting the active interest and support of the millions of families living in the country-side in the immense task of bettering their own conditions.

The basic principles on which the movement lays stress are :

(a) The motive force for improvement should come from the people themselves. Self-help is at the root of all reforms, the State assisting with supplies and services and credit. The vast unutilised energy lying dormant in the countryside should be harnessed for constructive work, every family devoting its time not only for carrying out its own programmes but also for the benefit of the community.

(b) The co-operative principle should be applied in its infinitely varying forms, for solving all problems of rural life.

In brief, the main concept of the new pattern of rural society is that millions of families of farm owners should organise themselves in co-operatives of different kinds and take decisions as free agents, practising scientific agriculture on the largest scale possible and finding supplementary occupations in a variety of decentralised cottage and small scale industries, while the State will assist them by organising research, supplies, services and credit. The basic considerations are not merely economic; there are non-material values and social gains which are equally important.

Increased Employment and Production

In what directions does the movement seek to bring about a change of outlook? The first direction is increased employment and increased production. This follows from what is recognised to be the greatest evil in rural life, namely, the enormous volume of unemployment or what

may be called under-employment. Side by side with this, we have "subsistence" agriculture or under-production, i.e., the land does not produce a fraction of what it can if scientific knowledge is applied.

The first direction in which we must change the outlook of the rural population is in regard to these two evils. They are basically due to the same reasons and are two aspects of the same problem. Despite much inherited skill and experience, the farmer's productivity is low on account of factors such as failure to use scientific methods and conserve the available resources, lack of credit, lack of irrigation facilities, etc. Intensive agriculture by bringing modern scientific methods to the door of the agriculturists would bring about greater production and fuller employment, and with it wider opportunities for subsidiary and cottage industries.

Self-help and Co-operation

The second main direction of the programme is the need for organising the community for co-operative endeavour. It is only as a result of the community helping itself that improvement on the scale required can be brought about. It is in the application of co-operative principles that solutions can be found for all the problems facing the countryside. The aim should be to see that there is at least one multi-purpose society in which every agriculturist family is represented.

The scope for the application of the co-operative principle is unlimited. To take an example, good seeds, fertilizers, etc., are to be supplied for increased production. The question immediately arises of short-term credit. Without such credit the ideal of every family having a scheme of improvement for which it works cannot be realised. Though co-operative societies have been functioning in India for nearly 50 years, it has been found that after all these years, even in areas where co-operation is best developed, only 30 per cent of the families engaged in agriculture are eligible for obtaining credit on terms on which co-operative

societies can offer it to them. In other words only 30 per cent of the people are "credit worthy". The problem, therefore, is one of making the remaining 70 per cent "credit worthy". This can only be done by joint efforts to improve production through co-operative endeavour. In the initial stages the aim should be to provide credit, under proper supervision, to cultivators who could be relied upon to make efforts towards increased production. In other words the emphasis will have to be on credit worthy uses rather than on credit worthy persons.

The Grow More Food Enquiry Committee gave a number of examples in which the co-operative principle can be applied. They are as follows :

"Firstly, in regard to schemes of permanent improvement where there is a major irrigation project, the canal system in villages can be taken up for execution by the villagers on a co-operative basis. This will eliminate middle-man's profits and bring into the co-operative movement large amounts of money which can be utilised for agricultural improvement. The same remarks apply to schemes of reclamation, contour-bunding, etc., and minor irrigation projects. Also, a system of voluntary labour for works useful to the community—village irrigation tanks, common drinking water wells, roads and village plantations —can be usefully organised.

"Secondly, for raising standards of cultivation, local efforts should be promoted in seed production, green manures, compost making, etc. This will ease supply problems besides ensuring purity of seeds, etc.

"Thirdly, there are numerous ways in which the co-operative movement can be developed to advantage for providing short-term finance, for joint ownership of agricultural machinery and pumps, for lifting water, etc., joint ownership of storage accommodation, joint farming, and co-operative marketing.

"Fourthly, provision can be made by co-operative methods for subsidiary occupations and cottage and small scale industries.

"Fifthly, it is specially important to organise work among women as their co-operation in raising levels of life can be most valuable".

Community Assets

The third direction is the need for community effort for works of common benefit to the community. The village needs roads, tanks, and so on. It is necessary that the villagers should feel that all these needs can be satisfied by their joint efforts. The Government can assist with grants and loans to a certain extent and also with technical advice and guidance, but the main effort should be theirs.

This applies also to the more permanent improvements that are needed for the community—schools, health centres and so on. Here again the need for utilising a portion of the vast unutilised energy in the countryside for the benefit of the community should be inculcated. These activities pertain to creation of social amenities and to the continued maintenance of community works. In the past, silt clearance in a village pond was considered obligatory as a matter of custom. It is no longer considered as an important aspect of village life today. The villagers should feel it their duty to maintain all works of permanent utility by community effort.

Directions of Social Change

To sum up, the three main directions in which a change in outlook is needed and is to be worked for are :

Firstly, increased employment and increased production by the application of scientific methods of agriculture, including horticulture, animal husbandry, fisheries, etc., and the establishment of subsidiary and cottage industries;

Secondly, self-help and self-reliance and the largest possible extension of the principle of co-operation; and,

Thirdly, the need for devoting a portion of the vast unutilised time and energy in the countryside for the benefit of the community.

Administrative Set-up

Recommendations ragarding the organisational pattern for the implementation of the above programme were made in Chapter VI of the G. M. F. Enquiry Committee Report, and in Chapter VII of the Planning Commission's Report on the First Five Year Plan.

The organisation is as follows : In every State there is a Development Committee consisting of the Chief Minister and the Ministers in charge of Development Departments, for laying down general principles of policy regarding the implementation of the National Extension Service programme. The Development Commissioner in the State is the Secretary of this Committee. At the official level, the Development Commissioner, for purposes of co-ordination, is the leader of the team consisting of the Heads of Departments or Secretaries to Government in the various Development Departments. He acts as the Co-ordinating Officer for all these Departments in order to ensure that their work proceeds along the lines indicated in the overall plan of the State. He is not the head of an independent Development Department of his own but regards himself, for the purpose of ensuring co-ordination, as the Head of a team consisting of the Heads of all the Development Departments.

In view of the difficult nature of the work with which the Development Commissioner is entrusted it has been found necessary for him to be a very senior officer in the State. In some States, the Chief Secretary himself exercises these functions. In other States, these activities have been entrusted to a very senior official of the rank of Additional Chief Secretary. To achieve co-ordination at the District, Sub-Divisional and Block levels, functions similar to those of the Development Commissioner have been entrusted to the Collector, Sub-Divisional Officer and

the Block Development Officer, respectively. The technical officials belonging to different development departments are subject to the supervision, for purposes of coordination, of the General Administrative Officer of the appropriate level, namely, a Block Development Officer at the Block level, the Sub-Divisional Officer at the Sub-Division level and the District Officer at the District level. The multi-purpose Village Level Worker or Gram Sevak who is the last link in this administrative chain is treated as a part of the District Administration. He is, however, to receive instructions and guidance in technical matters from the Technical Officers at the various levels.

The significant feature of the administrative arrangements indicated above 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.

The Programme

The programme aims at all-round development of rural areas. There is financial provision for a small works programme serving as the nucleus around which the staff would be engaged in their various activities. The financial provision made in the programme itself is small and it is intended that this should be supplemented by additional resources made available from the development programme financed by the State Government singly or by the State and the Central Government jointly. The State Governments have been told that all development programmes should be concentrated in these areas in a liberal measure. There is also provision for loans—medium-term for minor

irrigation schemes and short-term loans for providing credit facilities to the villager. The estimated expenditure of a Development Block is of the order of Rs. 7.5 lakhs for a period of three years. The staff consists of one Block Development Officer, three Extension Officers (for agriculture, animal husbandry, co-operatives and panchayats), two Social Education Organisers (one man and one woman), one Overseer and 10 Village Level Workers. This staff is inclusive of the existing staff of the various Development Departments in the area which would be absorbed in the N.E.S. organisation with such training and orientation as may be necessary.

Non-official Leadership

Alongside the administrative organisation, the N.E.S. programme aims at the closest co-operation with the best non-official leadership at every stage. In essence the N.E.S. 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 various levels. At the village level, the statutory village development councils known variously as well as the implementation of the programme. In areas where such Panchayats do not exist or are ineffective, efforts are being made to encourage the growth of ad hoc non-statutory village development councils known variously as Gram Vikas Mandals, Gram Mangal Samitis, Gram Sevak Sanghams, etc.

Plans drawn up by these village institutions are considered by Advisory Committees at the Block level. These consist of representatives of Village Committees, the members of the local Legislature and Parliament, representatives of co-operative societies, progressive farmers, etc. The development programmes of the Block drawn up by the Block Advisory Committees are then integrated into the District Plan by a District Development Committee consisting of some prominent non-officials and heads of various technical departments at the district level.

Thus, at every stage the official and the non-official organisations work side by side for evolving and implementing the programme. The whole movement is based on self-help. The active interest and support of the people is enlisted in the task of bettering their own condition. To facilitate the introduction of the new order of things the Central Government is assisting the State Governments with grants of half the additional cost of setting up Extension staffs, and also to find by the end of the Plan period short-term credits of Rs. 100 crores a year, medium-term credit of Rs. 25 crores a year and long-term credit of Rs. 5 crores a year through the co-operative movement and other agencies.

Training of Extension Staff

As stated earlier, Extension is a continuous process designed to make the rural people aware of their problems and indicating to them ways and means by which they can solve them. It involves not only education of the rural people in determining their problems and methods of solving them but also inspiring them towards positive action in so doing. It is therefore of the highest importance that for this task personnel of the right type are obtained who will take to their work with zeal and enthusiasm. The qualities required are not only ability to acquire knowledge but also dedication to the task of serving the rural people and the development of a will to find solutions for their problems. The crux of the programme, which is more a human problem than anything else, is the method of approach to the villager.

The Planning Commission in its report laid great emphasis on the training of Extension workers. There are at present 34 centres all over the country for the training of Village Level Workers. Persons who are to be the Village Level Workers are selected with great care. The primary qualification is experience of and interest in rural life. They are given training for at least one year, after matriculation, in basic agriculture. At these Extension Training Centres

they receive further training in Extension methods over a period of six months in the various facets of rural life, such as agriculture, animal husbandry, rural health, sanitation, social education and cottage industries.

Training courses have also been arranged for extension and orientation training for the various subject matter specialists and administrative officers. As far as possible nobody is commissioned to Extension work unless he has had an adequate orientation in his subject.

It cannot be stressed too strongly that rural development is essentially a human problem. The success of the programme is to be judged by the extent to which it succeeds in producing a change in outlook in these directions.

The basis which should be applied in evaluating the work are: Has every family got a plan of improvement for which it puts forth its best effort? Does it utilise improved techniques and seeds, manures and fertilisers, and does it also have subsidiary occupations for the period for which it is not engaged in agriculture? Is it or has it become credit worthy? Is it represented on its own qualifications in at least one co-operative society? Has it made its contribution to works of common benefit to the community in the form of money and|or labour? How far has the interest of women and the youth in villages been enlisted in this campaign? Have all these activities become part of the permanent life of the village and not a mere temporary phase?

I have attempted to indicate, in broad outline, the National Extension Service programme as embodied in the Plan. It is based on the dignity and the worth of the individual. Its basic idea is to bring about a change in the outlook of the millions of families in the countryside and to assist them in their efforts to build up a new life. The foundations are being laid for a National Extension Service Organisation—the Welfare State in action—which will cover the whole country by 1961.

There are instances of communities organising themselves on this pattern but nowhere has the experiment been

tried for a vast rural population like ours and in an under-developed economy with so many intractable problems. The results so far obtained have been on the whole encouraging, and as the administration and leaders of the village and other associations gain more and more experience, there are grounds for the hope that the movement will gather momentum. What is essential is that the movement, basing itself on the application of the co-operative principle in its infinitely varying forms, should always retain its vigour and dynamism as a genuine people's movement, ever adapting itself speedily to the new demands and new situations that will arise.

II. THE PLAN AND RURAL IMPROVEMENT*

I propose to speak on "The Five Year Plan and Rural Improvement", i.e., the pattern of life and standards of advance which the Plan places before the people who live in the villages of India.

The basic problems of rural India are the enormous volume of unemployment and under-employment that exist in agriculture, and its extremely low productivity. The factors that contribute to this are well known—they have been brought together in the recent Report of the Census for 1951—but will bear restating.

Pressure on Land

The population has been growing steadily from 1921 to 1951. In consequence of this, there has been a progressive decline in these years in the cultivated area per head of the population (111 cents per head in 1921 to 84 cents in 1951); in double crop area per person (13 cents in 1921 to 10 cents in 1951); and in irrigated area per person (18 cents in 1921 to 14 cents in 1951). These figures are for districts specially studied, in which land records are accurately maintained, and may be accepted as representing conditions throughout the country. In the words of the Census Report, "The steady decline of all the factors during the three decades since 1921 is an all-pervasive fact."

Taking the agricultural population as a whole (249 million), constituting 69.8 cent of the total population, 71 million are self-supporting persons, 31 million are earning

---

* Presidential address at the fourteenth session of the Conference of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics held at Jaipur, December 1953

dependants and 147 million are non-earning dependants. The 71 million self-supporting persons come under the following categories.

Owner cultivators	.. ..	45.7 million
Tenant cultivators	.. ..	8.8 million
Cultivating labourers	.. ..	14.9 million
Agricultural rentiers	.. ..	1.6 million

The above figures show not only that a disproportionately large part of our population depends on agriculture, but also that it contains a relatively low proportion of workers. It has also to be remembered that the land cultivated by a family does not form part of one compact holding; it is often dispersed in different parts of the village.

The broad picture thus emerges of over 70 million families cultivating about 250 million acres of land (only about 20 per cent of which is double crop or irrigated area), distributed in fragmented holdings and supporting large numbers of non-earning dependants, many of whom continue on the land as they have nowhere else to go and make only a nominal contribution to agriculture.

Unemployment and Under-employment

Nor is this all. In over three-fourths of the area of the country, agricultural operations depend on the monsoon which, even when it is regular, is confined to three or four months in the year. Rainfall is precarious over 30 per cent of the land area of the country—ranging from about 30 to 10 inches. These are the scarcity areas. Even in areas of higher rainfall there are years in which rains fail in the crucial period before the ripening of the crop. Moreover, from about the 30th September to 1st June—eight months —there is practically no rainfall except in the small part of the country which benefits from both monsoons. The rainfall in these months varies from 1.5 inches (out of a total of 32.9 inches) in Gujerat and 4.4 inches (out of 33.7 inches) in Hyderabad to 7.9 inches (out of 56 inches) in east Madhya Pradesh. This long rainless stretch of eight

months—the dreary period of waiting between crop and crop—has a most depressing effect on the rural economy.

Under the best of conditions, agriculture is thus possible over 75 per cent of the cultivated area only for four to five months of the year; in the rest of the area, which is irrigated, it is possible for double this period. During the rest of the year, employment opportunities are limited and intermittent for the millions in the countryside. This is confirmed by a detailed census conducted by the Labour Ministry.

To complete the picture, it must be mentioned that every year about three million are added to the population which land has to support. Thus, practically over the whole area, subsistence agriculture is practised. It has been estimated that, even after several years of intensive effort under the Grow More Food campaign, only 2 to 4 per cent of the cultivated area has come under the influence of improved scientific methods.

Solution : Diversified Economy

The facts set out above disclose the colossal volume of unemployment and under-employment which is rampant among large sections of the population in rural India, resulting in extremely low standards of living. This is not merely an economic waste. It is more wasteful in terms of human values. The Plan seeks a solution for this, the most deep-seated evil in our economy, in two directions :

Firstly : Recommendations are made for the widest possible application of research to agriculture in a broad sense including animal husbandry, fisheries, etc. The intention is to promote a system of intensive farming and the evolution of a diversified economy by means of co-operative effort. This is assisted by the provision of irrigation and power facilities on a scale hitherto unprecedented, as these afford the readiest means of lengthening the period of employment in agriculture and increasing production.

Secondly : The Plan seeks to provide occupation for the surplus labour force on the land by encouragement of

industries—occupations subsidiary to agriculture, cottage and small scale industries, large scale industries and tertiary occupations. There have been varying estimates of the size of the surplus population in agriculture; I attempted one in the Report of the Fiscal Commission. Obviously the size of the surplus will depend on the extent of rationalisation in agriculture. As rationalisation progresses, the surplus will become larger and larger. The two processes are closely interlinked. By and large it is correct to say that "for every great region of the world, living standards tend to be the higher, the smaller the relative importance of agriculture as field of employment".

Basic Concepts

The Plan also stresses three fundamental conceptions in all programmes :

(i) The co-operative principle should be applied in its infinitely varying forms, for solving all problems of rural life.

(ii) The motive force for improvement should come from the people themselves. Self-help is at the root of all reform, the State assisting with supplies and services and credit. The vast unutilised energy which has been referred to above should be harnessed for constructive work, every family devoting its time not only for carrying out its own programmes but also for the benefit of the community.

(iii) The State should ensure for the people the largest measure of social justice.

From what has been said above, the pattern of rural society envisaged under the Plan becomes clear. It is that millions of families of farming owners will organise themselves in co-operatives of different kinds. They will practise scientific agriculture on the largest scale possible and find supplementary occupations in a variety of decentralised cottage and small scale industries. The State will assist them by organising research, supplies and services and credit.

The Plan emphasises the need for improving the techniques and organisation of cottage and small scale industries by continuous research and in other ways. It is also intended that large-scale industries and tertiary occupations will find employment for others displaced from agriculture. It is not without interest that the Fiscal Commission, attempting an answer to the question—what is the kind of society which the Constitution of India contemplates in the Directives embodied in it?—outlined the same pattern as that envisaged by the Planning Commission.

New Awakening

When the initial steps to establish responsible government in India were under discussion, there was much talk of "the placid, pathetic contentment of the masses". This is no longer true. The depression of the 'thirties, the Second World War, the coming of Independence and the General Elections under adult suffrage, have brought about a dynamic situation. Everywhere there are new hopes and aspirations; rural India is seeking to build up a new life for itself.

I need not say how revolutionary is the transformation implicit in the pattern of rural society placed before the nation by the Planning Commission. What it calls for is a change in the mental outlook of the people, the instilling in them of an ambition for higher standards of life and the will and the determination to work for such standards.

In the Commission's view the far-reaching reorganisation of rural life which it proposes can be achieved only if India transforms itself speedily into a Welfare State as enjoined in the Constitution. This means a change in spirit and outlook as well as in structure. The Commission has put forward proposals under which the administration, at all levels, including the district, will become the agency for rural improvement—an "extension" or rural welfare agency.

Alongside the administrative organisation, there are proposals for the closest co-operation with the best non-

official leadership at every stage. In essence, the National Extension Organisation is both official and non-official: both have to work together. Programmes for improvement should be made after the widest discussion with the agriculturists, who should feel a sense of proprietorship in them. An important part of the set-up is the village level worker who is the link between the villager and the development departments, a friend and a guide to whom the villager looks for advice and for the supplies and services needed for implementing programmes. It should be again emphasised that the whole movement is based on self-help. The active interest and support of the people should be enlisted in the task of bettering their own condition.

The National Extension Organisation is expected to cover 120,000 villages—nearly one-third of the settled villages in the country—by the end of 1955-56. The training of the staff has commenced. Over Rs. 100 crores have been allotted in the Plan for giving effect to the Community Development and N.E.S. programme. This is over and above the provision under the head 'Grow More Food' campaign. Thus, within the Plan period, intensive development covering all aspects of rural life is to be organised over an area eight to ten times that covered in all previous years. It is hoped that by the end of the Second Plan period, the whole country will have come under the movement.

Importance of Irrigation

An equal measure of advance is envisaged under irrigation and power. In the latter programme are included: multi-purpose projects for irrigation and hydro-electric power, large and medium irrigation projects, and minor irrigation works. About Rs. 560 crores will be spent on the first two classes of projects. I may mention here that the book value of all major irrigation works in India at the time of partition was Rs. 110 crores. Quite recently, about Rs. 40 crores have been added to the Plan provision for medium irrigation projects to give permanent protection to

scarcity affected areas, thus bringing the total expenditure to Rs. 600 crores. For minor irrigation works over Rs. 110 crores are provided. Then there is a programme of tube-wells. To the 2,500 tube-wells that existed when the Plan commenced, 5,000 are to be added in the five-year period. These will irrigate 1.5 million acres.

The irrigation schemes under the Plan will add 17 to 18 million acres to the irrigated area by the end of 1955-56 and another 9 to 10 million after all schemes are in full operation. I may mention here that, under Irrigation and Power, the Planning Commission has recommended a 15-year programme which would double the area under irrigation and increase electrical energy by about five times.

Research

The National Extension Organisation as it develops will make increasing demands for research. The Plan includes provision for research, and the assistance of experts from outside is obtained whenever needed. There is special stress on dry-farming research and soil conservation. It is recognised that however much irrigation may extend, large areas in the country will have to be under dry-farming and that the techniques of such farming need to be improved. Soil erosion is, again, a serious problem in many parts of the country. It is intended to set up an expert organisation to study all these problems and to train workers in the preparation and execution of schemes.

I have referred to the importance attached to cottage and small-scale industries. Here, the Plan has suggested changes in policy. The principle of a cess on the corresponding large-scale industries to support cottage industries has been accepted. It has also been agreed that these industries should receive protection by reservation of spheres and in other ways until, by improvement in techniques and organisation, they can face competition. Special autonomous boards have been established for promoting them and these have been endowed with adequate financial resources for efficient working. Recently a team of

outside experts, selected for their knowledge and interest in small-scale industries, have been invited for conducting intensive studies of such industries in four regions and suggesting programmes for developing them. Indians possessing competence in this field are working jointly with this team.

Land Reforms

The Planning Commission has made far-reaching recommendations in regard to land reform for ensuring social justice. These include laws for abolition of intermediary tenures and for reform of tenancies for guaranteeing security and fair rents and enabling tenants to become owners on payment of moderate compensation spread over a period of years. Recommendations have also been made on the question of imposing ceilings.

The land reforms legislation in India is impressive, judged by the far-reaching character of the changes, the areas and populations involved and the time and manner in which it has been carried out. For a variety of reasons, however, actual implementation has not been as speedy in all areas as might be desired, but everywhere beginnings have been made. The Planning Commission is now having the social and economic effects, caused by these measures, studied objectively by universities and other research organisations.

Stabilisation of Agricultural Prices

Connected with the question of land reform is the problem of reasonable prices for agricultural products. It is obvious that scientific agriculture on the scale contemplated —every family having its own programme of improvement —will be impossible if prices are allowed to fall below remunerative levels. This is not to say that costs in agriculture cannot be reduced or that productivity cannot be increased. Cost reduction and improvement in productivity are of course, essential. At the same time, in a country like India where agriculture is the mainstay not only

of the agriculturist but also of the whole economy, the question of maintaining incomes in the agricultural sector at a reasonable level has to be constantly kept in mind. What the reasonable or remunerative level would be is a matter for detailed examination. One has to consider not only what the farmer should receive but also what he has to pay for the tools and implements and the consumer goods that he needs.

Stabilisation of agricultural prices cannot, obviously, be divorced from the wider question of the stabilisation of the entire price level. Moreover, the price for any particular agricultural product must be related to the price obtainable for alternative crops, so that parities have to be worked out not only between agricultural products on the one hand and the products of manufacturing industry on the other but also as between agricultural products *inter se*. In this particular field we need a great deal more information than we have at present. Studies in farm costs and farm management are necessary as a first step in this process, and it is proposed, under the auspices of the Research Programmes Committee to which I shall come presently, to inaugurate such studies.

Need for Family Planning

I now come to the most disquieting—and in many ways the most difficult—of the problems facing us. The Planning Commission has drawn attention to the increase in population in the last 30 years and the pressure exercised on the limited resources available and the urgency of measures for family planning and population control. It has also made recommendations in regard to such measures. In the Census Report of 1951, there is a study of the problem from the point of view of trends in food production. The following conclusions, among others, have been drawn in the report :

"It is possible to overcome food shortage permanently, by taking suitable measures over an extended period of about fifteen years. For this purpose, development of agri-

cultural productivity on an even larger scale than that undertaken in the First Five Year Plan will be necessary, but it will not be sufficient. Effective steps should be taken concurrently to limit births to approximate parity with deaths and thereby achieve a substantially stationary population.

"Births will get limited to approximate parity with deaths, if what has been described as 'improvident maternity' is avoided by all or most married couples. ('Improvident maternity' consists of all births occuring to mothers who have already had three or more children, when at least one of them is alive).

"A combined approach to the solution of our problem calls for the following targets: (i) Increase of agricultural productivity from the present level of approximately 700 lakhs of annual tons to about 940 lakhs of annual tons; and (ii) Reduction of 'improvident maternity' from over 40 per cent. (its incidence at present) to under 5 per cent. If these two targets are accorded equal priority and ranked higher than all other development targets, they can be attained before population increases beyond 45 crores—our total number will then become substantially stationary round about 45 crores."

I think all of us will agree, without committing ourselves strictly to the statistical data and to the definition of 'improvident maternity', that no increase can be achieved in the present standards of living, which are so low as to constitute a serious menace, unless the growth of population is controlled. This is eminently a matter in which non-official bodies like yours can assist by studies and propaganda and creating an informed public opinion.

Reorganisation of Administration

An essential condition for success of the Plan is that the administrative machinery should be improved in efficiency and adapted to its changed functions. There is need for creating a new outlook—a new conception of a public service—and also for strengthening the administration for

its new tasks. There are also the questions connected with the harmonising of the activities of the Central and State Governments in regard to development and ensuring that they are based on common, clearly understood principles.

I have attempted to place before you in broad outline the proposals embodied in the Plan for rural India. The Plan should not be regarded as a series of projects and programmes. As the Prime Minister said while presenting the report of the Planning Commission to Parliament, "It is much vaster . . . the mighty scene of a nation building itself and all of us working together to make a new India". It is a democratic Plan. It is based on the dignity and worth of the individual. Its basic idea is to bring about a change in the outlook of the millions of families in the countryside and to assist them in their efforts to build up a new life. The foundations are now being laid for a National Extension Organisation which will cover about one-third of India by 1955-56 and the whole country in as short a time as possible after that. A pattern of social and economic life has been placed before the country which it will be the aim of the Welfare State to bring into existence.

And we cannot afford to fail: for failure will mean the destruction of values which we all cherish. The results so far obtained have been on the whole encouraging, and as administrators and leaders and the village and other associations gain more and more experience, there are grounds for the hope that the movement will gather momentum. What is essential is that the movement, while basing itself on a sound system of co-operative finance, should always retain its vigour and dynamism as a genuine people's movement, ever adapting itself speedily to the new demands and new situations that will arise.

Agricultural Economics

Before concluding, I would like to refer to the position of agricultural economics in India. I think it is correct to say that, speaking broadly, agricultural economics in India is still in its infancy. It is only recently that some of our

universities have established chairs or readerships for teaching and research in this subject. The problems of agricultural economics are varied, and they are difficult because one has to take into account not only general causal relationships in the field but also the entire institutional framework in which these relationships operate. On many aspects of the problem data are lacking. I do not refer merely to statistical data relating to such matters as cultivated areas, production and prices but also to mental attitudes, incentives and disincentives, etc.

In saying this, I do not ignore the intensive studies conducted in the past by individual economists or research centres. But these were isolated efforts confined to a narrow range of problems. In recent years, however, systematic studies have been and are being undertaken under Government auspices or with Government assistance, the conclusions derived from which will advance our knowledge of problems connected with agriculture. I refer to the enquiries conducted by the National Income Unit, the National Sample Survey, the survey by the Labour Ministry of the condition of agricultural labour and wage levels, and the enquiry into all aspects of agricultural finance which has just been completed by the Reserve Bank of India.

The material collected in these enquiries is being sifted and when reports analysing them are published, there will become available data of much value to agricultural economics, on which policies can be formed and action taken. Your own Society, I must not fail to mention, has been doing excellent work inspite of its limited resources in finance and in research personnel. But there is still a vast field remaining to be explored. Throughout its work the Planning Commission found that on vital matters it had no reliable information on which to base valid conclusions.

It therefore decided to set up a Research Programmes Committee of well-known economists to advise it on programmes of research which will be of assistance in development policies, to arrange for their conduct by universities and research organisations on a carefully thought out

plan, and to collect and study the results. The Committee met some time ago and, as a result of its deliberations, researches will now commence all over India on three general categories of subjects: (1) Land reform and co-operation; (2) Employment, Savings and Investment; and (3) Regional development. The Planning Commission has every confidence that these studies will maintain a high level of thoroughness and objectivity and that, as time goes on, they will cover a wider range of subjects so that a reliable volume of verified knowledge will become available to students of Indian agricultural economics.

Programme Evaluation

I may also mention that the Evaluation Organisation recently set up under Professor Karve, for studying programmes and methods in Community Projects and National Extension areas, is also undertaking fundamental studies of rural problems which will yield results of great value. In all these directions, we are making, I believe, a reasonably good beginning. We need a great many research workers and we must strengthen our universities and our research institutions to help them to expand their work in this sphere.

An under-developed country is inevitably backward also in the field of research, and agricultural economics, like our agriculture itself, has suffered from long neglect. Now that we as a nation are launching upon a career of rapid and many-sided development, all this has to change and change quickly; for, without knowledge, you cannot build firmly. A distinguished economist has characterised economics as a fruit-bearing science, and agricultural economics must be particularly so. I hope that your Society will grow from strength to strength and play its part in building up a new fund of knowledge relating to problems of development. What we are seeking is not merely new techniques for raising more crops or for increasing productivity in the narrow sense; what we desire is a better economic and social order and a fair deal for the millions who inhabit our countryside.

III. TESTS OF SUCCESS *

I have been asked to explain briefly the aims and objects of the National Extension Organisation and Community Projects. They are based on the same ideas. Their methods and aims are identical. The only differences are, firstly, that a higher standard of development is attempted in the Community Project areas by allotting them larger funds; and, secondly, the Community Projects are temporary for three years, while the National Extension Organisation is permanent.

These projects will be judged by the extent to which they have succeeded in producing a change of outlook among the people living in the countryside. It is not enough to mention the number of compost pits opened; maunds of seeds supplied and so on. The tests to be applied are these. Has every family in the Community Project area got a plan of improvement for which it puts forth its best efforts and utilises the improved techniques, seeds and manures and fertilizers proved to be suitable? Has every family in the area become "credit-worthy" and is every family represented, on its own qualifications, in at least one co-operative society? Has every family made its own contribution to works of benefit to the community in the form of money and/or labour? How far has the interest of women and the youth in villages been enlisted in this campaign? Have all these become part of the permanent life of the village and not a mere temporary phase? These are the tests which should be applied in evaluating the work of the projects.

---

* Speech at the second Development Commissioners' Conference, Delhi, April 1953

It may be asked : "What do we expect as a result of the three years' work of the Community Projects Administration in an area ? What results should we see in each village of the project area at the end of this period, when the work will be taken over by the National Extension Organisation which will have fewer personnel and smaller resources ?"

First of all, as I have said, there should be a change of outlook in the minds of the villagers. Every family should have a plan of improvement, and should develop the qualities of self-help, co-operation and community effort.

Then there should be permanent arrangements in the village or a group of villages for multiplication of seed, of the strains found suitable by the Agricultural Department of the State. Also, self-acting arrangements should exist for the distribution of such seeds.

As we do not produce all the fertilizers that are needed for the whole of India, there should be systematic arrangements for the development of local manurial and other resources such as composts and green manures. We need two to three million tons of fertilizers and produce only 350 to 400 thousand tons. So, the development of local manurial resources is most important.

There should also be permanent storage arrangements for foodgrains in the village. This would save the community from losses due to bad storage.

I would also expect that the other resources of the village, like fisheries in the village tank, should be properly developed. I hope the State Governments will let the village community retain for common use additional revenues due to improvements in fisheries and other sources.

Again, there should be permanent arrangements including equipment and other facilities needed for dealing with epidemic diseases of cattle, and plant diseases.

There should also be a multi-purpose co-operative society in every village on which all agriculturist families should be represented. It will buy and sell on behalf of its members, own agricultural tools and implements to be let out on hire, etc.

It is equally important that there should be a Village Council which would assist in the implementation of production and other plans. It should carry to the villager the improvements suggested by technical men, and convey to the latter the difficulties felt by villagers in carrying out these improvements. In many villages there are Village Panchayats. Where these exist, the Village Councils should be built up round them. Where there is a multi-purpose society, the Village Council should be built up round it. We should not seek to create new organisations but use those that already exist. The farmers most interested in improvements should be represented on the Council, as their example would be most useful.

Then there should be a works programme in each village, which means that the villagers should build their own schools, health centres, village tanks, roads, etc. It is gratifying to note that all over India there is much interest in these activities and that everywhere contributions for them are forthcoming in the form of money and labour. I am confident that these works will be done well and economically, and that there will also be left behind permanent arrangements for maintaining them. The Grow More Food Enquiry Committee has made recommendations in regard to the maintenance of what are called 'minor irrigation' works. The keeping of the tank bunds in order, the planting of trees on them, and the work of silt clearance must be the responsibility of the villagers.

I would also stress here the need for every project village improving its grazing areas and also having a 'village forest' for supply of fuel so that cow-dung might be available for manurial purposes.

Not Too Ambitious

I do not know if you think that all this is too ambitious a programme for the three-year period. I myself do not think so—as every village level worker has only about 400 to 500 families to look after, and can establish personal contact with all of them. It is through personal contact and

the right method of approach that the change in outlook about which I have been speaking to you can be achieved. The key man in all this programme is the Village Level Worker. He should be properly trained for his role as a guide and friend of the villager. He should have a basic training in agriculture, animal husbandry and co-operation for at least a year, and in addition, six months' training in extension methods. We have drawn the attention of the States to this and requested them to provide training facilities for the purpose.

Change in Outlook

I have talked to you about a change in the outlook of the rural population. But there is another factor equally important. There should be a change in our outlook as well. We have to adapt ourselves to the new conception of the Welfare State. We should approach our task in a new spirit. We should give up the idea that we are here to force our programmes and plans on the villagers. It is for the villagers to tell us what they want and for us to assist them. We can advise them. We can organise their efforts. We can give such financial assistance as may be needed. But the initiative in the selection of plans must be that of the villagers and the village level workers, and the extension staff should be their guides and friends. We shall all find, as our work progresses, that the villagers have more to teach us than what we have to teach them. There should thus be a two-fold process of change in outlook. In India we are changing over from a 'law and order' State to a Welfare State. This is a revolutionary change, and the outlook of those who are engaged in administration should undergo an equally revolutionary change. The two processes of change in the outlook of villagers and in the outlook of the administrators must go together; we cannot have the one without the other.

These are, broadly speaking, the thoughts that I wanted to place before you. The three main objectives of the National Extension Organisation and the Community Projects

are : more employment and more production, more co-operation, and more community effort for works of benefit to the community. Under each of these heads there are very many detailed programmes on which you will have to work and in which you will have to get the villagers interested. It is in arousing the interest of the villagers and their enthusiasm, and maintaining it at a high level, that the success of the Community Projects Administration depends. The stagnation in rural life should disappear. There should be a new life and new energy everywhere, and a determination to work for better conditions and new ways of life.

IV. INTEGRATED APPROACH TO RURAL LIFE*

It is not the claim of the Planning Commission that, in the Community Development Programme and the National Extension Service, it has worked out a scheme which is perfect and should be carried out in every detail as it stands. It is for you to try out this scheme with an open mind, find out what the difficulties are, and then suggest what changes are required.

I should be quite surprised if in details there were no differences between different States and even between different regions within the States. It is our duty, with the co-operation of the people and of the best non-official leadership, to evolve a system that answers best the needs of different areas. There can be no scheme prepared in advance which will meet the needs of all the millions of families living in the countryside.

Indentity of Aims

I have often said that Community Projects and N.E.S. movements are identical in aims and methods. I would go further and say that there are other movements at work in the country which form part of the same movement and which ought to be integrated with it. Everywhere in India, for example, we have Grow More Food schemes, local development programmes, etc. These are all intended to prepare the country for the N.E.S. movement.

The object of the Planning Commission in suggesting to the Government of India the programme of local development works for villages in which no other part of the Plan is in operation, is to prepare those areas eventually

---

* Speech at the third Development Commissioners' Conference, Ootacamund, May 1954.

for the N.E.S. programme. In the same way, as you will recall, the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee recommended that the grow more food measures should be worked out in intensive areas. There again, the aim is that areas should be prepared through G.M.F. activities for eventually becoming N.E.S. Blocks.

Integration of Development Programmes

Similarly the normal activities of the development departments in the States should be closely integrated with the grow more food activities and local development programmes. In every State there are development activities connected with agriculture, co-operation, animal husbandry, etc., which have been developed over a number of years. The grow more food activities are intended to supplement them, and these should be integrated with the other developmental plans of the States. In the same way the local development programmes should be integrated with the development programmes of district boards, or of the ordinary revenue administrations. In this way, the people and the administration should act in a co-ordinated manner for raising the standards of living all round. Unless we develop this kind of integrated approach, it is obvious that we cannot get the best value out of the Plan and the activities for which the Plan stands.

It is for each State individually to work out the machinery which will effect this integration. You will have seen how much importance the Prime Minister attaches to this work. We must see that this integration comes about at the district level and, below that, at the village level. If this is achieved, I am quite certain that the Plan will acquire a new significance in the eyes of the administration and of the people.

I shall give you one instance of what I have in my mind. It is recognised in all States that the district team of development officers should work with the Collector or the Deputy Commissioner as the co-ordinating authority. But I do not think it is equally recognised that this should be

so even in areas outside the jurisdiction of the Community Projects and the N.E.S. Blocks. In principle there is no difference between the two types of areas. In one the movement is already in operation, and in the other, preparations are being made for its introduction. If the kind of team work is organised in all areas, the conception for which I plead will become an accomplished fact.

In the same way it is for the States to see whether the same co-ordination cannot be effected at lower levels. Cannot, for example, the Village Level Worker become the agent for all types of activities—the State activities, the N.E.S. activities, the local development programme activities and the activities of local boards? It is with this aim in view that the Planning Commission has suggested the breaking up of the Plan into District Plans. In some States this has already been achieved, but I believe in many States it remains to be done. It will be useful for the States to let the villagers know N.E.S. programmes in advance. This will enable the people who are to get an N.E.S. Block, say after a year, to prepare themselves for it.

No Arbitrary Division

The main thing is that the difference between the intensive development areas (Community Project and N.E.S.) and other areas should not be over-emphasised. I have no doubt whatsoever that many of you have read the excellent Evaluation Report that has been prepared by Professor Karve and published recently. You will find one fact prominently mentioned therein, namely that the awakening among the people is not confined to the Community Project areas. Ideas are like sparks. They fly across the street. Even outside such areas there is much awakening which finds expression in a number of ways.

When I was in Madhya Pradesh sometime ago, one of the Deputy Commissioners there gave me an account of work done outside the N.E.S. Block in an area in which there were no activities under the Plan. The results were striking. Without any assistance from Government.

the people had carried out a programme which would have been creditable even in an N.E.S. Block. So we must see that our officers work as a team all over the district. They should bring before the villagers the basic idea that village life is one and indivisible and that self-help is at the root of all improvement. Where such ideas take root, I find, and I am confirmed in this finding by the Evaluation Report, that the result achieved is beyond expectation.

Let me state again the two points which I have been stressing so far. In the first place, all of us should recognise that we cannot divide the districts into arbitrary blocks, those in which there are grow more food measures and those in which there are local development works, etc. All these barriers have no relation to existing facts. Everybody understands that N.E.S. Blocks cannot be given to all areas simultaneously. The people ask us, "It is true that this year we have got no N.E.S. Block. But is our administration preparing us for an N.E.S. Block next year, or two or three years hence ?" This is what should be done. Secondly, we want to see the official agency acting with a single mind. We want to see the whole of the official machinery, engaged in development activities, acting with a single mind and with concentrated effort to produce the best results. I do hope my advice will not be regarded as a counsel of perfection, but as a suggestion for practical action.

Finally, at all times, we should have the human aspect in mind. What we want to know is: how many families in an area have improvement programmes of their own on which they are working? How many of them are eligible and have become members of co-operative societies in their own right ? How many of them have supplementary occupations in small-scale and cottage industries, so that they have more employment than they had formerly? How many of them are devoting a specific portion of their time to works for the benefit of the community? By works of community benefit, I do not mean merely things like roads which are built once, but works of permanent utility which must be done year after year.

These are the tests which should be applied for seeing whether our efforts in building up a new life for rural India are proving successful. Our reports should give informa- tion about the number of families that have come under the influence of the Community Project and N.E.S. programmes. They should also state how many farmers have become more efficient and how many have joined co-operative so- cieties. The test is what changes are taking place in the mental outlook of the people. The tangible, measurable results are also important. But the main thing is to rouse enthusiasm. Once you have an awakened nation deter- mined to achieve results, there is no limit to what can be achieved.

I have made these observations because we must be clear about the fundamental ideas at the back of our mind. I would further like to mention the importance I attach to the quality of the Village Level Workers. I wish all Development Commissioners place before their State Gov- ernments the need for ensuring that the Village Level Workers are selected with the greatest care and are trained adequately for their duties. For, it is on them that the quality of work done in the villages depends.

This does not mean that we should not give equal at- tention to the higher supervisory staff in the districts—the Agricultural and Co-operative Officers, etc. They will be called upon to bear additional burdens in future. We should see that their training is also organised in a proper manner.

V. ACHIEVEMENT AND PERSPECTIVE*

The time has come for a critical assessment of the achievements in the field of Community Development and National Extension Service. I need not expatiate at any length on the reasons for this. There is first the fact that the movement already covers about 90,000 villages. Then, there is the proposal that it should cover the entire country in the next Plan period. It should also be remembered that the National Extension Service and Community Project programmes cannot be regarded as isolated programmes; they are to be integral parts of the Second Five Year Plan. The Second Plan is bound to include a large programme of industrialisation. The function of the National Extension and Community Project programmes is to lay the essential foundations without which the country will not be able to support the industrial structure which is contemplated.

Evaluation Report

The Programme Evaluation Organisation has recently published its report giving an objective assessment of the working of the movement during the two years or more it has been in existence. A number of features mentioned in the report are encouraging; there are others which are not so encouraging and call for remedial action. The report is a valuable document which the Conference should examine most carefully. It has important lessons. I recognise that Development Commissioners invariably adopt a commendable attitude in regard to the working of the

---

* Speech at the fourth Development Commissioners' Conference at Simla, May 1955

movement. There is no complacency and no wishful thinking. Every one has an objective outlook, recognising defects where they exist and always willing to take steps to correct them. In a living movement like the National Extension Service, every one should keep an open mind, assess results continuously and adopt remedial measures in the light of experience gained.

I would like to remind Development Commissioners again that the aim of the National Extension and Community Project movement is to bring about an awakening and social change in the countryside and the release of a fuller and richer life. It is by the extent to which this social change is brought about that the movement has to be judged.

Target of National Income

The Planning Commission has set before the country the objective of doubling the national income from the rural sector in ten years. It is necessary to achieve this objective, because the standard of living of the rural population is deplorably low. About 80 per cent of the total population in the country produces only 50 per cent of the national income. There is also the fact that the other programmes to which the country is committed can be successful only if this order of progress is achieved in rural areas. This objective should be kept in mind in laying down the targets for the Community Project and National Extension movement.

I would remind Development Commissioners that the National Extension movement is essentially a people's movement. It should not be allowed to deteriorate into a series of official projects or schemes, but should continue to be a dynamic movement representing the efforts made by the people to improve their own condition. The role of the officials is to guide the people; to advise them regarding the technical and other measures for increasing production; and to organise the finance, supplies and services needed to enable the people to implement programmes. In all matters

there should be the widest consultation with the people, and their genuine interest should be aroused.

Administrative Units

Taking the official side of the movement first, I would like to refer to some important questions arising in that field. Firstly, there is the question of organising administrative units. In States like Bengal, Bihar, etc., where zamindari and similar tenures prevailed, the entire revenue administration has to be built up. In this the need for bringing about perfect co-ordination between revenue and development cadres—especially of the National Extension Service and Community Projects—should be prominently borne in mind. Even in other areas, this is an important consideration.

All over India there is need to examine the village boundaries so that there might be evolved good, efficient working village units with live panchayats or village councils. For example, there are over 3,80,020 villages in India with a population of 500 and below. About 27 per cent of the rural population (78 million people) live in such villages. Again, there are 1,04,268 villages with population between 500 and 1,000. About 73 million people live in such villages (about 25 per cent of the total population). Thus 52 per cent of the rural population lives in villages with a population below 1,000. A proportion of such villages is in hilly areas, which are sparsely populated. Many of them are in the plains. The question of combining these into units of a minimum population of 1,000 should be examined. A survey on these lines is in progress in U.P. and some other States.

Coming to the unit above the village, I attach the greatest importance to the Village Level Worker. He is a key figure in the administration. Steps should, therefore, be taken to ensure that the selection of Village Level Workers is made most carefully and that every Village Level Worker is given the minimum training necessary. Also, good prospects should be ensured for Village Level

Workers who show good work. I fear that these requirements are not always adequately borne in mind. Nothing will do greater damage to the movement than to employ Village Level Workers who are inadequately equipped for discharging their responsible functions.

I would rather spread the movement more slowly than take into service imperfectly trained Village Level Workers. I commend for consideration by the Conference the suggestion contained in the Evaluation Report that a high-level committee should be appointed to go into the entire question of the training of project personnel. I hope the States will take steps to establish as speedily as possible the training centres for Village Level Workers required for the Second Five Year Plan, sanction for which has been communicated to them. The Extension and Basic Training Centres should be brought into the closest possible relationship and amalgamated as soon as possible.

Above the Village Level Worker, the Block Development Officer has a very important role to play at the Block level. His training is of equal importance. At the Sub-Divisional and the District level the problem is largely one of co-ordination. To this reference has been made in the Evaluation Report.

This question of co-ordination deserves special attention. The need for this is not realised everywhere. The officers at the Sub-Divisional and District levels should work as a team and with a single objective, not only in development blocks but in all areas. This co-ordination has to be achieved not only for the programmes sponsored by the Government but also for development programmes of local bodies or other agencies. I request Development Commissioners to review the position in their States and place before their Governments the steps needed in order to achieve the fullest co-ordination not only in the National Extension Service and Community Project areas but also in areas now outside these.

While on the subject of co-ordination I should like to explain that there are four stages in the extension movement :

(i) *The pre-extension stage* : During this stage local development programmes including local boards' programmes should be so organised as to prepare the people for the National Extension Service. These programmes should be prepared in consultation with the people and be regarded as their programmes to which they make a contribution in the form of labour and/or money.

(ii) *The extension stage* : The National Extension Service is introduced in the area at this stage in a permanent form.

(iii) *The Intensive Stage* : The programme of intensive development known as Community Project Programme is adopted at this stage for three or four years.

(iv) *Post-Intensive Stage* : After a period of intensive development, the programme reverts back to the N.E.S. stage.

These stages are inter-linked. This unity should be recognised, and co-ordinated work organised in villages from the outset.

Non-official Agencies

As regards the non-official sphere, the Evaluation Report has made valuable observations. There is first the village council. In some States, *ad hoc* village bodies have been set up even where there are statutory panchayats. Is this desirable ? The Conference should examine the steps necessary to strengthen the statutory panchayats in order to make them efficient development councils for villages. At higher levels also a careful review of the working of

non-official organisations is necessary with a view to bringing about the closest co-operation with official agencies. The non-official organisations have a vital part to play in creating enthusiasm among the people and bringing about the social change which is at the root of all progress.

I shall now place before you the following facts regarding the relative contribution made by the people in the community project areas :

	Government Expenditure		People's Participation	
	Value in Rs. lakhs	*% of pro rata target*	*Value in Rs. lakhs*	*% of Govt. outlay*
1952-53 Community Projects/Blocks (October 1952 to December 1954)	11,02.28	45	4.77.08	41
1953-54 Community Development Blocks (Oct. '53 to Dec. '54)	1,00.67	30	69.44	68
1953-54 NES Blocks (Oct. '53 to Dec. '54)	1,86.02	39	2,71.54	150
	13,88.97	43	8,18.06	56

People's Participation

From the above statement it appears that people's participation in the 1952-53 Community Projects amounted to 41 per cent, in the 1953-54 Community Development blocks to 68 per cent, and in the 1953-54 N.E.S. Blocks to 150 per cent of the Government's expenditure. Ignoring the Government's expenditure, the people's participation in such areas for every 1,000 persons in the population for a comparable period was as follows :—

(Rupees)

1952-53 Community Projects/Blocks (Average of five quarters out of nine)	1,581

1953-54 Community Development Block (Oct. 1953 to Dec. 1954—five quarters)	1,580
1953-54 N.E.S. Blocks (Oct. 1953 to Dec. 1954—five quarters)	1,378

In other words, in spite of additional loan and other expenditure on development in Community Projects, the people's participation is nearly the same as in the N.E.S. areas. This feature requires examination. There should be much larger people's contribution as the result of the intensive development taking place in Community Project areas. The Evaluation Report refers to the tendency in Community Project areas to attach too much importance to the actual expenditure incurred in relation to the total allotment. If such tests are applied, officers tend to incur expenditure through contractors and other agencies in order to show good results. This, of course, impairs the quality of the movement.

Programmes of Work in Project Areas

In my view the time has now come to reorient our ideas about the nature of the intensive development that should be done in the Community Project areas. Such work should be of a permanent character so that after an N.E.S. Block has passed through the Community Project stage, there should be distinct evidence of permanent improvement in the economy of the village; otherwise the main objectives of the Community Project stage would be defeated. I make the following suggestions in regard to the lines of work that should be adopted in the Community Project areas.

Firstly, utmost importance should be attached to consolidation of holdings. For this purpose, a block should be taken up as the unit and a village or a group of villages should be treated as its sub-units. In regard to the entire block, there should first be an alignment of the road system

needed to connect (i) the area with the main roads or important railway stations and (ii) the interior paths connecting each village with the roads under (i). The lands needed for both sets of roads should be surrendered by the villages as part of the consolidation work. Similarly, lands for village schools and middle|high schools, dispensaries, etc., existing and needed in the future, should be set apart as part of the process. The advantage of combining consolidation work with this kind of road and institution planning is that the contributions will be made in proportion to the total area held by each individual, i.e., in proportion to the property owned. I know that consolidation of holdings is being attempted in several States, but suggest that it should be organised on the basis referred to above. I have seen this kind of planning successfully worked in a few States but should like this pattern to be adopted elsewhere.

Secondly, after careful survey, improvement of irrigation facilities and contour-bunding in dry areas should be systematically attempted with popular participation on the largest possible scale. I should like to mention the work done in this respect in the Sholapur area in Bombay State and the financial and the technical arrangements on which it is based. In areas already irrigated, the loan expenditure earmarked for irrigation can be diverted to rural electrification. I attach much importance to co-operative societies for well-sinking, especially in areas where electricity is available for supplying power for lifting water.

Thirdly, I refer again to the suggestion for ensuring that every family has a programme of work for which it is assisted, the main aim being increased employment and production. There should be a careful survey for cottage and small-scale industries and supplementary occupations should be provided for every family. In Blocks adjacent to urban areas, production of vegetables, milk, eggs and poultry and processing of agricultural products which can find a ready market in the neighbouring towns should be organised carefully.

Co-operative Movement

Fourthly, there is the organisation of the co-operative movement. At present, even in the areas in which the co-operative movement has spread most, only 30 to 40 per cent of the families benefit by it by satisfying the tests laid down. The main aim of the primary co-operative society, working in the closest co-operation with the village council, should be to make every family credit-worthy. The tests for "credit-worthiness" laid down by the co-operative movement should stand, and families which are not in a position to satisfy these tests should be enabled by loans in kind—good seeds, fertilizers etc.—to improve their financial position in such a manner that, in two to five years, they might become eligible in their own right to become members of the co-operative societies.

As Development Commissioners will recall, the co-operative movement when it first began had as its motto "capitalising the honesty of the villager". The co-operative society is intended to help those who can be expected to return loans but do not have the sort of security which an ordinary bank will accept. The village council should advance loans in kind, watch the use of such loans for the purposes for which they are given, recover the loans with interest and also a portion of the share capital for membership of the society at the time of harvest, and in other ways enable the smaller people to improve their condition. It is only in this way that the National Extension and Community Project movement can benefit the 60 to 70 per cent of the rural families which are at present unable to take advantage of the facilities provided by the co-operative movement.

There are discussions as regards the optimum size of the village society. There cannot be a hard and fast rule for this. The size has to vary according to local conditions. This is what the All-India Rural Credit Survey recommends. When determining the size of the primary society, three considerations must be borne in mind: (i) it should be large enough to be a viable unit and to be able to provide a competent board of management; (ii) at the same time,

the board of management should be in a position to keep in touch with individual families and undertake their rehabilitation in the manner indicated above; and (iii) the society should be able to assist in the consolidation of holdings and other programmes of Community Project areas.

Fifthly, in Community Project areas, more labour and or money should be available for works of benefit to the village or community.

Sixthly, the women's and youth movements should be more vigorous.

I feel strongly that programmes on these lines should be organised in the Community Project areas and preliminary steps should be taken when an N.E.S. block is established in a group of villages. It follows from this that village level officers should be trained in co-operation including consolidation of holdings. I suggest that every Development Commissioner should take up a number of blocks and develop them as models for intensive work comprising all the programmes described above. Workers from other areas can come for training in these areas on the patterns of intensive work which should be done in Community Project areas.

A 'Human' Movement

Before concluding, I would again emphasize that the N.E.S. is a human movement—a people's movement which should retain its vigour and dynamism. We should not be afraid of making trials and experimenting with new ideas. As you all know, I am deeply interested in the movement. I have faith in it for finding solutions for all rural problems. The doubling of rural income is vital for progress. I do not think there is difficulty in realising it. What is needed to achieve this is intensive work of the kind I have indicated, and the evolution of a diversified rural economy in which the best will be got out of the land and the people.

VI. THE ADMINISTRATIVE PATTERN*

Rural development work is of vital importance for countries of Asia and the Far East. Broadly speaking, there are many similarities in conditions of work among these countries. Everywhere there is pressure on the land. Land has to support more people than it can, and millions remain on it not because they are needed but because there are no other occupations. There are multitudes of owners, tenants and agricultural labourers working on small and fragmented holdings and following traditional methods. Agriculture is everywhere, except in the small proportion of irrigated areas, essentially a seasonal occupation which can be practised only for a few months in the year. The result of all these factors is an enormous volume of unemployment and under-employment with low standards of living. Even in countries in which the population dependent on land is not so large, the conditions under which agriculture is practised are difficult owing to physical and other limitations.

It is most gratifying therefore that there has been an awakening in these countries and that, in spite of unfavourable conditions, promising beginnings have been made in programmes of intensive development. I have no doubt that all of us can profit by exchanging the experience we have gained in carrying out these programmes.

N.E.S. Movement in India

In India, the "Extension" idea is not a new one. It was tried in varying forms in different parts of the country

---

* Inaugural address at the opening of the F.A.O. Agricultural Extension Development Centre for Asia and the Far East at Bhopal, December 1955.

for many years, under the inspiration of leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and poet Tagore. These efforts were reviewed in 1951 and 1952 by the Planning Commission and the Government of India, in consultation with the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee. From these reviews, the following fundamental ideas emerged :

Firstly, that all aspects of rural life are inter-related and that no lasting results can be achieved if individual aspects of it are dealt with in isolation. This 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 adoption of improved techniques raises, for example, the question of credit—long, medium and short-term—with which is bound up tenancy and allied rights. Then there are systems of landholding, feudal in origin, which discourage improvement. There are also social and other traditional ideas inherited from the past, and systems of inheritance, which have the same effect. Thus the economic and social aspects are closely interlinked. Economic growth is impossible without social change.

Secondly, in a democratic society, social change can come only from the people. They must seek to create a new life for themselves and they must be assisted in their efforts to create a new pattern of society.

Thirdly, as rural improvement is a permanent problem covering all aspects of life, and as this should be the main concern of a Welfare State, the entire machinery of the Government should be reorganised and equipped for the discharge of these responsibilities. Along with this, the best non-official leadership at all levels should be mobilised for guiding the people in their efforts to build up a new life for themselves.

The considerations set out above pointed to the need for an organisation for intensive rural work which could reach every farmer and assist in the co-ordinated development of all sides of rural life. Thus the National Extension Service came into being. It was initiated nearly three years ago.

The movement has two stages. Every area first comes under the National Extension Service. This is a permanent movement which is assisted by the Central Government on a permanent basis. Secondly, blocks which have shown good results, in the way of the people's response to programmes, are selected for a somewhat higher level of development as Community Project blocks for a period usually of three years. In these blocks, workers—official and non-official—try out new methods and acquire experience in the best techniques of approach to rural problems so that all N.E.S. blocks may derive guidance from them. After this stage, the areas revert to the permanent form, viz., the National Extension Service. These two stages are inter-linked. They are parts of a single movement. A decision has been taken recently that, within the Second Five Year Plan period, the entire country will be brought under the National Extension movement and that at least 40 per cent of the blocks will be taken up for development as Community Projects.

Thus the fundamental objective of the National Extension movement is to bring about a social change, to assist in the creation of a new pattern of society, and to change the outlook of the families in the countryside. It is a people's movement based on self-help and co-operation.

In formulating proposals for the administrative pattern of this movement, three principles have been borne in mind: firstly, that there is the closest co-operation in the activities of all development departments at all levels; secondly that, at every stage, the official agencies work with the best non-official leadership; and thirdly that, at the point of contact with the village, there is a trained multipurpose village level worker who acts as the common agent of all the development departments and as the friend and guide of villagers.

We have a federal Constitution under which activities relating to rural development are almost entirely within the competence of the States. The National Extension Organisation has thus to form an integral part of the State

machinery. Every State is divided into a number of districts. The district is the unit of administration for all purposes and the District Officer is the co-ordinating authority for all activities in the district. This position of his has been established for many decades and is reproduced in the new arrangements. Every district is divided into a number of project areas. Each project area has three development blocks. Each block comprises about 100 villages and has a population of about 66,000. Care is taken to see that the block and projects correspond as far as possible to the existing boundaries.

Co-ordination at All Levels

In the past, Government's efforts to bring about improvements in rural areas were directed through departments which worked independently of one another, with inadequate and insufficiently trained staff. Much thought was therefore given to the problem of bringing into existence an administrative organisation in which all developmental activities could be co-ordinated and carried out with unity of aim and purpose. Under the administrative pattern which has now been evolved, in every State there is a State Development Committee consisting of the Chief Minister and the Ministers in charge of development departments for laying down general principles of policy. The Development Commissioner in the State is the Secretary of this Committee. At the official level, the Development Commissioner is, for purposes of co-ordination, the leader of the team consisting of the Heads of Departments or Secretaries to Government in the various development departments. He is to act as the co-ordinating officer for all these departments in order to ensure that the work in the different development departments might proceed along the lines indicated in the overall Plan of the State. In view of the difficult nature of the work with which the Development Commissioner is entrusted, it has been found necessary for him to be a very senior officer in the State.

To achieve co-ordination at the District, Sub-Divisional

and Block levels, functions similar to those of the Development Commissioners have been entrusted to the Collector, Sub-Divisional Officer and the Block Development Officer respectively. The technical officials belonging to different development departments are subject to the supervision, for purposes of co-ordination, of the Administrative Officer of the appropriate level, namely, the Block Development Officer at the Block level, the Sub-Divisional Officer at the Sub-Division and the District Officer at the District level. The multi-purpose Village Level Worker or Gram Sevak, who is the last link in this administrative chain, is treated as a part of the district administration. He is, however, to receive instructions and guidance in technical matters from the technical officers at the various levels.

The significant thing about the administrative arrangement indicated above is that it aims 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 function of revenue collection and maintenance of law and order is being changed into a Welfare Administration and the resources of the development departments of Government are being utilised to the maximum advantage for a concerted attack on the problems of rural development. The movement thus binds together the programmes in different fields of development in the national and State Plans.

Alongside the administrative organisation, the N.E.S. programme aims at the closest co-operation with the best non-official leadership at every stage. In essence the N.E.S. 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 various levels. At the village level, the legally constituted Panchayat is always utilised in the planning as well as the implementation of the programme. In areas where such Panchayats do not exist, efforts are being made

to encourage the growth of ad hoc non-statutory village development councils. Through these bodies the participation of the people in the planning and the implementation of the Plan is sought to be secured. Plans drawn up by these village institutions are considered by Advisory Committees at the Block level consisting of representatives of the Village Committee, the members of the local legislature and of Parliament from the area, representatives of co-operative societies, progressive farmers, etc. The development programmes of the Block drawn up by the Block Advisory Committees are then integrated into the District Plan by a District Development Committee consisting of prominent non-officials as well as the heads of various technical departments at the district level. Thus, at every stage, the official and the non-official organisations are working side by side for evolving and implementing the programme.

At the Centre, there is a Central Committee, which consists of the Planning Commission and the Ministers of Agriculture and Food for policy matters, and the Community Projects Administration serves as a co-ordinating agency.

Central Assistance

To facilitate the introduction of the new order of things, the Central Government is assisting the State Governments with grants of half the additional cost of setting up Extension staffs. The Central Government is also furnishing, by the end of the First Plan period, short-term credit of Rs. 5 crores a year through the co-operative movement and other agencies.

It is obvious from what I have said that the N.E.S. is the agency through which all development expenditure in villages should be incurred. The funds are those provided in the budgets for the schemes or projects under the Five Year Plans. But to give the movement an initial start, provision of funds is made for each N.E.S. or Community Project block for a period of three years. This is in addition to the allocations for rural schemes in budgets.

Each N.E.S. and Community Project block is given a

separate budget grant, as distinct from the allocations made for rural schemes. For N.E.S. blocks, the initial provision is Rs. 7 lakhs for three years including Rs. 3 lakhs for short-term credit. For Community Project blocks, the provision is about Rs. 15 lakhs for three years, which includes Rs. 5 lakhs for minor irrigation works and some provision for a health unit and for social and basic education. In every case, the villagers also make contributions in the shape of labour or money, or both, to supplement what the Government provides.

I now come to the major programmes of work which are undertaken in the National Extension and Community Project areas. These fall into two categories: (i) permanent or long-term programme for the village as a whole, and (ii) programmes of increased production and employment for each family in the village.

Under the first category fall programmes such as consolidation of holdings, improvement of irrigation facilities, contour bunding, implementation of land reforms and adoption of scientific methods of cultivation. Under the latter, increased employment and increased production are put forward as the motto of every family in the village, and cooprative activity of every type is encouraged.

Reduction of Inequalities

I have set out above the general lines on which programmes might be organised. One thing, however, is vital. Special care should be taken to ensure that all families in the village benefit by such programmes—that every family has a plan of improvement for which it is assisted. Nothing will cause greater damage to the movement than that there should be grounds for believing that its benefits are confined to small sections of the community and that the under-privileged sections—viz., the smaller landholders and tenants and landless labourers—do not share in them. Development programmes should be so devised and organised that these latter are enabled to improve their condition progressively so that inequalities are reduced and a sense

of solidarity and partnership in a great endeavour is created in the community.

The Grow More Food Committee expressed the view that a system of evaluation of methods of approach, and of results, is essential to gauge the success of the movement from time to time and to indicate the directions in which programmes of work which prove unsuitable should be modified. This view has been accepted and an Evaluation Organisation has been set up. This is an independent body working under the Planning Commission. It has published reports from time to time containing valuable information on the working of the movement in all its aspects.

In what I have said, I have explained the aims of the movement and the objectives we have placed before ourselves. We do not claim to have achieved even a small part of what we are aiming at. The 'permanent' programme is just being commenced in most cases. What is gratifying, however, is that there has been an awakening among the people and that their response has been very encouraging. We have obtained much support for local works—irrigation tanks and canals, roads, school buildings, etc. In fact, taking all N.E.S. and Community Project blocks together, the local contributions have amounted to 50 per cent of the aggregate expenditure. Improvements in agricultural techniques are being readily adopted. The co-operative movement is spreading, though slowly. In regard to cottage and small-scale industries, we have not made appreciable progress. We are now taking up pilot projects in which, with specially trained staffs, we propose to make intensive efforts in this field.

Nor do we claim that we have reached every family even in areas where we have worked the longest. There has not been time enough for that. We feel also that we have still to gain experience in ways in which our programmes should be worked so as to meet the needs of the under-privileged sections in the rural community and obtain their full support and willing participation. We have much to learn. This can only be done by a process of experimenta-

tion. Our policy is therefore not to set rigid patterns to the States either in the administrative structure or programmes but to encourage them to strike out new paths and try out new ideas.

We are most anxious that the movement should develop increasing dynamism and that among its main aims should be to make the village community realise that the interests of all the people composing it are interlinked and that no progress is possible unless the raising of the standard of living of all families is felt to be the joint responsibility of the community as a whole. Above everything else, the movement should continue to remain a people's movement deriving strength from the people and in turn guiding and inspiring them in their endeavour to build up a new life for themselves.

VII. VILLAGE SELF-GOVERNMENT IN DEMOCRATIC PLANNING

(1)*

I am in entire agreement with the principle that the people of India should assume full responsibility for the working of the Community Development movement. More than 40 years ago, when a mild instalment of responsible government was contemplated, the authors of the Montague-Chelmsford Report said: "Everything that tends to awaken the ryot's intelligence, that helps him to be an independent, self-determining man, will hasten the day when self-government will be attained". This is unquestionable now when full self-government has been established in India. We cannot build self-government on any other basis. If self-government is to be a reality, we shall have to ensure that the villager's "intelligence is awakened", and that he becomes an "independent self-determining man". In other words, he must be enabled to manage his own affairs.

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. The village is the oldest unit known in the country and has survived through many centuries. Those of you who have read Shri Jawaharlal Nehru's book *Discovery of India* will recall his reference to what the *Nitisara* of Shukracharya has said of the position of villages and village councils more than ten centuries ago, and of the large measure of village

---

* Inaugural address at Seminar on 'Pattern of Rural Government' (Indian Institute of Public Administration, Delhi), February 1958.

self-government that prevailed in those early days. You will also remember that, much later, Sir Charles Metcalfe wrote of the "little republics having nearly everything they want within themselves; and almost independent of foreign relations; they seem to last where nothing else lasts. This union of the village communities, each one forming a separate little State in itself . . . is in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence".

Continuity of Village Organisation

I do not want to paint a picture of a golden past. There were defects—factions, caste tyranny, stagnation, etc. But 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. This survival of our values during long periods of foreign dependence is certainly due to the continuity of the village organisation. 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. You are all familiar with the fundamental concepts underlying the movement. I have set them out often but should like to reiterate them. The objective is to bring about social change. We seek to instil in the people " a will for better life"—to create in them a passionate desire for improving their standards of living through their own efforts and in full co-operation with their neighbours. Progress is to be

achieved through self-help—people helping themselves—and with the widest possible application of the principle of co-operation. I should like to emphasise these two principles of self-help and co-operation.

Co-operation is to cover not merely credit but all aspects of rural life. It is an agency of social change. It is my conception that the village co-operative should arrange for the multiplication of approved seeds needed for the village; for the purchase and storage of fertilisers; for the production of green manure and organic manures and for the supplies of all these in kind, besides money credit where needed. We want every village co-operative to have these activities. We also want them to extend their field of activities steadily.

No Imposition of Co-operative Methods

When we talk about co-operative farming, it is not something that we want to impose from outside. We want the community to decide what forms of co-operation it will take up. The village society may have, for example, programmes of construction of wells, of village electrification, etc. We also want co-operatives to have a definite objective —that the people from their own savings will find the finances needed by themselves and also for the wider purposes of the Plan. We want the widest possible recognition of the principle that in an under-developed 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 this movement.

The question for this seminar is this: how are we to reorganise our village to enable it to meet these demands? My own view is that there should be three institutions in every village—institutions which the villagers regard as their own—if this objective is to be achieved. First is the village panchayat. Equally important or possibly more important than the panchayat is the village co-operative. The

third is the village school. Unfortunately, in our fragmented administration, these things are not inter-linked. These three should form the basis of all activities in the village: the agencies through which the Community Development programme should be worked in the village. The panchayat will exercise all administrative and regulatory functions; the co-operative will have as its aim social and economic development; and the school will bring together the entire community, and especially the women and the young people, to support these activities. It is round these that the life of the village should revolve and achieve self-reliant growth.

In this context, the question arises of the size of the primary unit, the village. This is touched on by Professor Karve and others in their papers and is a subject of crucial importance on which the success of the movement depends. On this, I have expressed my views on many occasions. The basic idea is that of a community with ties of neighbourhood, common needs and identity of interest and in which there is a sense of intimacy—something of a larger family. To me this is fundamental. This has been our conception of village life for many centuries and in this lies its strength and vitality.

The Small Community

This conception is reinforced by the results of studies, in the U.S.A. and other countries, of the value of "small communities" in national life. Two books recently published on this are by Mr. Arthur E. Morgan. They are "The Small Community—Foundation of Democratic Life" and "The Community of the Future". Mr. Morgan, as you know, is a renowned engineer and was the first Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority. In these books, he asks for the "recognition of the small, face-to-face community as a vital and to a large degree controlling factor in human life". He says: "These traits of mutuality which men get by living together in intimate relationships—which include intimate acquaintance, mutual confidence, regard and responsibility,

a sharing of the risks and opportunities of life, and a feeling of oneness—turn a group of individuals into a social organism. They have not only individual characters and minds, but a group character and a group mind. It is this interwoven and interrelated complex of social traits, this social personality, which we have in mind when we speak of community as a quality of society".

Role of Co-operatives

This intimacy is vital not only in panchayats but also in co-operation. On co-operatives I should like to quote what Dr. Fauquet has written. Dr. Fauquet was till recently Chief of the Co-operative Service of the I.L.O. In the book from which I quote, he deals with the place co-operation has in a modern technological society with full employment :

> "Co-operation's special task, of which it alone is capable, is first to gather the innumerable little units of household economy and of peasant and handicraft economy and to group them into first-degree societies based on the ties of neighbourhood and similarity of needs. Next it has to group the first-degree societies in federative organs of the second and third degrees for the satisfaction of their common needs. After that, the problem will be to link the co-operative economy in its highest branches to the organs of the centralised economy which have developed in the opposite direction.
>
> "It will therefore be in vain if the State is tempted to extend its measures of restraint to the innumerable elementary cells of social life. The experiments multiplying before our eyes show that no sooner does the State undertake the organisation of the economy than it has to recognise itself the limitations of its own power and competence."

What has always struck me forcibly in the democratic countries of Western Europe is the vigour of the small com-

munities and the strength of the co-operatives. The co-operatives—the primary ones—are compact bodies with small memberships and undertake varied functions. Sir Malcolm Darling has summarised recent information obtained as regards the size of such societies in the following passage :

> "In 1955 the average for Western Germany's 11,000 village Banks was 155, and for Switzerland's one thousand, only 110. Indeed, two-thirds of the latter had less than this. The Director of the Swiss Raiffeisen Movement once told me he considered the ideal number was from 50 to 100, and more recently a leading Italian co-operator put the figure at from 100 to 200. The Swiss Director further thought it a mistake to include more than one Commune (not very different from a village) in a society, and in Switzerland as in India the normal village has round about 500 inhabitants".

We should seek to reproduce this vigorous local life, with its freedom and initiative, in our country. We already have it, in fact, in several parts of the country. We should foster its growth everywhere. We have enlightened non-officials, men and women, who would be willing to devote themselves to this, if we enlist their support.

I should like, if I may, to pursue this point further. As regards the primary unit, there are two contrary schools of thought. The first rests on the conviction that "human societies find their highest fulfilment in the intimate relationships of the small community which alone can offer the stimulation of collective effort". According to this view the village, consisting of families that know one another and have a feeling of identity of interests, is the natural primary unit. In such a unit, given proper conditions, the panchayat and co-operative can carry out, on their own initiative, the programmes I have indicated. They can develop sound village leadership and find, in their own area, young men who can be trained to give secretariat assistance of the simple kind which is needed. Only, it is necessary

that in the early stages, the Community Development agency at higher levels should assist with advice and service and supplies.

The second school refers to conflicts of interests between the larger and urban-minded landholders and others, and suggests larger units for which paid staffs can be provided. I am myself totally opposed to this view-point. I think a genuinely democratic society can be built up only on the basis advocated by the first school of thought. Our experience so far gives ample grounds for this belief. In the last few years the concept of social justice has been gaining ground and measures of land reform, rather radical in nature, have been received without opposition. Further, the large developmental expenditures that are being incurred in rural areas are bringing village communities together in a common effort to fight against poverty. It is in these combined efforts that we shall find a solution for conflicts of interests and factions that form a feature of a stagnant society.

Need to Widen Rural Horizons

I now come to another fundamental point. It is not enough to have village self-government; we want to widen rural horizons. Everyone in the village should feel that he or she is part of a much wider society and has rights and obligations transcending his or her immediate interests. The village panchayat and co-operative should be linked up to larger units and through these to the State and India as a whole.

As regards the panchayat, the Balwantray Mehta Committee* have recommended the devolution of functions above the village to the 'block'. Others regard the district as more suitable. Professor Karve inclines to this latter view. On this, there should be no dogmatism. Every area should make its experiments with due regard to its own conditions. Certain broad considerations might, however,

---

* Appointed by the Committee on Plan Projects to study the working of the Community Development programme

be indicated. Firstly, we want to get into the movement future legislators, because local self-government is the best training ground for public work in the State as well as the Central spheres. Another point is that we should get the type of non-officials who can establish working relations with officials in the district—the Collector or Sub-Collector and the technical officials. The establishment of right relations with the 'Civil Service' is the biggest problem in democracy at all levels. As regards co-operatives, I have already quoted what Dr. Fauquet has said about "federative organs of the second and third degrees". The primary co-operatives should form themselves into unions and link up with specialised marketing and other societies and through these to central and apex banks and the banking system of the country.

All this linking up, whether of panchayats or co-operatives, should be by consent and experimentation and not imposed as a rigid pattern. But no progress in democratic devolution is possible unless the primary unit is established on sound foundations as a genuine people's movement.

A disturbing factor in the working of the Community Development movement, which it would be useful to examine in the Seminar, is the comparatively small attention that is devoted to establishing village panchayats and co-operatives in the areas covered by the movement. There are blocks which have gone through the Community Project stage and reverted to the normal N.E.S. pattern, in which not more than 30 per cent of the villages have panchayats and co-operatives. It should be recognised that, when a N.E.S. block is started, a commencement should be made everywhere with village institutions. Having established them, the village level worker should see that their working is improved from day to day. As a village level worker will have only 4 or 5 of these institutions, it should be possible for him in the course of less than 5 years to see that every family has a comprehensive programme of the sort I have indicated.

The second disturbing factor is the tendency for multi-

plying staffs at lower levels dealing with individual aspects of development. Though it is recognised that the village level worker should be the common agent for all development activities, separate panchayat, co-operative and other officers are appointed. This multiplication of lower staffs is a danger to the movement. It deprives the people of their initiative and the movement tends to lose its dynamism.

The third feature I would mention is the repayment of loans. There are at present in many States large arrears in taccavi, fertilizer and co-operative loans. This is a serious danger to a sound rural movement. Unless punctuality in repayment of loans and thrift are inculcated from the beginning, community programmes as a whole are bound to suffer. I met the other day a co-operator who has been working for many years in Java. In his view, the main reason for the success of the movement in Java is the feeling of the villager that it is a sacred obligation to repay loans punctually. We should instil strict punctuality in repayment and thrift in our people.

Winning Villagers' Confidence

Lastly, there should be much greater effort on the part of educated men to bridge the mental distance between them and the people in the rural areas, so that there might be sympathetic understanding of the problems of village improvement. All officers should spend more and more of their time living with the people in the villages for the greater part of the year. This is the only way to win their confidence.

J. S. Mill, writing about Americans, said 100 years ago :

> "Let them be left without a government, everybody of Americans is able to improvise one and to carry on that, or any other business, with a sufficient amount of intelligence, order and decision. This is what every free people ought to be and a people capable of this is certain to be free".

We should have this ideal of a 'free people' in mind when we develop self-government in rural areas. The

wider the participation of the people in our programmes of social and economic development the more fruitful will be the results. The community development movement can be of value only if it continues always as a people's movement deriving dynamism from the people.

(II)*

Throughout India's long history, the village has always been an important administrative unit and has had a large measure of autonomy. This was inevitable in the government of a big country, especially one in which agriculture constituted the main occupation of more than 80 per cent of the population. The disintegration of village life began early in the nineteenth century owing to causes which are well known. The question before the country now is how to build up village autonomy in the present circumstances and in accordance with modern conditions.

It is obvious that India's rural problem cannot be solved except on the basis of self-help and co-operation. It is only if the people of a village accept responsibility for improvement that any plan of rural reconstruction can succeed. As the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee said: "No plan can have any chance of success unless the millions of small farmers in the country accept its objectives, share in its making, regard it as their own and are prepared to make the sacrifices necessary for implementing it".

The programme of work placed before the N.E.S. movement which will cover the whole country by the end of the second Five Year Plan is by now well-known. Such a programme can be carried out only on the basis of the people in every village accepting it as the goal, and working for its achievement.

It is necessary that we build up a free and vigorous village life which is linked up to productive activities through (1) a village panchayat, and (2) a village multi-

---

* An article contributed to the A.-I.C.C. *Economic Review*, January 1957

purpose co-operative society. Broadly speaking, the functions of the village panchayat are administrative and regulatory and those of the co-operative society social and economic. These are closely inter-related and neither can be useful without the other.

The functions of the village panchayats in regard to the formulation and implementation of village plans have been set out in Chapter VII of the second Five Year Plan. These are as follows :

"(1) Framing programmes of production in the village;
(2) In association with co-operatives, framing budgets of requirements for supplies and finance for carrying out the programmes;
(3) Acting as a channel through which an increasing proportion of government assistance reaches the village;
(4) Developing common lands such as waste lands, forests, *abadi* sites, tanks, etc., including measures for soil conservation;
(5) Construction, repair and maintenance of common village buildings, public wells, tanks, roads, etc.
(6) Organisation of mutual aid and joint effort in all activities;
(7) Promotion of co-operative societies;
(8) Organising voluntary labour for community works;
(9) Promoting small savings; and
(10) Improvement of livestock."

Growth of Panchayats

It is gratifying that considerable progress has been made in the establishment of village panchayats in most States. The number of villages covered by panchayats in March, 1955, was about 3,64,000 out of a total of about 5,00,000 villages in the whole country. In many States, all villages are covered by panchayats and in the rest steady progress is being made in this direction. All the Acts of the various States give fairly comprehensive powers to panchayats. In the field of co-operation, however, much progress remains

to be made to achieve the ideal of having a multi-purpose society for every village.

The N.E.S. movement has provided a strong, well-trained official organization to guide the villagers in making these two institutions really effective. For every 5 to 10 villages there is a multi-purpose village level worker and in every block there are teams of experts whose duty is to assist every village and, through the village organisation, every family with the technical advice which it needs. There are also trained technical staff at higher levels. The guidance of these official agencies and of non-official workers at all levels is available for this programme of laying the foundations of village self-government.

The Right Size of Villages

It is not to be understood that I regard the existing village boundaries as sacrosanct. In modern conditions many of them are too small. In my view, small villages with a population of less than 1,000 should be merged together so as to form convenient units with a population ranging from 1,000 to 1,500, i.e. about 200 to 300 families. Such units can provide effective leadership and also sufficient financial resources for development. At the same time, there will be a sense of solidarity in such villages and all families will be known to one another.

The villages thus integrated should form the basis of self-government, each having a panchayat and co-operative society. It is also essential that these units should establish close contacts with adjoining units and higher units at the block level. Village panchayats should be linked up with taluk or tehsil panchayats. Village co-operatives should be linked up with unions and also with processing and sales societies at higher levels. It is only through these forms of integration that the village units can work efficiently and fit into the larger life of the community.

It goes without saying that much educative work will have to be undertaken to give members of village panchayats, directors of co-operative societies and other village lea-

ders a clear idea of their duties and functions in a plan of intensive rural development. At the headquarters of every N.E.S. block there should be permanent arrangements for this kind of work during the off season when there is no cultivation in progress. The educative work should not be confined to the administrative and regulatory functions of panchayats and to co-operation, but should embrace all aspects of development including increased agricultural production, use of fertilisers and manures, making of composts, etc. The aim should be to see that the support of the best non-official leadership available in the block is enlisted for rural development, and that these leaders are made sufficiently acquainted with the programmes.

Remedy for Village Factions

Whenever we talk of village panchayats and co-operatives, mention is made of village factions as a powerful factor hindering their healthy development. There is no doubt that factions do exist and that every effort should be made to see that their bad influences are eliminated. My own view is that most of the evils in present day village life are traceable to the long period of enforced unemployment in agriculture—to the many months between monsoons during which no agricultural operations are possib'e. The remedy lies in a plan for increased employment and production for every family. If villagers as a body are organised for a concerted attack on poverty and for raising standards of living appreciably through their own efforts, many of the evils in village life will disappear. This is the basic idea underlying the N.E.S. movement.

I have brought out in a general way the lines on which village self-government should be reoriented to suit the requirements of our Plan. There should be no drive for rigid uniformity. Every State—and in fact different areas in States—should work out patterns which will suit their own conditions. What is essential is that everywhere villagers should be enabled to take their own decisions, become members of co-operative societies in their own right and con-

tribute as much voluntary labour as they can to works of benefit to the entire community. It is only thus that improvement can become possible on the scale we desire.

(III)*

The spread of the National Extension movement—including Community Projects—over one-fourth of India was the most important step taken under the First Five Year Plan. Our Prime Minister has called it a revolutionary movement, and a United Nations Mission has described it as "the most significant movement in Asia at the present time".

The basic ideas underlying the movement are well-known. Briefly, the aim of the movement is to produce social change, to assist rural India to build up a new life for itself, to create in the millions of rural families a burning desire to change their old-time outlook and to arouse enthusiasm in them for new knowledge and new ways of life. The entire movement is based on self-help and co-operation, and the recognition by the people of the village that their interests are closely inter-linked. It should develop as a people's movement, the function of the officials being that of giving advice and organising supplies and services and credit.

Building from Below

The point I would like to stress here is that the entire movement should be based on the foundation of village self-government. Throughout history, the "village" with its network of relationships has been a vital element in the country's life. The people in the village have been linked together by bonds of common interest and a sense of unity. Our effort should be to build up a free and vigorous village life linked up to productive activities through panchayats and multi-purpose co-operative societies.

---

* From an article contributed to the Republic Day number of *Sainik Samachar*, January 1957

Experience has shown that no system of rural credit can be effective unless (i) credit is linked up to plans for increased production covering practically every family in the village; (ii) the village community ensures that credit is used for the purpose for which it is given and that repayment is made at the proper time; and (iii) every family is induced to save systematically and a sense of corporate responsibility is developed so that the village itself can progressively provide the funds needed for the credit society. In the past, the co-operative movement did not take root in many areas for the reason that it was not linked up with production plans for the entire village. This defect has now been remedied.

Also, every year, much larger expenditure is now being incurred in villages on the improvement schemes and minor irrigation works, etc., than was incurred in several decades in the past. It is necessary to ensure that as large a part as possible of such expenditure is saved to make it available for future investment. Only a village co-operative society in touch with every family can see that this is done. Such a society will have at its disposal the assistance of the village level worker who has only a limited number of villages under his charge.

Mobilising Voluntary Labour

Again, the village community is the best agency for organising voluntary labour on a systematic basis for works of common benefit. This is one of the basic ideas in our planning. An under-developed economy such as ours must find ways of using its manpower resources for creating permanent assets. When the resources of the village are pooled together, tasks can be undertaken which are beyond the capacity of individuals working for themselves. For instance, if minor irrigation works are undertaken by individuals only for their own benefit, many of the smaller cultivators will be left out. Works become much more costly if the labour employed has to be paid for in cash. In China, the most significant aspect of agricultural co-

operatives is the manner in which their labour force is employed on local development works such as minor irrigation and drainage, soil conservation, tree planting and intensive preparation of the soil. From all accounts, the results achieved have been impressive. In some regions, within a period of two to three years, irrigated area has more than doubled. There is no reason why in India we cannot achieve similar results. There should be the fullest co-operation in village planning for minor irrigation works, for systematic planting of trees and groves, and for meeting various other needs of the community. Indeed, this is the reason why we have placed so much stress on the role of panchayats and the multi-purpose co-operative societies.

Democratic planning should be based on a system of self-governing village panchayats and multi-purpose co-operative societies. In a recent book Mr. Crosland has said that the co-operative movement in Britain must have a large part to play in furthering Socialist ideals in Britain. This is equally true for India. In the village co-operative, every member is equal to others; there is no profit motive and there is a sense of identity of interests. The moral values of the movement constitute its main merit and justification.

A word now to members of the Defence Services and to ex-servicemen. I am anxious that they should know the fundamental objectives of the National Extension movement which I have described above. I invite them to consider in what ways they can associate themselves with the movement. Those who are in service can discuss with the Project Officers of their areas the directions in which, during their spare time, they can assist individually or in groups in particular programmes. Those who have retired, to whatever ranks they may have belonged, have unlimited opportunities for voluntary service, and I hope many of them will join the movement.

VIII. ROLE OF AGRICULTURE IN THE SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN*

This conference of Development Commissioners has a special significance. It is the first to be held after Parliament's approval of the Second Five Year Plan. For this reason, I propose to explain in my introductory remarks (i) the vital place the Second Five Year Plan holds in India's economic development and (ii) the ways in which the National Extension movement should assist in its implementation. It must be realised that this movement has to fulfil the policies and programmes of social and economic growth embodied in our Five Year Plans, and that it should make the maximum contribution it can to the national effort needed for carrying out these policies and programmes satisfactorily.

When we talk of the National Extension movement and the stages of N.E.S. blocks, Community Project blocks, etc., we should always remember that these do not represent special programmes with temporary objectives. This is a movement only in the sense that, when it is introduced in an area, it carries with it a radical departure from prevalent outlooks and modes of thought. In fact, it is the permanent pattern of the Welfare State. It works for social change. It recognises that rural improvement is a continuous process covering all aspects of rural life and is the main concern of every branch of administration reaching down to the district and village, and enlisting at every stage the assistance of the best non-official leadership. The entire responsibility for working it rests with the States' normal agen-

---

* Speech at the sixth Development Commissioners' Conference, Mussoorie, April 1957

cies. It is an integral part of their system, not something outside it.

I talked of the vital place the Second Five Year Plan occupies in national life. This Plan seeks to initiate a process of rapid industrialisation with special emphasis on heavy capital goods industries. Future five year plans will carry this process much farther. The importance of this stage in economic growth can be seen from the following quotation from a recent article by Mr. W. R. Rostow :

> "The process of economic growth can usefully be regarded as centering on a relatively brief time interval of two or three decades when the economy and the society of which it is a part transform themselves in such ways that economic growth is subsequently more or less automatic. This decisive transformation is here called the take-off."

A Decisive Period

The Second Five Year Plan seeks to initiate this "decisive transformation" which will be carried forward by the next three or four Plans. When these Plans are successfully implemented, growth can become "self-sustained" or "more or less automatic". It is in the years during which this "transformation" is taking place that we shall face many difficult problems and it is in them that the country will be called upon to make the largest effort on a national scale. The rate of development envisaged in the next twenty years can be seen from the following table taken from the Planning Commission's Report on the Second Five Year Plan :

GROWTH IN INCOME AND INVESTMENT—1951-56 to 1971-76
(AT 1952-53 PRICES)

Item	*First Plan* 1951-56	*Second Plan* 1956-61	*Third Plan* 1961-66	*Fourth Plan* 1966-71	*Fifth Plan* 1971-76
1. National income at the end of the period (Rs. crores)	10,800	13,480	17,260	21,680	27,270

	1	2	3	4	5
2. Total net investment (Rs. crores)	3,100	6,200	9,900	14,800	20,700
3. Investment as percentage of national income at the end of the period	7.3	10.7	13.7	16.0	17.0
4. Per capita income at the end of the period	281	331	396	466	546

I would like to emphasize that this "take-off" is a necessary stage in the development of every country that seeks large-scale development. During the period of 20 years we seek to ensure annual rates of investment rising from 10 to 17 per cent of the national income. If we are successful in this, we shall nearly double our per capita income at the end of the fifth Five Year Plan, i.e., 19 years from now. This is a modest objective; at present, there are only a few countries in which per capita income is below Rs. 546, the level we aim at after 19 years.

Outlook for Democracy

In his recent book "Contemporary Socialism", Mr. John Strachey makes the interesting point that a minimum social and economic level is necessary, among other factors, for the effective functioning of democratic institutions. He adds, "It may be suggested, by way of illustration, that the economic and social level necessary today for the effective working of representative institutions may seem to be somewhere below that of Northern, and above that of Southern Italy. Thus Italy as a whole represents a sort of borderland case of a country which is at or about the indispensable level." The figures he gives for Italy (Dr. Colin Clark's for 1955) are : Southern Italy £112½ per year per head; Northern Italy £202½ per year per head.

Compare this with Rs. 546 we aim at for 1976. The conclusion is inescapable that what we may be able to

achieve in the next 15 to 20 years will be decisive for the future of the country. On that will depend the survival of our economy and way of life. The nation should therefore make up its mind that it will make the united efforts needed for attaining the goals it has set before itself.

Agriculture in a Planned Economy

In all countries undertaking large-scale development, the question arises—what contribution should agriculture make towards the financing of industrial development? The experience in this respect is summed up in the following passage from "The Theory of Economic Growth" by Professor Arthur Lewis :

> "....in a number of cases an increase in the productivity of farming has been accompanied by heavy taxation of farmers, which has been used to finance capital formation in other sectors, and it has been true to say in these cases that far from agriculture absorbing capital from other sectors, it has been the farmers who have been forced to finance the industrial revolution. Japan is a case in point. In that country productivity per person engaged in agriculture doubled between 1885 and 1915, but much of the increase was taken from the farmers in higher rents or taxes and used to finance the rest of the economy. The U.S.S.R. is another case where farm incomes per head were kept down, between the world wars, in spite of farm mechanization and the considerable release of labour to the towns. This was done jointly by raising the prices of manufactures relatively to farm products, and by levying heavy taxes upon the collective farms. Current examples are provided also by the Gold Coast, Burma and Uganda, three countries whose governments have withheld from their farmers a very large part of the increase in the price of farm produce since 1945 and who are using part of the proceeds to finance economic development in other sectors of the economy."

Agricultural Taxation in China

I would mention also the example of China. Conditions there are similar to those in our country. Both have large populations subsisting on land which has been under cultivation for centuries, and both are launching on large-scale industrialisation. In China, the cultivated area is practically the same as ours while the yield is double. China's agriculture pays annually taxes amounting to Rs. 550 to Rs. 600 crores, as against our Rs. 80 to 90 crores. I should not be understood as saying that taxation on this scale would be possible in our country or even desirable.

We shall have to find our own solution to the question as to the ways in which agriculture should contribute to the success of the Second and succeeding Five Year Plans and the extent to which it should assist in the financing of these plans.

Before the First Five Year Plan, there was no systematic effort on the part of Governments to raise standards of agriculture, spread co-operation, increase irrigation facilities on a large scale and in other ways to modernise agriculture. It has been calculated that, in the years before the Second World War, the expenditure incurred by the Central and State Governments on improvement of agriculture and the co-operative movement amounted to about 8 annas per head of the agricultural population. The G.M.F. operations of the years 1947-48 to 1951-52 covered only a small proportion of the total cultivated area—2 to 4 per cent—though it would be correct to say that never before were sustained efforts made on such a scale as in these years.

The First Five Year Plan initiated revolutionary programmes for improving rural life, and, for carrying them out, made allocations of funds on a scale far in excess of any even thought of previously. These comprised the National Extension blocks and Community Projects; multipurpose and large, medium and minor irrigation projects; and measures for improvement of techniques in agriculture in the widest sense (including animal husbandry, fisheries, affore-

station and soil conservation) and the evolution of a diversified economy. The National Extension movement covered about 200,000 villages at the end of March, 1956.

Unprecedented Outlay

The book value of all major irrigation works that fell to India's share at the time of partition was about Rs. 110 crores. The expenditure incurred in 1950-51 to 1955-56 on such works was about Rs. 400 crores. The expenditure in these five years on minor irrigation works and tubewells was Rs. 110 crores. We added, in this period, 3,350 tubewells to the 2,500 that we had at the commencement of the Plan. On minor irrigation works—apart from tubewells—we spent more than was spent in all decades previously.

Under the Second Five Year Plan, the total provision for all programmes of rural development is Rs. 1,026 crores as against Rs. 770 crores in the First Plan. The annual expenditure provided is thus Rs. 205 crores. This does not include the funds allotted to rural electrification, cottage and small-scale industries, sugar factories in rural areas, rural water supply schemes, etc. It is also certain that, in future plans, progressively increasing allocations will be made for these purposes as our policy continues to be a balanced development of all sectors of the economy. No programme for industrialisation can succeed unless it has, as its counterpart, a programme for a large increase in agricultural production. The large industrial development envisaged under the second and future plans is bound to lead to rapidly increasing demands for agricultural products and these will have to be met by expanding production. There should also be an additional margin for exports for earning foreign exchange, the demand for which will also increase as our Plans progress. Further, it is only by increased production that the inflationary pressures caused by deficit financing can be held in check.

By far, however, the most important reason for rapidly expanding agricultural production is the need for increasing the *per capita* income of the rural population. Increase

in agricultural production and greater employment will promote savings and thrift and strengthen the sense of security in the community. On the other hand the widening of the gulf between rural and urban incomes will produce internal stresses and strains and endanger social stability. It must also be remembered that rural areas benefit by large industrial projects and development programmes in towns. The integration of the life of the new industrial towns with the surrounding countryside will lead to increased rural incomes. This will also be the effect of the general process of the linking up of life in urban areas with that in rural areas which is one of the aims of the N.E.S. movement.

We have, therefore, to ask ourselves two questions :

(i) What is the order of increase in agricultural production at which the nation should aim over the next fifteen to twenty years? In other words, if the aggregate national income is to increase in the manner indicated, what should be the increase in the national income from agriculture and allied pursuits?

(ii) If 10 to 17 per cent of the national income has to be saved by the nation for investment in the coming years, how much of the additional incomes generated by the large expenditure in the rural sector, to which I have referred, should be turned into savings for financing the Second and later Plans?

Preventing Rise in Prices

We have to formulate our answers to these questions in the light of the objectives the nation has placed before itself and of the heavy annual productive expenditure incurred for the improvement of our rural economy. There are also the recent trends—rise in prices and stringency of foreign exchange. These trends are, in my view, temporary: and the best solution for them is immediate expansion of agricultural production.

The responsibility for carrying out programmes for in-

creasing production and stimulating savings rests with State Governments. The agency they have for this is the N.E.S. and Community Projects Organisation which, let me repeat, is both official and non-official at all levels. This agency is under the complete control of the State Government though States are assisted by a permanent grant from the Central Government for setting it up.

It was estimated in 1952 that the Central grant, when the movement had spread throughout the country, would amount to nearly Rs. 6 crores a year representing half the additional cost of the staffs needed. This estimate will almost certainly be exceeded and the Central grant may amount to Rs. 8 crores a year. An additional expenditure equivalent to this will be incurred by the State Governments by 1960-61. Thus, the total additional cost on staffs of setting up of the National Extension Organisation throughout the country would be of the order of Rs. 16 crores a year, shared equally between the Centre and the States.

At former conferences, I have explained the philosophy of the movement—its fundamental principles and objectives. I do not wish to repeat them here.

I would only emphasise that there are two pivotal points in the organisation. Firstly, the movement should be broad-based on village self-government—every village having a village panchayat, a village multi-purpose co-operative, and a village school which should form the centres for all social and economic activities of the village. These village institutions should be so organised as to be able to meet the requirements of a programme of intensive production and saving. Secondly, there is the role of the trained village level worker as the common agent of all development departments at the point of contact with the village and as the link between the villages and the development teams at the block and district levels, making unified approach possible.

It is my earnest hope that the movement will go on increasing its dynamism, deriving strength from the people

and developing their creative energy. It is only in this way that it can justify the important place given to it in our national life.

Production Targets

I now come to the first of the two questions I put earlier—what is the order of increase in agricultural production at which the States should aim over the next 15 to 20 years?

I have no doubt all of you have been following recent trends in agricultural production and prices. From the base level of 54 million tons, food production rose to 58.3 million tons in 1952-53 and 68.7 million tons in 1953-54. However, in 1954-55 food production fell to 65.8 million tons and in the last year of the First Five Year Plan it declined further to 63.5 million tons. It is clear that the country is yet far from assured of sustained and continuous growth in agricultural production. This situation is reflected in the rise in prices of food articles by about 18 per cent between February 1956 and February 1957.

In a letter to State Governments, dated February 22, 1955, the Planning Commission suggested that they should attempt to double agricultural production in 10 years. In connection with the Second Five Year Plan, the Commission suggested an increase of 40 per cent in the five-year period. In their discussions with the Commission, State Governments have agreed to 28 per cent. The main items are:

Commodity	*Unit*	*Base level of production for the Second Plan*	*Revised targets of production for the Second Plan*
Foodgrains	Million tons	65.0	80.4
Oilseeds	,,	5.5	7.6
Sugarcane (Gur)	,,	5.8	7.8
Cotton	Million bales	4.2	6.5
Jute	,,	4.0	5.5

The Planning Commission is taking steps to have a 15 to 20 year programme for irrigation projects and also estimates for the same period of increases that can be obtained in agricultural production.

As regards the possibilities of increased agricultural output in India, the following extract from the Report of the World Bank Mission to India made in August 1956 may be read with advantage :

"Proper application of known techniques, in conjunction with the possible expansion of irrigation and the cultivated area, could increase India's agricultural output four or five-fold. By the time that has been achieved new techniques will have been evolved and the way will be open for further progress. Results of the crop competitions organised for the Grow More Food Campaign show yields about seven times higher than the local average. India's yields are at present among the lowest in the world; with the labour force available they could be among the highest. There is thus a great deal of scope for progress that is technically easy but is retarded by poverty and ignorance. As progress becomes technically more difficult, the rate will be maintained by the increasing power of educational forces that will develop more slowly".

The following are the measures to which State Governments should devote special attention :

Use of Irrigation Facilities

Firstly, there is the need to utilise fully the irrigation facilities that have been made available as a result of the expenditure incurred in the First Five Year Plan. I have had a statement prepared showing for each State the total area under command by major and medium irrigation sources completed under the First Five Year Plan; the area which, according to the Plan of the State, ought to have been brought under irrigation by 1955-56; and the area actually brought under cultivation.

It shows that out of 6.3 million acres which the State Governments expected to bring under irrigation, only about 4 million acres have been actually irrigated. This is a waste of national assets, water impounded at enormous cost being left unutilised. State Governments should see that National Extension or Community Project blocks are set up in these areas, among the first duties of which would be to see that the lands under command are actually brought into cultivation within the minimum possible time.

Further, during the Second Five Year Plan, 12 million acres are expected to be provided with irrigation facilities. Here again, National Extension or Community Project blocks should be established immediately so that they may assist in the construction of canals, in the preparation of land for cultivation and in the actual use of water as soon as it becomes available. I would like to elaborate this point somewhat further. I would remind you that many of the large irrigation projects included in the First Five Year Plan had been sanctioned, and work had commenced on them, before the Planning Commission was set up. In some cases it has happened that, owing to defective phasing of works, water has been stored at considerable cost which can irrigate millions of acres, but the canal system needed for conveying the water to the fields is still not ready. I have not included such cases in what I have said above. There are also projects in which, in the Planning Commission's view, the time table prepared by the State Governments for spreading irrigation facilities already available is not rapid enough. These cases have not been included. I have based my remarks on the programmes for spreading irrigation which the States considered practicable when we prepared the First Five Year Plan. You will notice that in actual performance even these targets have not yet been reached in many cases. I feel that urgent attention should be devoted by States to this problem of eliminating the interval between actual availability of irrigation and its use.

Secondly, National Extension or Community Project blocks should be opened at once in the areas under wheat, rice and jowar for which improved strains of seeds are available, where such areas have not already been included. The movement should see that improved seeds become available within the five-year plan period to all such villages, and that they are actually used by every family. Along with improved seeds, every acre of land should use fertilisers and organic and green manures in suitable proportions. It is for the movement to see that through the agency of village panchayats and village co-operative societies (i) every village has permanent arrangements for producing seeds of high quality that it requires, (ii) every village has permanent arrangements for the organic and green manures that are needed for efficient cultivation, and (iii) that every village obtains in time its requirements of fertilisers. The Japanese method of cultivation of rice and improved methods of wheat cultivation should be extended so as to cover practically the entire area.

Thirdly, in the Second Five Year Plan, Rs. 27 crores have been provided for contour-bunding and soil conservation schemes. State Governments should utilise the maximum local effort in the working of these projects so that much larger areas can be covered by the sanctioned outlays.

Fourthly, there are the programmes for integrating rural life with urban life which are essential parts of the N.E.S. movement. This is specially important in the areas round industrial plants already set up or which will be set up under the Second Five Year Plan. Every one of these programmes should be worked out carefully with the co-operation of the N.E.S. and the authorities in charge of the industrial townships. There are also the general problems of bringing into closer relationship the life of rural areas and that of urban areas. These problems have to be studied carefully. I may give the instance of milk supply and dairy schemes for large cities and towns, for which Rs. 9.6 crores have been provided in the Second Five Year

Plan. Every one of these schemes requires skilled planning and should include (i) the formation of co-operatives for milk production in a large number of villages, and (ii) arrangements for collecting milk in suitable centres and sterilising and bottling it and for distribution. Similar schemes are those relating to "regulated" markets, construction of warehouses etc., for which again there are allocations in the Plan. All such schemes should be planned after careful surveys so as to secure the maximum advantage to villages and towns.

Consolidation of Holdings

I have spoken on previous occasions about the permanent and annual programmes in the N.E.S. and C.P. areas. I shall not refer to them again. But I would like to stress once again the need for taking up consolidation of holdings systematically in every N.E.S. and Community Project area. So far, this has been attempted only in a few States. Consolidation should be taken up for entire blocks. The setting apart of lands needed for community purposes in individual villages, as well as in the entire block, should be an integral part of the programme.

No programme of expansion of agricultural production can succeed unless there is a guarantee by the State that prices will not be permitted to fall to unremunerative levels. In the next five years, with the large developmental expenditures contemplated, there is no prospect of undue fall in prices even with a 40 per cent increase in production.

From what I have said, it is clear that the technical and administrative agencies of Government should achieve a high standard of efficiency if productivity is to increase. Techniques, seeds, fertilisers, etc., should be carefully tested under local conditions before they are recommended, and supplies should be made available at the right time and at points close to villages. Also, the arrangements for dealing with outbreaks of cattle diseases, crop pests, etc., should be prompt. State Governments should give the most careful attention to these and similar problems.

I will turn now to the second question: how much of the additional incomes generated by the large expenditures in the rural sector should be turned into savings? Obviously, the most suitable agency for stimulating savings is the National Extension movement which aims at establishing contact with every family. And in each village the most suitable agency is the village multi-purpose co-operative society.

Vital Role of Co-operatives

I should like to emphasise at the outset that co-operation is the most important agency through which social change can be brought about in rural India. The credit aspect is important: but other aspects—the encouragement of thrift and the creation of a sense of unity of interest among the people—broadly termed as "moral" aspects, are more important. The aim is that there should be societies, members of which know one another and have a feeling of community interest. The societies should see :

(i) that every loan—in money or kind—is linked up with a plan for increased production;

(ii) that every family is assisted to come into the movement in its own right by using loans for productive purposes;

(iii) that every family makes a saving out of increased production and invests it in the society so that within a short time all the credit needed by its members may be provided by the village itself; and

(iv) that every family makes a saving for investment in the National Small Savings Movement.

The basic problem in co-operation is how to enable small owners and tenants, who have no 'security' in a banking sense, to rehabilitate themselves by increased production and saving. The only effective manner of achieving this is for the village leadership to issue loans in kind (seeds, fertilizers, organic and green manures), see to their proper utilisation and ensure saving. What counts is a strong

village public opinion for production and saving, and a feeling of unity of interest. This, of course, is the *raison d'etre* of the co-operative movement and of the National Extension Movement of which co-operation is the vital element.

In co-operation, as in agricultural development, comparatively small allocations of funds were available before the onset of the First Five Year Plan and the inauguration of the Community Development programme. The Co-operative Departments of States were everywhere inadequately staffed. Further, co-operation was not linked up with other activities in the rural sector such as agricultural improvements. As the G.M.F. Committee and the Planning Commission have pointed out, co-operation can make satisfactory progress only if it is conceived as part of an integrated movement for improving all sides of rural life and specially for raising levels of production.

In spite of handicaps, many non-official leaders of great ability felt themselves attracted to the movement because of its 'moral' aspects. They made the spread of the movement their life's work and, by their single-minded devotion and sense of dedication, built up a many-sided structure of which we can be proud. Their efforts were directed towards developing a genuine people's movement, accepting official guidance but not control. Confining myself to agricultural credit, I have tabulated the following facts which I invite all of you to examine carefully :

Agricultural Credit Societies

	Upto end of 1952-53	In 1953-54	In 1954-55	In 1955-56*
	(Amount in lakhs of rupees)			
Number of Societies	1,11,628	1,26,954	1,43,320	1,59,939
Number of members	51,26,002	58,49,380	65,65,416	77,90,850
Share capital paid-up	990	1,143	1,326	1,680
Working capital	4,918	5,441	6,293	7,910

* Figures are provisional

A study of the above table shows that there is no justification for the view that societies organised and conducted by village leaders with the help of non-official leadership and guidance from officials have not shown good results. On the other hand, the number of societies, their membership, working capital and assets at the end of 1952-53, are evidence of the vitality of the movement. It is true that the movement was stronger in certain areas of the country than in others, but during all these years it worked under serious limitations and was not supported by a nation-wide programme of social and economic development.

A study of these figures also indicates the rate of progress that has been made possible under the N.E.S. movement and the large developmental expenditures incurred under the plans. The N.E.S. movement provides non-official leadership at all levels. It also provides official guidance, at the village level, by one village multi-purpose worker in charge of 5 to 10 villages with approximately 800 to 1,000 families, and at the level of block, district, etc., by higher officers specially trained in co-operation.

It is evident from the figures that in the three years 1953-54 to 1955-56, the number of societies rose from 1,11,628 to 1,59,939 (43% increase), the number of members from 5.13 to 7.79 million (25% increase), working capital from Rs. 49.18 to 79.1 crores (61% increase) and paid-up share capital from Rs. 9.9 to 16.8 crores (70% increase). It will be noticed that increases in share capital and working capital are proportionately larger than increases in membership. A large proportion of the societies, members, etc., added in the years 1953-54 to 1955-56, were in the N.E.S. and Community Project areas. It is necessary to remember that these results have been secured though the N.E.S. movement had covered only 83,300 villages by October 1955. Also, the movement did not devote in the earlier years the concentrated attention to agricultural production and co-operation which it is now devoting.

In the Second Five Year Plan, the N.E.S. is likely to cover the entire country and development expenditures

will also show a large increase. I therefore suggest that the co-operators—non-officials and officials—should proceed with programmes of expanding existing societies and forming new societies.

There can be no single ready-made solution for the problem of revitalising the rural credit movement. The solution will be different in different areas and different groups of societies. The essential elements in this process are (i) developmental expenditure undertaken by the State with maximum local co-operation for increasing employment and production; (ii) increased production in the village through such expenditure; (iii) savings effected from increased production; and (iv) such savings coming back to the co-operative movement. Obviously, societies in the more favoured regions can be revitalised much more easily than those in the less favoured ones. In these latter, States should undertake developmental programmes—medium and minor irrigation, contour-bunding, afforestation, etc.—and people should make their own contribution, by means of labour, to their execution. With the increased production resulting from these, the villages should finance the requirements of the co-operative movement. It is for the N.E.S. organisation—let me repeat that this means the State organisation at all levels—to devise suitable programmes for each area, out of the allocations in their plans, which will evoke popular participation to the maximum and lead to increased saving and investment. There can be no other solution.

When the reorganisation of existing villages as envisaged by the Planning Commission is completed, the resultant picture will be somewhat as follows. There will eventually be in the country about 2,50,000 primary multipurpose societies with as many panchayats with identical jurisdictions, and each village society will have on an average 200 to 300 members, with transactions of Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 30,000. Both panchayats and primary co-operatives will be linked up to units at higher levels. The co-operatives will be linked up to unions and through them to processing

and marketing and other societies as well as to central banks and apex banks. Similarly, the panchayats will be linked up to taluk or tehsil and/or district panchayats and through these to the broader administrative structure of the State.

Targets of Savings

The aim of the co-operative movement should be two-fold: (i) within a specified time the village primary societies should increase their membership so as to bring in all the families in their areas and also find from their own resources the short-term capital needed by them; and (ii) within a specified time each village society will work up to a target for investment in the national savings movement, all co-operatives becoming 'recognised agents'. As targets for the period of the Second Five Year Plan, I suggest that the movement should cover half the families in the villages and provide by 1960-61 about Rs. 150 crores for short-term credit, and make contributions to the national savings movement beginning from Rs. 40 crores in the current year and rising to Rs. 60 crores by 1960-61, in addition to the contributions they are now making. Obviously, the societies that have been working for some years can do better than those recently formed and those in comparatively backward areas. In the aggregate, however, these targets constitute a small portion of the additions to the national income resulting from developmental expenditures in the Second Five Year Plan, and, in my view, can be realised.

During the Third Five Year Plan it is hoped that all village societies will have increased their membership so as to cover all the families in their jurisdiction, contribute the entire short-term credit needed by the movement, namely, about Rs. 500 crores a year at the end of 1965-66 and make an annual contribution of Rs. 100 crores to the national savings movement. Here again, I do not think these targets are difficult to reach, having in view the additions to the national income in the rural sector likely to

be generated by development expenditures in the second and third Plans.

Even if all these targets of savings are fulfilled, agriculture would provide only a fraction of the expenditure needed in the rural sector in the second and later Plans. The capital for irrigation and power projects and other schemes of long-term economic development will have to be found from outside the rural sector.

To carry out these programmes the States would need a highly trained staff of Registrars and Deputy Registrars. These should be men with wide knowledge of the co-operative movement in India and in other countries and intimate contact with rural life and problems. It is equally essential that the co-operative movement should be able to attract at all levels large numbers of non-official workers with missionary zeal and sympathy. Such workers will be attracted only if the 'moral' aspects of the movement are always kept in view and it remains a dynamic, people's movement.

I now come to my third point. In an under-developed economy suffering from acute unemployment and underemployment, programmes for harnessing the vast unutilised energy in the countryside for carrying out works of benefit to the community are of the highest value. In the N.E.S. and Community Project areas, much is already being done in this respect and *Shramdan* weeks are becoming popular everywhere.

Building up Permanent Assets

In the coming years, these efforts should be organised with the aim of building up permanent assets for villages like small irrigation works, afforestation and soil conservation, fuel plantations, improved village pastures, etc. A five-year programme should be prepared for each N.E.S. block in which programmes of works 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.

If the National Extension movement is to be in a position to undertake the responsibilities I have described, we should organise educative efforts on a nation-wide scale. Every one connected with the movement should understand its relation to the Five Year Plans and the responsibilities it has to undertake for their successful achievement. For the higher officials, regional seminars should be utilised for discussion of these general aspects. Lectures on these aspects should also be included in the courses of instruction given to Block Development Officers and Village Level Workers. Further, in every N.E.S. block, 3 to 4 months in the off-season should be systematically devoted to such programmes. These should take two forms: (i) refresher courses for Village Level Workers and other officials, including the training of village teachers and/or the younger men in villages in the duties of secretaries to panchayats and/or co-operative societies; (ii) seminars for non-official workers in villages for short periods in which they should be given a clear idea of the essential features of our Plans and of the responsibilities devolving on them for stimulating production and savings and working panchayats and co-operatives as agencies for these purposes. I suggest that suitable curricula should be devised for these different purposes and 'talking points' prepared and circulated. These can be useful as guides, but it is only by experience over a period that those engaged in these activities, officials and non-officials, will learn the best methods of approach.

In what I have said I have attempted answers to the questions I put at the beginning of this talk. These are in general terms. It is for each State Government to apply these conditions, always remembering that our Plans are national Plans which need sustained national efforts, over long periods, for their implementation. It is only by making this great national effort for production and saving and social justice that we can achieve unity and preserve our democratic institutions and way of life.

IX. ADMINISTRATOR IN A WELFARE STATE*

Administration may be looked at from several points of view. There is, for example, the historical point of view. You can examine it as it was in the days before the 'British' came to India, as it was during the 'British' days and as it is after the advent of Independence. It is the third period, the post-independence period, in which all of you are immediately interested. Of course if you study the history of administration, you get much light on problems of administration arising after Independence. The development of administration is a continuous process and there can be no complete break with the past. Today, I propose to say something in broad terms about the problems of administration that will face you when you take up your duties in the districts assigned to you.

When India attained independence, the Constituent Assembly enacted a Constitution which embodied two very revolutionary changes. The first is, complete responsible government free from outside control and based on the supremacy of Parliament as representing the people of India. The second is the setting up of a Welfare State. These two radical changes are embodied in our Constitution. What is called the "administrative organisation", its composition and functions, depends on the character of the Government at the highest level—what is called the "political set up". Those of you who are students of history know that, in most countries which have achieved high standards of economic development, these two changes—complete responsible government and the Welfare State—came after long intervals. In Britain, for example, labour welfare legislation

---

*Talk to I. A. S. probationers, Delhi, November 1957

was enacted long after the Industrial Revolution and the evolution of Cabinet government. In U.S.A., the New Deal which may be said to represent the beginnings of Welfare State came long after large-scale development had taken place. But in India these two processes had to be simultaneous. There were strong reasons for this. During the struggle for independence, India valued political independence not so much for its own sake but because it would make possible social and economic development. The central ideas were always: the raising of standards of living of the many millions in the country; and social justice, i.e., reducing the large inequalities in society which have increased in the decades from the end of the last century.

I should like all of you to read the provisions in the Constitution which bring out the pattern of Welfare State which the nation should aim at setting up. There is first the Preamble to the Constitution. You will see there references to "justice, social, economic and political", to "equality of status and opportunity" and "the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation". Then, there are the detailed provisions of Articles 36 to 51 under the heading "Directive Principles of State Policy". The essential points to remember are these. Firstly, the State is to promote the welfare of the people by creating a social order "in which justice, social, economic and political shall inform all the institutions of national life". Secondly, there shall be the largest possible increase in standards of living by the application of science to all aspects of life, including agriculture. Thirdly, there shall be brought into existence a decentralised economy based on panchayats as self-governing units of administration and co-operation. Fourthly, the State shall endeavour to provide free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14, within a period of ten years from the coming into force of the Constitution. Putting all these Articles together you obtain a clear picture of the fundamental features which, according to our Constitution, should characterise the new pattern of society. Briefly, the aim of the Constitution is that, along

with self-government, the nation should set up a Welfare State—evolve a new pattern of society in which there will be sustained endeavour to raise living standards to the maximum extent possible through increased employment and increased production along with the largest possible measure of social justice and reduction of inequalities.

This is the task which the Constitution has placed before the people and the administrations in the country. By 'administrations' I mean the Cabinets in the Centre and the States, and the Services. The Civil Services in India have to adjust themselves, then, to these two revolutionary changes. These adjustments cannot be merely 'institutional', i.e., of the formal set-up or machinery of government. There should be changes in objectives and mental attitudes. The whole approach has to be changed. What should be these changes?

The administration should have faith in the objectives of social and economic development and social justice. It is the duty of everyone engaged in it to bear this ideal in mind in whatever he does. This means a radical change in outlook, in our way of looking at every problem coming before us. Broadly, a 'law and order' State has to become a 'Welfare State'.

Getting to know the Villager

We must all remember that the 'Welfare State' is the most difficult experiment that human society has tried so far. It demands a high standard of enlightened citizenship and an acceptance of high standards of responsibility by all citizens. It is the duty of the administration to create this sense of responsibility. The greatest obstacle to development in India, in my view, has always been the mental distance between those who are 'educated' and those who are 'not educated'. I have an impression that this mental distance has been increasing in recent years. I should like you to have discussions among yourselves about the reasons for this and the ways of bridging the gulf. I have referred to this to emphasise a point which I consider of supreme

importance. We all know that 70 per cent of the people in India depend on agriculture and allied occupations for their livelihood and 80 per cent actually live in villages. For many years all of you will be engaged in administration in rural areas. It is, therefore, essential that you should have the proper intellectual and emotional approach to the village and the villager and get to know him and his difficulties.

I hope all of you will study the place of the village in the life of the country. Beginning with Baden-Powell's books, you will find much interesting literature on this. There is also the place of the panchayat and what is usually called village self-government. I do not want you to think that there was a golden age in which village panchayats flourished and there was complete justice and equality. But there is no doubt that through long ages social cohesion and stability were maintained in India through these village institutions. We have now to recreate village life in modern conditions and make it an effective foundation for self-government. More than anything else, we should change our mental approach. We should realise that if we have something to give to the villager, we have also to learn much from him. It is in this method of approach—not in the spirit of patronising him but in the spirit of understanding him and assisting him to better ways of life—that our success in administration will lie. I do not know whether any of you have come across a sentence in which that great writer, Pearl Buck, who visited India, wrote about the Indian villager. She said: "The Indian peasant is a person innately civilised. The maturing culture of an organised human family life and profound philosophical religions have shaped his mind and soul". Another writer talking about people living in villages says: "Their roots are deeper, their primary necessities are assured, and their characters have been steadily formed by the influences of nature and the unhurried circuit of changeful seasons and occupations".

We should have a sympathetic knowledge and appreciation of village life and the villagers' mental outlook in order that we may assist him in evolving and working the insti-

tutions of village self-government on which democracy in India will inevitably have to be based. Our aim should be to widen the horizons of peasants, to see that their exclusive pre-occupation with village life and its vicissitudes is ended and they get a wider knowledge of their responsibilities as citizens. I have dwelt on the mental distance between ourselves and the villagers, and of our duties to them, because the success of the administration will depend on the extent to which we achieve this sympathetic understanding.

District Administration

The functions of district administration can be classified under three heads. There is first the problem of 'law and order'. There was an impression that, when self-government came and governments responsible to the people were formed in the States, problems of law and order would recede in importance. This was not correct. Problems of law and order are as important now as ever before, because in a society in which revolutionary forces are at work, the making of adjustments will be difficult, and in that process difficult problems of law and order are bound to arise. We must be prepared for them. The aim should be to prevent difficult situations arising. You must know which are the centres in which such difficulties are likely to arise, what is happening in them and prevent conflicts by suitable action.

The next class of questions that will engage you are questions relating to revenue administration—collection of revenue, the working of land reforms, etc. Here again, though land revenue as a source of government revenue is not so important now as it was some years ago, there are difficult problems. About fifteen or twenty years ago, land revenue formed 50 to 60 per cent of the total revenues of States. In fact, there were days when land revenue was shared between the State Governments and the Central Government. Now, land revenue forms only about 20 to 25 per cent of the revenues of State Governments. Nevertheless, there are many important questions of land administration which will have to engage your attention. As

you know, important laws for land reforms have been enacted in many States. Their effect is to change completely, in fact to revolutionise, the pattern of rural land-holding. The working of these laws is giving rise to difficult problems to which you will have to devote special attention. Do tenants benefit by the legislation reducing rents and giving permanency? If they do not, what are the reasons? What steps are needed to enable them to benefit by such legislation? These are the sorts of questions you will have to face.

There are, then, the groups of duties which relate to social and economic development. These duties are already very important and will become increasingly important as time goes on. One of the most important contributions of the Planning Commission in the First Five Year Plan is the Community Development movement operating in National Extension and Community Project areas. I understand you have visited some of these areas, and I hope all of you are familiar with the 'philosophy' of the movement. The Community Development movement represents the Welfare State in action in rural areas. The aim of the movement, taken along with land reforms, is to bring into existence the pattern of rural society envisaged in the Constitution. It is to bring about a mental revolution—to fill the villagers with a keen desire to improve their standards of living through their own efforts and through co-operation among themselves. The function of the administration is to assist the villagers in their efforts to do this.

All of you have an idea of the frame-work of the district as village self-government. In villages, the aim is to have administration. I shall explain this briefly. The first, the lowest layer is the village—what I have already described a village panchayat and a village co-operative and along with these a village school. These three form the foundations for village life. The village school should be the centre of all the activities of the village, in which the young people and others can play their part. Our administrations are fragmented. The panchayats are set up by one set of peo-

ple. The co-operatives are set up by a different set of people. The schools are set up by others. The task of the Community Development Administration is to bring about co-ordination of all these activities so that village life, which is one and indivisible, is treated as a whole and all these activities are co-ordinated so as to form part of a whole conception of improvement of village life. There is a village level worker, in charge of five to ten villages. His function is to be the liaison between the villager and all the heads of developmental activities in the unit higher up, i.e., the block. The village level worker holds a key position in the scheme of things because it is he who represents all the developmental activities to the villager. He unifies them in the village. Your function when you are entrusted with the management of a block as a block officer or extension officer, is to see that the village level worker is properly trained to perform this function.

Linking Credit with Agricultural Improvement

At the block level we have a team of officers—extension officer and a number of developmental officers. In order that there may be a co-ordinated impact on village life, these have to act together as a team. This is the basic conception of community effort. The activities have to be fitted into one another. It is no good the Agricultural Officer going and saying, "You must use good seeds" and even arranging the supply of good seeds. At the same time, the Co-operative Officer should see that the village co-operative multiplies these seeds and issues them in kind to those who cannot afford to pay for them. In other words, agricultural improvement and credit have got to be brought together. In the old days no results of value accrued in agricultural production and in the spread of the co-operative movement and allied activities because every one of these experts worked independently.

What happened in the days before Community Development was this. The Agricultural Officer used to go to a village and say, "If all of you use good seeds your pro-

duction will be doubled". Then a Co-operative Officer went and formed a co-operative society for credit. Some people were given loans and the funds got exhausted and the society dragged on a sort of existence for a number of years without any vitality. Then we used to have a functionary called the Sanitary Inspector. He advised people to drink water after boiling it, to sleep under mosquito nets and so on. These un-co-ordinated activities led to no results. The essence of the Community Development movement is the co-ordination of all these activities at the village level, at the block level, and the district level. To the extent that this co-ordination is achieved, the development movement will be successful. If this co-ordination is not achieved, development must suffer. The function of the Block Development Officer, the Sub-Collector and the Collector is to see that this co-ordination is achieved. This is a human problem of team work. The officers of the development departments like agriculture, co-operation, and the 'generalist', that is, the block officer and similar officers at the district level, should work together, knowing how closely their activities are inter-linked. That is one aspect of co-ordination. Another aspect is close liaison between the official agency and the non-official agency. The aim is that these two sets of co-ordination should be perfect so that the full impact of development may be felt in the village. All of you will have to study methods of achieving this co-ordination. You will have to study it all in practice and see how it can be improved continuously.

Finally, the point I want to make is that these adjustments in district administration will take time to achieve, but day in and day out there must be attention paid to the ways of bringing them about. The changes taking place are revolutionary in character and the ways of achieving the necessary adjustments between the administrative machinery (including in the words 'administrative machinery', the I.A.S.—what is called the general service—and the technical services) should receive constant attention. You will have to bring about these adjustments and will have to

study the methods, find out which methods answer better than others, and go on improving these methods. The institutional changes needed to bring about adjustments have been studied recently by a team of non-officials and officials set up under Shri Balwantrai Mehta. This team have just sent a report. Their task was to study the working of the Community Development movement and to find out in what ways its working should be improved and, in particular, how the co-ordination among the members of the official agency *inter se* and co-ordination between the official and non-official agencies should be achieved.

Administration: A Human Problem

Whatever the institutional readjustments may be, the mental adjustments to which I have referred are important. We must realise that administration is essentially a human problem. We must learn to look at all questions in terms of their human values, what they mean in the lives of the people whom the solutions will affect. This is fundamental for success. In the days when there were discussions on the Minto-Morley reforms, Lord MacDonald who had spent many years in service in India used a sentence, in a speech in the House of Lords, which stressed this human aspect. He said, referring to his role as administrator, "I played on that stormy harp of which the strings are the hearts of men". Whatever readjustments may take place institutionally this will remain fundamentally true. When any questions come before you, you must remember that administration in our country touches the lives of millions of men and women intimately, and you must look at the questions in terms of human values and human relationships. That is the first essential for success in administration.

Secondly, the qualities of efficiency and integrity are always needed. They were needed in the past and they will be needed more and more in the future. It is now the duty of men and women in the services to advise those drawn from public life. This means, first of all, an objective study of all problems from the point of view of their effect on

the people, and secondly, courage in giving advice to the political leaders. These qualities will always be needed whatever changes there may be in the institutions.

Thirdly, the point I made earlier is very important—that it is our duty to train people in the art of self-government. To put this differently, your influence will rest hereafter not so much on the exercise of the powers given to you in revenue laws and criminal laws, but on qualities of persuasion, tact, and taking the people with you. If I may, I should like to give an instance from my own official life. I spent three years as a trustee of a large zamindari. I had no powers whatever. I had only the status of the zamindar. I managed a large estate of about 1,500 square miles, maintained hundreds of irrigation sources and administered a college, hospitals and temples. I found I could do all this without coercive powers. I regard this as the most valuable experience I had in a long official life, and I should like you to take this lesson with you when you go to your work.

I have thrown out a number of ideas rather sketchily as they came to my mind. I shall conclude by wishing you all a useful career in the service of the country.

X. NATIONAL EFFORT FOR DOUBLING RURAL INCOMES*

Today, I propose to deal with a problem which is crucial to the success of all our Plans—*viz.*, increased agricultural production. It is my intention specially to indicate what the programme of agricultural production which the Planning Commission has placed before the country means in terms of the efforts to be made by the sixty million families in the villages of India. I need not remind you that the function of the community development movement—which is the normal State machinery—is to assist families in putting forward their efforts through village institutions organised on the basis of self-help and cooperation.

The fundamental objective of the programmes for increased agricultural production embodied in the Plans is to raise substantially the level of rural life by the most efficient use of land resources, the application of modern scientific research and the evolution of a diversified economy. In other words, the aim is to enable the rural families to share fully in the increases in standards of living which accrue under the successive Five Year Plans.

I deprecate the distinction that is sometimes drawn between agricultural and industrial interests and the impression created of a measure of conflict between them. As the Fiscal Commission has emphasised, "rationalisation of agriculture and industrial advance are in reality parts of a single programme". The Commission adds : "As has been well said in regard to backward economies—'one might consider industrialisation as one chapter of agrarian reconstruction

---

* Address to the All-India Conference on Community Development, Mt. Abu, May 1958

or one might treat the improvement of agrarian production as one chapter of industrialisation. What matters is to remember that the two are inter-connected parts of one problem'. Improved agriculture benefits industries by increased production and higher quality of raw materials. Industrialisation in turn promotes agricultural development and efficiency by providing it with power, better techniques and improved marketing, transport and other services. It should also be added that the combined effect is to create an internal market for goods and services which will give added impetus to agricultural and industrial production." In other words, we aim at a balanced development from which all sections of the community benefit.

The Five Year Plans set goals and targets, supported by steadily increasing developmental finances, which would fit into this wider programme. But recognising the fact that agricultural improvement is a continuous process, we should, in this and coming years, establish a well-knit organisation in the village and at higher levels by which every family will be assisted, through its own efforts, to attain much higher standards of living than it now possesses, by adopting the latest scientific techniques and fully sharing in the community obligations which have grown up over many decades.

I should like to recall to you the discussions that took place between the Ministries of Agriculture and Community Development and the Planning Commission on the one side, and the States on the other, in September-October. 1956, in regard to targets of food production for the Second Five Year Plan. In these discussions it was emphasised that only a programme which aimed at doubling agricultural production in the course of ten years "could meet the requirements of the national economy. bring about a substantial rise in agricultural incomes and reduce the gap between these and non-agricultural incomes". At the same time, targets were fixed for the Second Plan period.

The specific measures agreed upon by which increased production is to be achieved are :

(1) full use of irrigation facilities available;
(2) improved agricultural techniques :
    (a) the production of nucleus seeds, their multiplication at village level and distribution to every family;
    (b) the production in every village of organic and green manures needed for use by every family;
    (c) adoption by every family of such improved methods as the Japanese method of cultivation;
(3) adoption by every family of techniques of dry farming, contour-bunding, soil conservation, etc.

It was specially mentioned that, taking the areas with assured irrigation or rainfall, "during the next 3 to 5 years, in every State the effort will be to cover every acre with improved seed and, along with this, to ensure that every acre of land is supplied with fertilisers and organic manures and green manures. Programmes for improved seed, fertiliser and organic manures are indeed not separate programmes. Each of them has to be employed on every acre of land in the right proportion and the best cultivation techniques have to be adopted".

On the administrative side, the following decision was recorded: "The main emphasis in the discussions has been on devising means through the National Extension Service of reaching every village and every family and mobilising local resources and enthusiasm for increasing agricultural production and raising living standards. In opening new National Extension Service and Community Project blocks, preference will be given in the early years of the Plan to areas where rapid increase in agricultural production can be achieved. In National Extension and Community Project areas and in the work of village level workers. agricultural production will have the first and foremost priority. Definite targets are to be laid down for each group of villages in charge of an extension worker.

"In the course of discussions it has been stressed that in each village there should be a village panchayat and a multi-purpose co-operative society which should see that

every family has an integrated plan for the use of improved seeds, fertilisers and organic and green manures and is assisted with short-term credit, in money or kind, for carrying through its plan. It was realised that unless the benefits of the extension movement accrued to all sections of the community within the shortest possible time its entire purpose would be defeated. The panchayats and the co-operative societies should see that the credit is used for the purpose for which it was given and that repayment is made in time. In this way, every family should be made fit to be represented on the co-operative society in its own right, that is to say, it should be made creditworthy. These village institutions should be brought into existence as quickly as possible."

A 20-Year Perspective

I have quoted these passages to remind you of the long-term objective of which the targets of the Second Five Year Plan constitute the first instalment. The Second Five Year Plan has placed before the country the goal of doubling *per capita* national income by 1976. If the gap between urban and rural incomes is not to widen appreciably, rural *per capita* income must at least double itself by 1976. This fits in with the doubling of agricultural production in ten years which was envisaged in the discussions of September-October, 1956. In what I am going to say, I attempt an approximate forecast of possible improvement programmes for agricultural production for a period of about 20 years and indicate, in a general way, how rural families should organise themselves and the activities they should undertake if these objectives are to be realised.

I now deal with full utilisation of irrigation facilities, taking first multi-purpose, large and medium projects. I hope you will forgive me if I speak on these at some length, as all of us should realise the revolutionary change that has taken place in our irrigation policy and programmes.

The book value, at the time of partition, of the irrigation works that fell to India's share was of the order of Rs. 110 crores. These irrigation works fall under two categories.

The first are those providing secure irrigation, namely, areas under government canals and large tanks. The total area under these at the time of partition was 26.5 million acres —18 million acres under canals and 8½ million acres under tanks. In addition, there are smaller irrigation sources— tanks, private wells, etc.—irrigating 22 million acres. The aggregate irrigation under both heads was 48½ million acres. The book value of Rs. 110 crores related mainly to the first class of works irrigating about 26½ million acres. These works were constructed over a period of 7 or 8 decades. There were no ambitious programmes. Irrigation extended slowly. The technique adopted was well understood. The Government agency constructed the barrage or dam and the canal systems. The pepole were left to develop irrigation gradually through their own efforts by constructing field channels. The Government charged for irrigation when water was taken. It was assumed that there would always be an interval between the supply of irrigation facilities and their full utilisation, which would range from 10 to 15 years.

Outlay on Development of Irrigation

With the First Five Year Plan, the Government's policy underwent a radical transformation. The objective laid down was to utilise, as rapidly as possible, the enormous water resources of the country, only a small fraction of which had been utilised in the past. After Independence and before the Plan, large irrigation works had been started in many States. In the First Five Year Plan, we included these works. Only three new ones were added, later *i.e.* in 1952. The total cost of the multipurpose and irrigation works included in the First Plan was Rs. 860 crores. Of this, about Rs. 80 crores had been spent before the First Five Year Plan commenced. When completed, these works are expected to supply secure irrigation to 23 million acres. In the Second Plan, additional works estimated to cost Rs. 470 crores have been added which would supply secure irrigation to 15 million acres. To sum up, in the first and Second

Five Year Plans we have multipurpose, large and medium irrigation works estimated to cost nearly Rs. 1,330 crores, and additional irrigation will be provided for 38 million acres (as compared with 26.5 million acres at the time of partition).

For many of the works included in the First Five Year Plan there were no proper project estimates, no revenue and agricultural surveys and no accurate financial estimates. These were got prepared in the early years of the Plan and financial and other aspects of every project worked out. Wherever possible, rephasing of the programmes was effected in order to secure maximum results. It is obvious that for a very ambitious programme of irrigation such as is embodied in our Plans, the old techniques which I have described are totally unsuitable. We need a complete reorientation of outlook. In the First Plan period, Rs. 407 crores were spent on irrigation, and in the first two Plans nearly Rs. 788 crores would be spent. It is obvious that if utilisation is to proceed according to the old ideas—that is, it is left to the people entirely and is spread over 10 to 15 years—the nation will be losing Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 crores a year in interest alone and three to four times that amount in output. On this old basis, no large programme of irrigation development would be at all possible. Such large outlays could not be contemplated unless works were planned so as to secure *at every stage* the maximum advantage possible in the shape of increased production. In other words, it is necessary to synchronise and coordinate the following four processes, reducing to the minimum any time-lag between them :

(i) construction of the dam or barrage for storing water;

(ii) construction of the canal and distributary system by the Government agency ending at definite and convenient points in every village;

(iii) construction according to a time schedule fitting into item (ii), by the beneficiaries, of field channels in every village so as to irrigate every acre

that could be served by the project as soon as water is available in the canals; and

(iv) improvement of agricultural techniques so that by their adoption the maximum agricultural output can be secured.

The essence of irrigation planning is to ensure that all the four stages are inter-linked and carried out in such a way that there are maximum economic benefits at every stage. This is what is being attempted in the revised projects for the works already started. Whenever planning is done for new works, it is done on this basis. In the First Five Year Plan irrigation facilities were available for 8 million acres from major projects, that is, the canal system had been completed by the Government agency for this area. Only 4 million acres were actually irrigated. This is largely because the field channels, which are the obligation of the villagers, were not completed though in some cases the canal systems had been badly designed and carried out.

Construction of Field Channels

In the Second Plan period 12 million acres in addition to the arrears left over from the First Plan, that is nearly 16 million acres, should be utilised from multipurpose, large and medium irrigation works. It has been calculated that for every million acres the Government has to provide approximately on an average 2,500 miles of canals and the villagers should provide four times that length, namely, 10,000 miles of field channels. Thus, for the full utilisation of irrigation supplies from major irrigation programmes in the Second Five Year Plan, in villages all over India, those who benefit from them have to provide field channels for about 160,000 miles. It must be added that it is not enough for the villagers to dig these field channels. They have to be maintained from year to year, and in fact, to be improved from time to time so as to avoid loss of water through seepage.

From what I have said, it will be seen that about 18 million acres included within the capacity of the works in the First and Second Five Year Plans will have to be developed in the Third Five Year Plan and later. It will be useful to have an idea of the scope for increased irrigation in the 15 years from 1960-61. As you will recall, we worked out a 15 to 20 year programme, in broad outline, for irrigation development. It has been estimated that the possible limit for expansion of large and medium irrigation would be 40 to 45 million acres, in addition to the 37½ million acres irrigable under the sources in the First and Second Five Year Plans and the pre-existing 26½ million acres. Irrigable area under such sources can thus be of the order of 105 to 110 million acres. By 1976 it may be expected that the area actually irrigated from multipurpose, large and medium irrigation projects would be about 90 million acres. On the basis already indicated for utilisation of irrigation supplies likely to be available, about 30 to 40 thousand miles of field channels will have to be constructed every year for the next 20 years in villages in different parts of the country.

I have so far dealt with multipurpose, large and medium irrigation projects. I shall now deal with minor irrigation works.

Minor Irrigation Works

Here again, we have impressive programmes in our Five Year Plans. The First Plan had an allotment of Rs. 100 crores for such works. Information in regard to these is not as definite as one would like, but what we have in the reports can be summarised. The target for irrigation was 11.2 million acres. It is estimated that actually 10 million acres were irrigated. There are allocations amounting to Rs. 120 crores in the Second Five Year Plan with a target for irrigation of 9 million acres. Tube-wells are included among

these works. Information in regard to tube-wells is furnished in the following table :—

	First Five Year Plan	*Second Five Year Plan*
Number included	5,015	3,581
Number completed (with electrical energy, etc.)	3,524	1,212 (up to Jan. 1958)
Area irrigable	(i) Target 1.5 million acres. (ii) Achievement 1.0 million acres.	(i) Target 1.0 million acres. (ii) Achievement 0.36 million acres.
Area actually irrigated	0.8 million acres.	Not available.

The delay in using irrigation facilities provided by tube-wells is due, in most cases, to field channels not being constructed in villages. Here again, the urgent need is to set up village panchayats and co-operatives which would undertake the obligation to construct these and maintain them satisfactorily. Similarly in the case of many minor irrigation tanks, supplies are not used owing to delays in canal construction and silt clearance which are the customary responsibility of villagers. It is estimated that about 90 to 100 million acres can be served by minor irrigation works in the aggregate, and that this should be achieved at the latest by 1976.

From what I have said above, a rough estimate of the area under actual irrigation by 1976 would be :

From multi-purpose, large and medium projects.	About 90 million acres (out of an irrigable area of 100 to 110 million acres).
From minor irrigation works including tanks, wells, etc. (including tube-wells).	90 to 100 million acres.

There would thus be left a large area—roughly 140 to 150 million acres—in which increased yields can only be obtained through contour-bunding, soil conservation and other dry-farming techniques. For these, much remains to be done in India in the way of research, technical training and extension. In the Second Five Year Plan about Rs. 27 crores have been provided for schemes coming under these categories. Dr. Kellogg, in a recent report, has pointed out : "Individual village and farm planning by the cultivators is the most important aspect of soil conservation. The cultivator must take all aspects of production into account and so should all the technicians who assist him in developing a plan for his operations. It is strongly recommended that every effort be taken to develop local leadership and responsibility for soil and water conservation within the villages and larger units of local government."

In the Bombay State such programmes are proving extremely useful. They are being carried out by the villagers themselves with the help of the Government. It is only in this way that programmes covering about 140 to 150 million acres would be possible. In such areas, the villagers will have to construct many thousands of miles of contour-bunds and maintain them from year to year.

Agricultural Techniques

I shall now deal with the programmes for improved agricultural techniques.

First among these is the supply of approved seeds. The Second Five Year Plan provides for 4,185 nucleus seed farms. In these, the Government agency will produce improved seeds which will be multiplied through registered growers. As a part of this programme every village will have to arrange for producing the improved seeds it requires. Out of the 4,185 seed farms, 978 have been opened in the first and second years of the Plan and, in 1958-59, 1,560 are to be opened. Liberal assistance is given to this programme by the Central Governnment. The process of multiplying nucleus seeds has not started yet on any appreciable scale.

It is hoped, however, that by the end of the Second Plan, nucleus seed produced in at least 50 per cent of the seed farms would have passed through registered growers and become available in villages for multiplication and distribution to the entire area that can use it.

It is also a part of this programme that every village should produce the compost and green manure needed for its own use. Training and other programmes for this have been started and are making headway.

The Japanese method of cultivation is expected to be practised in 7 to 8 million acres in the Second Five Year Plan period. There are improved techniques for wheat and other crops and also programmes for cotton and jute, horticulture, fisheries, etc., for which funds are allocated.

These programmes are inter-linked. Every acre of irrigated land or land with assured rainfall should use approved seeds and fertilisers and organic and green manures in the right proportion and also employ the best methods of cultivation. The land should be put to the best use according to the latest scientific techniques. And the supply of protective foods should be increased and programmes relating to animal husbandry, fisheries, etc., expanded.

For the programmes of rural development I have described, the First Five Year Plan allocated on an average Rs. 170 crores a year (as against about one-fifth of this in the years before Independence). The annual allocations in the Second Plan are of the order of Rs. 225 crores a year. These figures exclude short, medium and long-term loans to agriculturists through co-operatives and in the form of takavi.

Functions of Village Organisations

I shall now, by way of summing up, bring out the magnitude of the long-term rural development programme in terms of what has to be done by the sixty million families in rural India, organised in small village communities. In every village a village panchayat and a village multipurpose co-operative should accept responsibility for the programmes. The village panchayat should have the taxing and

regulatory functions conferred on it by law. For example, it should have formally power conferred on it for enforcing customary obligations. But all programmes should be carried out through the co-operative in which every family would be represented. The implementation should be by common consent, all members joining in the process of reaching decisions and giving effect to them :

(i) *Multi-purpose, large and medium projects.*—Construction of the field channels needed to utilise the irrigation available, and their maintenance in an efficient condition from day-to-day. In construction alone, there will be over 30 to 40 thousand miles every year for 20 years, over a large part of the country.

(ii) *Minor irrigation works including tube-wells.*—The responsibility for maintaining these works and for excavating and maintaining field channels is the responsibility of the village.

(iii) *Contour-bunding,* soil conservation and other programmes for dry farming in the dry areas and construction and maintenance of bunds. The magnitude of the problem has been indicated.

(iv) *Scientific agriculture* :

(a) Producing as a permanent arrangement in the village all the seeds and organic and green manure needed; arranging for the supply of these in kind to those who cannot pay in advance, recovering after harvest.

(b) Arranging for the distribution of fertilisers received for the village and their supply to the smaller holders on credit in the first instance.

(c) Promoting the use of Japanese method of cultivation, in all areas suitable for it, and other advanced techniques for wheat and other crops which are suggested by the technical departments and, in other ways, working for a diversified agricultural economy.

(d) Development of animal husbandry programmes: dairy produce, fisheries, etc.

(v) *Programmes for supplementary occupation.*—Cottage and small-scale industries, etc.

(vi) *Consolidation of holdings.*—A programme of consolidation of holdings is essential, especially in areas which are irrigated or have assured rainfall, for the effective implementation of the groups of programmes which I have indicated above.

(vii) *Works for the benefit of the community.*—Every family should devote a portion of its time to building up permanent assets of value to the community.

(viii) *Women and the youth* in the village should play their full part in these activities. The centre for these should be the village school.

In every village the panchayat and co-operative should have a five year programme for the village (made up of family programmes) under these heads for which the entire village would be prepared to work. These should be fitted into the district or block programmes and through these into the State programmes. Every family would thus have a plan of improvement for which it would put forward its best efforts.

I spoke at great length at Mussoorie last year on the role of the co-operative movement in our Five Year Plans, both on the side of increased production and of increased rural savings. I do not wish to repeat those remarks here. I hope that the resolutions passed at that Conference in regard to the co-operative movement will be fully implemented, and also that the targets for savings indicated in that speech will be reached.

Importance of Land Reforms

There is an important field in which the community development agency—through village co-operatives—has a crucial role. Land reforms and community development are inter-linked. They are both agencies for bringing about

social change and cannot be worked in isolation. I have often said that, in a village co-operative, the 30 to 40 per cent of the members that are 'creditworthy' in a banking sense should accept responsibility for ensuring that the 60 to 70 per cent of the members who want loans in kind or money for use for creditworthy purposes obtain these, use them for such purposes and repay them punctually. It is equally essential that these members should make it their responsibility to see that the benefits of tenancy and other laws—fixity of tenure, fair rents, etc.—actually accrue to those who are entitled to them. This is where a strong village opinion can be effective. I give as an example a suggestion that was made when the Madras tenancy laws reduced rents from 60 to 40 per cent of the produce. The suggestion was that rents should be actually scaled down to 40 per cent in all cases and that the tenants should deposit the difference of 20 per cent in the co-operative for a term of years so that these sums, with deposits of the more well-to-do members, might be available for loans at low rates of interest for improved agricultural techniques. There are other ways which may be found suitable under other conditions. The essential point is that the co-operative as a whole should work out schemes like these in a spirit of good will and mutual help.

The State has an important part to play in bringing about this village organisation and assisting it in its activities. I shall mention the more important steps that should be taken by the State.

Firstly, it should organise the many-sided developmental programmes described above. Their range and the financial allocations for them should increase steadily and special attention should be given to the less favoured regions.

Secondly, it should provide technical and advisory services to guide the villagers and promote common action.

Thirdly, it should provide the short, medium and long term finance needed. One condition should, however, be enforced. Every village co-operative should be given a programme under which members' deposits would be built up to replace these credits. This is essential as the inculcation

of thrift is the main aim of co-operation. There should be advisory services for building up unions and guiding village societies : also a corps of auditors. Assistance should not, however, be puhed to such limits that "co-operation ceases to be a spontaneous outgrowth of a community of interest or of a desire for independence". Under such circumstances, "Government assistance and the promise and expectation of further assistance undermine the self-reliance of the co-operators". Nothing should be done to relax the moral fibre of the movement.

Fourthly, in all areas there should be organised a wide variety of training courses—for agriculturists in improved techniques like compost making, green manures, etc.; for members of panchayats and co-operatives; for school teachers and intelligent young men in villages to work as panchayat and co-operative secretaries. There should also be refresher courses for village level workers, block level officers and officers at higher levels. Povision should also be made for short-term courses for non-official leaders who are anxious to assist in rural programmes and especially co-operation. All these training courses should be permanent and broad-based and be available for as many as possible.

Hopeful Indications

We should not under-estimate the difficulties involved in this process of bringing about social change—creating a change of outlook and desire for new knowledge and ways of life—among the 300 million people in rural India. I feel, however, that there is no need for defeatism. There are indications which afford grounds for believing that this social change can be brought about on the scale we desire and that leadership will emerge in the villages and at district and State levels to direct the movement. Let me mention some of these :

Firstly, the working of the Community Development movement over nearly half the villages in the country has already shown that revolutionary changes are taking place

in villages and that there is everywhere a desire and determination to achieve better standards.

Secondly, in every region there are numbers of cultivators who have shown in crop competitions that they can produce yields per acre which compare favourably with the highest yields in other parts of the world. It is common experience that in villages round every Government farm, enterprising agriculturists make sustained attempts to exceed the record output in the farms. These should become the natural leaders in all attempts at spreading improved agricultural techniques.

Thirdly, there are the results achieved in the field of co-operation. At the end of 1955-56, there were about 160,000 village societies with nearly 7.8 million members. Of these societies, about two-thirds worked at a profit. Only about one-third of them did not. This is a remarkable record achieved by non-official workers at all levels in spite of the depressing conditions of a subsistence agricultural economy. Experience all over the world is that the universal adoption of scientific agriculture is an essential condition for the success of the co-operative movement; and with the large developmental expenditures that are bound to be incurred in coming years, it will be possible for these small communities to develop a genuine people's co-operative movement full of vitality. There are no limits to what an awakened nation can achieve by its own efforts.

These village institutions will have to be linked with similar institutions at higher levels. The formation of panchayats at district, taluk or block levels for developmental functions is under examination in the States. As regards village co-operatives, they should be federated into unions and through them to central banks on one side and marketing, processing and other societies on the other. The support of the best non-official leadership should be enlisted at all stages, the official agency giving them the best assistance possible.

I am glad that, along with the rephasing of community

development programmes* recently accepted, the highest priority is now given to the establishment of village panchayats and village co-operatives and the intention is to bring them into existence in all areas within two or three years. The basic idea of a village community is one which has proved its strength and vitality through centuries in our history *viz.*, that of a community with ties of neighbourhood, common needs and identity of interest and in which there is a sense of intimacy—something of a larger family. We now seek to reorganise this village life to meet adequately the demands of scientific agriculture with the changed outlooks and attitudes that this implies. To put it concretely, all families, united in the village institutions, have to undertake through self-help and in co-operation with their neighbours the responsibility of carrying out the programmes I have described to you at some length for realising the long-term objective of improving standards of life which has been placed before the country. The movement should be judged in terms of human values; its aim is to make men and women "with a sense of both individual and joint responsibility so that they may rise individually to a full personal life and collectively to a full social life." It is in this way that rural life can achieve social and moral cohesion, which is the only basis for national unity.

In what I have said, I have attempted to set out briefly the permanent institutions that should be set up in villages in the next two or three years for carrying out the long-term objectives of our Plans and the activities that they should undertake. I hope State Governments will study the issues I have raised, arrange for the widest possible discussion of them and formulate programmes for early action. The situation in the country, as brought out in the Planning Commission's appraisal of the prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, calls for a much greater sense of urgency than now exists.

---

* See Appendix III

Appendix I

(The following are extracts from the chapter on "Agricultural Development in relation to Industrialisation" of the report submitted in June 1950 by the Fiscal Commission of which Shri V. T. Krishnamachari was chairman.)*

We are convinced that, in formulating a development policy for India, we should keep in the forefront the basic significance of agriculture in the country's life and economy. The reasons for this are obvious. About 67 per cent. of the population is dependent on agriculture. Further, agriculture is not merely an occupation. It is a way of life which for centuries has shaped the thoughts and outlooks of many millions of people. Also, merely from the point of view of material resources, income from it accounted for nearly 50 per cent of the total national income according to estimates made before the Second World War.

The significance of agriculture in India's economy in fact goes deeper than this, as rationalisation of agriculture and expansion of industrialisation are closely interrelated and should be planned on a co-ordinated basis. Nearly 65 million families in India are dependent on agriculture. Owing to seasonal conditions, work in agriculture is possible for only a portion of the year—three to four months in unirrigated and approximately double this period in irrigated areas. Only 18.9 per cent of the cultivated areas is irrigated. These figures indicate the enormous volume of underemployment and disguised unemployment that exists in

---

* The other members of the Commission were : Sarvashri B. N. Ganguli, B. M. Birla, M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Mukhtar Singh, Khandubhai Desai, Ambalal Sarabhai and D. L. Mazumdar

Indian agriculture. To realise the full extent of the evil, two more facts should be borne in mind. *Firstly*, included in the families engaged in agriculture are large numbers who are tied to the land merely because there are no other outlets. They share in the income without making more than a nominal contribution to production. *Secondly*, every year a net addition of the order of 3 millions takes place to the numbers that work on already overcrowded holdings. What this enormous volume of disguised unemployment means in human value can be easily understood. In terms of production there will be actually an increase if all this surplus labour can be withdrawn from agriculture. A solution for this evil, which is so deep-seated in our economy, has to be sought in the *concurrent* adoption of a two-fold programme :—firstly, rationalisation of agriculture, i.e., maximisation of production in terms of yield per acre by steadily improving agricultural methods and promoting an intensive system of mixed farming; and secondly, drawing away the surplus labour force from land into industries—occupations subsidiary to agriculture, cottage and small-scale industries, large-scale industries and tertiary occupations.

Inter-relation of Agriculture and Industry

Rationalisation of agriculture and industrial advance are thus in reality parts of a single programme. As has been well said in regard to "backward economies"—"One might consider industrialisation as one chapter of agrarian reconstruction or one might treat the improvement of agrarian production as one chapter of industrialisation. What matters is to remember that the two are inter-connected parts of one problem." Improved agriculture benefits industries by increased production and higher quality of raw materials. Industrialisation in turn promotes agricultural development and efficiency by providing it with power, better technique and improved marketing, transport and other services. It should also be added that the combined effect is to create an internal market for goods and services

which will give added impetus to agricultural and industrial production.

As a Fiscal Commission, we are not concerned with the questions that arise in the formulation of a comprehensive agricultural policy. Our desire is only to emphasise a point of fundamental importance in the framing and execution of such a policy. No measures for improvement will achieve successful results unless Governments can make agriculturists change their old-time outlook and arouse enthusiasm in them for new knowledge and new ways of life. There should be created in them a burning desire for higher standards of living—a will to live better. The questions for which Governments should find an answer are—how to awaken such enthusiasm and maintain it at a high level and how to lift the people out of themselves and enlist their active interest and support in the task of bettering their own condition. In other words "the central problem is psychological, not technical." The agriculturists must be made to feel how vital is the part they have to play in the nation's economy and that there is on the side of the Government, a realisation of this and a determination by carefully planned measures, to assist them in their efforts to achieve a higher level of living. It is primarily for the Governments to find a solution for this in a spirit of sympathy and understanding; and methods of approach will probably vary in different regions. If, therefore, we venture to make a few tentative observations we do so with diffidence.

Need for Comprehensive Programme

We consider it important that State Governments should fix a target for increased production from agriculture which should mean an appreciable rise in the standard of living of those engaged in it within as short a period as possible after off-setting the effects of additions to the population which have taken place in the interval. There must be placed before them an objective—with practical schemes for realising it—for which the millions of families in the countryside will be prepared to face hardships and

privations. The country has now a short term programme for (i) eliminating dependence on imports of food-grains and (ii) increased production of cotton and jute which are raw materials for important industries. This should merge at once with a wider plan, with definite targets, for the most efficient use of India's agricultural resources by the application of modern scientific research and the evolution of a diversified economy; and the initial targets should be high enough to arouse nation-wide enthusiasm. All Governments must prepare comprehensive schemes for agricultural reconstruction to ensure increased production and a substantial rise in the standards of living of the rural population. Included in these should be the following:

Firstly, there are major irrigation and hydro-electric projects and minor irrigation schemes. Their importance cannot be exaggerated, as India's proportion of irrigated to the total cultivated area has diminished as an effect of partition. Prior to partition, the irrigated area formed 26.5 per cent of the total cultivated area. After partition the proportion of irrigated area to the total cultivated area is 18.9 per cent. for India and 45.2 for Pakistan. Such schemes should not be judged merely by the net return on the capital outlay—the broader social gains should also be taken into account. In the same category are projects for dealing with lands rendered unfit for cultivation by soil erosion and for checking the colossal losses of acreage and production caused by wind and water erosion. We may say in passing that in our view the subject of land utilisation has not received the attention in India which the seriousness of the problem demands, and that an expert body to study this is an urgent need.

Secondly, there are measures for improving agricultural methods by organising research on a much wider scale than at present, bringing the results of research to the fields, supplying better seeds and manures, introducing better methods of tillage and bringing where possible additional areas under cultivation. Of fundamental importance under this head is to organise a country-wide campaign for the

conversion of all village and town refuse into compost. Attempt should also be made to overcome the disabilities due to fragmented holdings by co-operative methods or in other ways, and also to establish a more diversified agriculture—the growing of fruits, vegetables, etc.,—including dairy farming and poultry rearing.

Thirdly, there should be carefully devised subsidiary occupations and cottage and small-scale industries suited to different regions.

Fourthly, marketing and storage arrangements should be improved and the loss caused by insect and other pests minimised.

Fifthly, there are problems connected with agricultural finance including price support measures when needed.

Sixthly, there are allied measures like reform of land tenures, rural education, communications, etc.

Role of Extension Service

Such programmes should cover all sides of rural life and there should be a plan for immediate action with definite financial allocations. It is also important that they should be formulated in close consultation with all interests concerned and should carry with them popular support at all levels. What we have said above leads us inevitably to the question of an organisation reaching down to the remotest villages which would enlist the widest support to schemes of improvement and ensure that they would be implemented in the countryside. Here again, we have no cut and dried scheme to offer. We can only make suggestions. In our view, the greatest need at present in India is an extension service with the object of bringing the gap between research and the practices of producers, similar to those which have been found so valuable in the U.S.A., U.K., etc. What we have in mind is an extension officer with the necessary staff for a group of 40 or 50 villages working on a demonstration farm. This officer will be the agent of all the development departments for the implementation of schemes of improvement for the villages in the Centre and the guide

and friend of the farmers in the area and in close contact with them; advise them on all questions connected with improvements; supply all their needs—seeds, manures, implements, etc., and assist them in every way. Each such Centre will have attached to it a committee consisting of the concerned district and other officials and influential leaders in the area. In every village under the Centre there will be a multi-purpose co-operative society or a better farming society with the best leadership available, to link it up with the Centre. All the Centres in a district or other suitable region will be affiliated to a district or regional Centre with a farm under a carefully selected extension staff and a representative committee of non-official leaders and through it to the provincial Department of Agriculture and a provincial committee. Such an organisation will discuss regional plans at all levels, enlist popular support for them and actively help in their implementation. We also think that this organisation should undertake a campaign to inculcate the habit of saving among agriculturists for financing regional and other schemes. The Commission believes that the beginnings of such an organisation exist in several areas; that it should be extended so as to cover the whole countryside; and that the staffs and committees should be in the closest touch with every agriculturist family, assist in the implementation of plans of improvement and also promote the habit of saving in rural areas.

Appendix II

(Reproduced below is the major portion of the concluding chapter—"Our proposals regarding future policy"—of the report submitted in June 1952 by the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee of which Shri V. T. Krishnamachari was chairman.)*

Our review has shown that the Grow More Food campaign has not fully achieved the results expected of it, broadly speaking, for two reasons. In the first place, its scope as conceived was too narrow and restricted. At the commencement, it was placed before the country as a campaign for achieving self-sufficiency in foodgrains. When, a few months later, shortage of industrial raw materials became acute, an integrated programme of production of foodgrains, cotton and jute was announced. Other additions followed in quick succession—the "key village" scheme for improvement of livestock; emphasis on fisheries' development; the extension movement; "land transformation", etc. All this showed a recognition that the programme of integrated production could not stand by itself. But no significant changes were made in its

---

* The other members of the Committee were :

1. Shri R. K. Patil
2. Shri M. P. Patil
3. Shri Dip Narain Sinha
4. Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava
5. Shri Tribhuwan Narain Singh
6. Dr. Mono Mohon Das
7. Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao
8. Shri B. Venkataratnam
9. Sardar Datar Singh

operation and the reformulation of aims from time to time left the country in doubt as to the exact policy of the Government.

Secondly, the campaign was regarded as a temporary one for achievement of self-sufficiency by a particular date and organised on that basis. Self-sufficiency is by itself an objective difficult of realisation, inasmuch as consumption by large sectors of the population including producer-consumers cannot be controlled, and seasonal factors like failures of monsoon or floods over large areas affect production appreciably. As all the operations were regarded as temporary, their administration was placed in the hands of special staff, got together in a short time, whose activities were only imperfectly dovetailed with the regular development and other activities of the State Governments.

Limited Scope of G.M.F. Campaign

Under these conditions, it is not surprising that the movement has touched only a fringe of the population, viz., the larger holders who were induced by subsidies and other forms of assistance to take up improved agricultural methods. It has not aroused widespread enthusiasm and become, in any sense, a national movement. Its objectives —supplying food at reasonable prices to the urban population and eliminating imports in order to save foreign currency—have no appeal to the many millions of small farmers in the countryside. Nor have the States, generally speaking, linked up the G.M.F. programmes with carefully thought-out long-term plans for village development, which under the Constitution, are their responsibility. The general tendency has been to regard the schemes financed by the Government of India as falling under a special category and to expand or curtail them from year to year, in accordance with the financial allotments available from the Centre.

No plan can have any chance of success unless the millions of small farmers in the country accept its objectives, share in its making, regard it as their own and are

prepared to make the sacrifices necessary for implementing it. The integrated production programme has failed to arouse enthusiasm for the reasons we have given. The food problem is a much wider one than mere elimination of food imports. It is the problem of bringing about such a large expansion of agricultural production as will assure to an increasing population progressively rising levels of nutrition. In other words, the campaign for food production should be conceived as part of a plan for the most efficient use of land resources by the application of modern scientific research and the evolution of a diversified economy. In its turn, agricultural improvement is an integral part of the much wider problem of raising the level of rural life. The economic aspects of village life cannot be detached from the broader social aspects; and agricultural improvement is inextricably linked up with a whole set of social problems.

The lesson to be derived from the working of the G.M.F. programmes thus confirms the experience of States and private agencies engaged in village development.* It is that all aspects of rural life are inter-related and that no lasting results can be achieved if individual aspects of it are dealt with in isolation. This does not mean that particular problems should not be given prominence, but the

---

*1. Reports of the Bombay and Madras Governments on the Sarvodaya and Firka Development schemes.
2. Reports on the Etawah Project.
3. Administration Reports of the Baroda State from 1933-34 onwards—chapters on 'Agriculture'. "The Centre should aim at effecting an improvement in all aspects of rural life changing in fact the outlook of agriculturists, the problem being the development of the desire for a higher standard of living. Work intended to realise this aim should be intensive and in order that it may be intensive it should be confined to a group of villages in which it will be possible for the superintendent and his trained co-workers to establish personal contact with practically all the agriculturists. Village leadership of the best type should be developed".
4. "The Indian villager is not much benefited unless he is helped simultaneously in every phase of his life, and in regard to every relationship he bears to others. Working more especially with the poorer portion of the rural population, we have experienced this fundamental principle." (Dr. Spencer Hatch—"Towards Freedom from Want".)

plans for them should form parts of and be integrated with those for achieving the wider aims. It is only by placing this ideal—of bringing about an appreciable improvement in the standards 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 its realisation, that we can awaken mass enthusiasm and enlist the active interest and support of the millions of families living in the countryside in the immense task of bettering their own condition.

This indeed is the policy embodied in the Constitution of India under the "Directive Principles of State Policy" which "are fundamental in the governance of the country". Under Article 47, among the primary duties of the State is "raising of the level of nutrition and the standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health." Article 48 directs that the State "shall endeavour to organise agriculture and animal husbandry on modern scientific lines" and Article 43, "that the State shall endeavour to promote cottage industries on an individual or co-operative basis in rural areas". Further, under Article 43, the State "shall endeavour to secure . . . to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise, work, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life . . ." i.e., as large a measure of social justice as possible.

A Human Problem

India, as a Welfare State, is thus facing one of the world's most difficult human problems. For, the betterment of rural life—eighty per cent of the population of India lives in villages—is essentially a human problem. This is the tremendous task of creating among sixty million families living in villages "a burning desire to change their old-time outlook and arouse enthusiasm in them for new knowledge and new ways of life",* to create in them a burning desire

---

*The quotations in this and the next two paragraphs are from the the Report of the Fiscal Commission.

for a higher standard of living, "a will to live better." "The questions for which Governments should find an answer are—how to awaken such enthusiasm and maintain it at a high level and how to lift the people out of themselves and enlist their active interest and support in the task of bettering their own condition. The agriculturists must be made to feel how vital is the part they have to play in the nation's economy, and that there is on the side of the Government a realisation of this and a determination by carefully planned measures to assist them in their efforts to achieve a higher standard of living".

On the economic side, the basic fact is the enormous volume of unemployment and disguised unemployment that exists in agriculture owing to the pressure of a steadily increasing population on the soil. The facts relating to this are well-known but will bear restatement. Owing to seasonal conditions, work in agriculture is possible only for a portion of the year. Over four-fifths of the country in which there is no irrigation, this period is 3 to 4 months in the year. In the fifth in which irrigation is available, the working period is nearly double this, viz., 6 to 8 months in the year. In other words, roughly four-fifths of the agricultural population can find work in farming operations for one-third to one-fourth of the year and the rest for about double this period.

To this picture, two factors have to be added. "Firstly, included in the families engaged in agriculture are large numbers who are tied to the land merely because there are no other outlets. They share in the income without making more than a nominal contribution to production. Secondly, every year, a net addition of the order of three million takes place to the numbers that work on already overcrowded holdings. What this enormous volume of disguised unemployment means in human values can be easily understood. In terms of production there will be actually an increase if all this surplus labour can be withdrawn from agriculture. A solution for this evil, which is so deep-seated in our economy, has to be sought in the concurrent

adoption of a two-fold programme—firstly, rationalisation of agriculture, i.e. maximisation of production in terms of yield per acre by steadily improving agricultural methods and promoting an intensive system of mixed farming, and, secondly, drawing away the surplus labour force from land into industries—cottage and small-scale industries or large-scale industries—and tertiary occupations".

There is another point which should be stressed at this stage. The movement for village development will gain the requisite momentum only if a portion of the vast unutilised energy in the countryside is harnessed and utilised for the benefit of the community. And the time factor is vital. Action has become urgent and cannot be delayed any longer.

Recommendations on Future Policy

What we have said above leads to the following conclusions :

Firstly, the present G.M.F. campaign should be enlarged so as to cover a wider plan for development of village life in all its aspects—finding a solution to the human problem to which we have referred; this is a permanent problem.

Secondly, the administrative machinery of the Government should be reorganised and equipped for the efficient discharge of the duties imposed on it under the new conception of India as a Welfare State; and

Thirdly, along with this, the best non-official leadership available should be mobilised for guiding the 60 million families in villages in their efforts to improve their own conditions.

For many years, there have been fairly well-organised development departments—Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Co-operation—in the larger States. These, however, work independently of one another, following their own programmes and without a sense of common objectives. Each department approaches the villager through its own hierarchy and the weakest point in each is the last official who

has to be in touch with the villager. This official is, in most cases, inadequately trained and incapable of providing guidance. Nor are the activities of these departments linked up with those of revenue officers, which touch village life at many points, or of the local bodies which, under the law, are responsible for communications, water supply and other services in rural areas. The result of all this is that there are no concerted efforts to improve all sides of village life, to change the outlook of the farmer and to mobilise local initiative and resources for the betterment of conditions.

Need for "Extension" Services

What we have said points inevitably to the need of an organisation for intensive rural work which would reach every farmer and assist in the co-ordinated development of rural life as a whole—similar in conception to the "extension" or "advisory" services in the U.S.A., U.K., and elsewhere. For such an organisation, the taluk or tehsil—the lowest administrative unit above a village—usually consisting of 100 to 120 villages, would be a convenient unit. Below it there would be: (i) a group of villages, 5 to 10 in number, with a population ranging from 5 to 8 thousand; (ii) the village itself.

The taluk would be a development block. It will be in charge of a Development Officer or "Extension Officer" who will be the divisional revenue officer. This officer will be relieved of his other duties by a special assistant appointed for the purpose. The "Extension Officer" will be assisted by four technical officers—for agriculture, animal husbandry, co-operation and engineering—the last one to deal with minor irrigation works, drainage and anti-erosion measures, etc. This organisation will function as a team, constantly consulting one another and exchanging experience, and will establish the closest contacts with agriculturists and be their friend and guide. The functions of an extension service will be those set out in the following extract from the F.A.O. report on extension (August 1949) :

"Extension or advisory services and other allied services have the following indispensable functions: instructing farm people in agricultural and domestic science and in agricultural affairs; bringing them the latest results of research in these fields, on quality and cost as well as on the quantity of production, and teaching them improved techniques of farming and rural living; calling the attention of research institutions to the agricultural and home problems that require study; and providing opportunities for farm people to meet together for the purpose of learning from each other and developing leadership in agricultural affairs."

Role of Village Worker

At the village level there will be one worker for 5 to 10 villages who will be the joint agent for all development activities and who will convey to the farmer the lessons of research and to the experts the difficulties of the farmer and arrange the supplies and services needed by the farmer, including rendering of first aid in animal and plant diseases.

The role of the village worker will be vital in rural development. As we have said, he will be the agent in the village of the development "teams" at the taluk or tehsil level and the guide and friend of the farmers—in daily contact with them and their problems, advising them on improvements, arranging supplies of seeds, fertilisers, etc., and assisting them in every way. Persons who are to be village workers should be selected with great care. The primary qualifications should be experience of rural life and interest in it. Selected candidates should be trained for at least a year in elementary agriculture, animal husbandry, co-operation, etc. An important part of the training should be actual "extension work" in a group of villages round the training institute and its farm and there should be emphasis on methods of approach to farmers, the human relations side of the work, which is all important.

One of the most important duties of the "Extension Organisation" will be, with the assistance of leaders in the

area, to secure local co-operation, to stimulate local initiative, to promote community activities and to see that the vast unutilised energy in villages is harnessed to works for the benefit of a part or whole of the community. The scope for this is almost unlimited. We give below examples of what we have in mind. *Firstly*, in regard to schemes of permanent improvement, where there is a major irrigation project the canal system in villages can be taken up for execution by the villagers on a co-operative basis. This will eliminate middlemen's profits and bring into the co-operative movement large amounts of money which can be utilised for agricultural improvement. The same remarks apply to schemes of reclamation—contour-bunding, etc.—and minor irrigation projects. Also a system of voluntary labour for works useful to the community—village irrigation tanks, common drinking water wells, roads, village plantations, etc.—can be usefully organised. *Secondly*, for raising standards of cultivation, local effort should be promoted in seed production, green manures, compost making, etc. This will ease supply problems besides ensuring purity of seeds, etc. *Thirdly*, there are numerous ways in which the co-operative movement can be developed to advantage—for providing short-term finance, for joint ownership of agricultural machinery and pumps, for lifting water, joint ownership of storage accommodation, joint farming, co-operative marketing, etc. *Fourthly*, provision again can be made by co-operative methods for subsidiary occupations and cottage and small-scale industries. *Fifthly*, it is specially important to organise work among women as their co-operation in raising levels of life can be most valuable. Similarly, a healthy youth movement should be started in the "Extension" areas.

It would be useful at this stage to stress the great part the co-operative movement can and should play in improving rural life. The co-operative principle, in its infinitely varying forms, is capable of adaptation for finding a solution to all problems of rural life. In fact, it is only in the co-operative principle that such a solution can be found.

The aim should therefore be to see that there is at least one multi-purpose society in every village or group of villages on which practically every agriculturist family is represented. This indeed should form the most important item in the programme of village level and other workers. It is only through this that the villagers can improve their condition by their own efforts.

We have referred to village leadership. While it is essential that the workers should know and be known to all families in their villages and plans for improvement should be discussed and settled as far as possible at meetings of farmers so that they may command the largest measure of support, it should be the aim to bring into existence for villages or groups of villages, leadership of the best quality. As Sir John Russell has pointed out, there is here a vicious circle. As villages are unattractive, young men who have ambition leave them for towns. "The result is an almost complete absence of the good farmers who are always the best instructors of their neighbours." We hope that with an intensive programme of rural development, more and more of such men will stay in the villages and assume their role of leaders, but "the vicious circle can be broken only when the village welfare movement becomes a vocation for India's young people and they realise the truth of Tagore's saying, 'In the keeping of the village, lies the cradle of the race' ".*

The extension staff and leaders can assist in bringing about this change. There are also village institutions that can be set up where they do not exist. Panchayats can be established under laws in force in the States. And for every village or group of villages, according to conditions, there should be a multi-purpose co-operative society for providing credit and supplies and giving other assistance needed by farmers including marketing. Close working relations should also be established with schools which can become useful centres of social education.

---

* Sir E. John Russell—Article on "Food Production Problems in India" in *International Affairs*, January, 1952.

Securing Local Co-operation

On the question whether village panchayats or management boards of multi-purpose societies should be recognised as agents for implementation of development plans, opinion is divided. Some States favour the former and some the latter. There is also the Planning Commission's suggestion for Village Production Councils. Each area should decide this on its own special needs and conditions. But it is worth emphasising again that no solution can be found to the problem of rural betterment unless local co-operation is secured to the maximum possible extent and the support of the best leadership is enlisted. This is a human problem and the crux of the whole question is the method of approach to the villager. He should not have programmes imposed on him. He should play an active part in the framing of them and should feel that they are his. A start should be made with needs most widely felt. Other programmes will come as confidence is won. Above all, programmes and methods should be different for different groups, and they must always be kept flexible to suit conditions as they change.

At the taluk level the nucleus for unofficial leadership will be furnished by the sub-district board where one exists. Where such a board does not exist, the members of the district board belonging to the area will constitute the nucleus. To these may be added members of Parliament and State legislatures in the areas and representatives of the co-operative movement.

The District occupies a most important place in the administrative organisation. Here again the development activities should be unified under the Collector as Extension Officer assisted by the specialist officers. These should work as a team guiding and supervising the taluk extension staff. There will also be a supply organisation for the district. The non-official side will consist of a committee of the District Board to which will be added such members of Parliament and State legislatures as would be willing to work on this body in preference to the taluk organisation,

representatives of the co-operative movement and others interested in social work.

Organisation at State Level

At the State level, there should be a Cabinet Committee presided over by the Chief Minister and consisting of all the Ministers concerned with rural activities to formulate co-ordinated policies. The Planning Commission has made a useful suggestion that every State should have a Development Commissioner in charge of the entire programme of rural work. A non-official Board consisting of members of State legislatures specially selected for their interest in rural problems, representatives of the co-operative movement and prominent non-official rural workers may be set up to secure public co-operation. The Chief Minister will be the Chairman of the Board and the other Cabinet Ministers concerned will be members. The Development Commissioner will be the Secretary.

At the Centre, there should be an All-India Council of Rural Welfare which should meet twice a year, receive reports on the progress made in different States in their Village Development Programme, discuss problems relating to rural welfare and the working of the extension services and advise the Government on questions relating to village development and welfare. The Council should include representatives of the Central Ministries concerned, of some of the State Governments and of Parliament and also selected non-officials with special experience or qualifications.

What we have said above about non-official organisations at different levels should be regarded as illustrative and each State should decide the best means of mobilising such leadership as is available and training new leaders. As work proceeds we expect that the structure and functions of district and sub-district boards will change; it may be found useful to extend their activities so as to cover all aspects of rural life. To begin with, however, the arrangements should not be rigid. They should be elastic and

changes should be made in them as experience shows them to be necessary.

Evaluation of Results

Evaluation of methods of approach and of results is essential to the success of the whole movement. An organisation for this purpose should be set up by the State Governments which would work in close liaison with the Central organisation and in conformity with the methods suggested by it. It should be directly under the State Development Commissioner, so that the assessments might be made on a uniform basis. In connection with Community Projects, such an organisation is now being brought into existence for a period of three years, the cost of which is to be borne by the Ford Foundation and the Technical Co-operation Administration jointly. The States expect to take these over after the three-year period and can expand them for future needs. The corps of trained personnel available will be found very useful. It would be useful, in our view, to associate universities and research institutes in the work of evaluation.

Our recommendation is that the "Extension" organisation we have described above should be spread all over the country within the shortest practicable time, not exceeding ten years, as this is the best way in which India as a Welfare State can attempt a solution of the tremendously difficult problem of raising the level of rural life. For this, training of staffs is the first requisite. In most States, the existing facilities for training graduate staffs are adequate and these are available in sufficient numbers. The courses of training have, however, to be made more practical and there should be much more time given to actual work on farms and in "Extension" areas.

The position in regard to village level workers is, however, different; in no State are these available in the numbers that will be necessary under our proposals. The States should be requested to review the needs and establish training courses in existing or new institutions for the training

of such workers. Twenty-five training centres are being set up under the Ford Foundation for four years for training village workers for community projects. Six-month courses are offered at these centres and 3,500 candidates will be trained every year. We consider that the training for such workers should be at least for a year. These twenty-five centres will be taken over by the States and will become available as permanent training institutions. More will probably be needed in some areas and these should be brought into existence as soon as possible.

Finances

We work out below the approximate average cost of a development block as envisaged by us :

For a taluk or tehsil with an average of 120 *villages*

Four "technical" officers	Monthly average of Rs. 250 each including dearness allowance and fixed travelling allowance — Rs. 12,000 a year.
Clerical assistance	Rs. 300; or Rs. 3,600 a year.
Twelve village level workers (average of 10 villages a worker)	Monthly average Rs. 125 or Rs. 1,500 a year for each, i.e., Rs. 18,000 a year (including dearness allowance).
Supplies and Services—including seed multiplication, green manure, compost and other local supplies	Rs. 3,600 a year.
TOTAL	Rs. 37,200 a year, i.e., an average of Rs. 310 a year a village.

In actual working, the scales of salaries will be those in force in the States, and the States will be free to re-adjust these, subject of course to the overall financial limits indicated.

To enable the States to organise these services we recommend Central assistance to the extent of half of the additional cost to be incurred by them. Assuming that the States have already got about half the taluk or tehsil headquarter establishments and grants will be needed towards the entire village services, the approximate cost of assistance for one hundred and twenty villages will be :

Towards the taluk level staffs—

Half of Rs. 7,800,	i.e.,	Rs 3,900
Village staffs and supply services—		Rs. 10,800
Total per year :		Rs. 14,700

This works out roughly to Rs. 122-8 or Rs. 125 in round figures, for a village. Assuming that the services are extended to the 400,000 settled villages in India in the course of ten years, the total Central assistance will be a maximum of Rs. 5 crores a year. Annual grants on the basis indicated will be paid to every development block for a period of five years. The grants will be reviewed after five years on the basis of assessed results. Such reviews will take place thereafter at two-yearly intervals. As the work of the staff is more and more appreciated by the villagers the locality concerned should come forward to bear a proportion of the cost and the grants can be reduced progressively. Inasmuch as village level workers assist panchayats and co-operative organisations, there is a saving to the locality in the cost of running these institutions. For specially backward areas—tribal and other areas—more liberal grants will be needed. We estimate this at a maximum of Rs. one crore a year in the tenth year. In view of the fundamental importance of these services in the economy of the country, we are confident that our recommendations in this respect will be accepted by the Government of India.

Land Reforms

Another essential condition for creating the necessary enthusiasm for village development and releasing the human energy required for productive purposes in rural areas is land reform. We do not propose to say anything in detail about this complicated question as we understand that it is currently under consideration by the Planning Commission and will form a subject for their recommendations in the final version of their Report. Now that the laws for abolition of zamindari and other privileged tenures have been enacted in most States, decisions will have to be reached on the systems of land cultivation that will be established in these areas, and speedy effect should be given to them. There are also other problems connected with land reform that have to be tackled. What is required is action to put new life into the millions of agriculturists in the country, instil in them the desire to improve their standard of living and furnish them with the assistance that will enable them to do so. This is the reason why we have laid so much emphasis on the creation of a national extension service and placing it on a permanent footing.

To enable agriculturists to carry out permanent improvements and raise production over a long period, they should be assured that the Government would take steps to ensure that prices are not allowed to fall below certain minimum levels. What these levels should be from time to time will depend on such factors as the general level of prices, costs of cultivation, etc. Though we feel that prices of foodgrains are not likely to decline to uneconomic levels in the near future, we recommend that the Government of India should make a declaration accepting the principle, as this will provide an incentive to agricultural production.

Appendix III

The Community Development programme was being carried out till recently in three phases—N.E.S., Intensive (commonly known as C.D.) and Post-Intensive. The N.E.S. stage normally ran for three years during which a limited programme of development was executed with a budget ceiling of Rs. 4 lakhs. This was followed by another three years of intensive development with the full complement of staff and a budget provision of Rs. 8 lakhs. Thereafter, the block entered the post-intensive stage when only Rs. 30,000 was available for expenditure annually.

In place of the above, the team led by Shri Balwantray Mehta, which was appointed by the Committee on Plan Projects to study the working of the Community Development programme, recommended a revised programme envisaging two stages of five years each, and abolishing the distinction between the N.E.S., Intensive Development and Post-Intensive Development stages.

The following note indicates the decision of the Government of India on these recommendations :

The basic principle of the Community Development Programme is enunciated by the Planning Commission in the First Five Year Plan as follows:

> "Community Development is the method and Rural Extension the agency through which the Five Year Plan seeks to initiate a process of transformation of the social and economic life of the villages."

In order to evolve a programme to give effect to this principle three distinguishable aspects should be recognised:

(1) Introduction of the National Extension Service as the permanent agency in the rural areas, with the Block as the unit for planning and development.

(2) Promotion of Community Development as the method for :

  (i) achieving unity of thinking and action between all development agencies of Government, and between the official agency, the people's agency and the people;

(ii) transformation in the social and economic outlook of the people chiefly through village organisations, e.g., Panchayats, Co-operatives, Youth Clubs, and Mahila Mandals; and
(iii) intensive area development based on multi-purpose approach.

(3) A programme that consolidates and reinforces the 'agency' and the 'method', and seeks to promote all aspects of rural life such as will become the normal pattern of the Welfare State in action.

If these three aspects are recognised, there is no need for any distinction between the N.E.S., Intensive and Post-Intensive Stages. An essential feature of the revised arrangement would be that at the Post-Intensive Stage, development departments should be required to make increased block-wise allotment of funds in their charge, in order not only to maintain the tempo of progress but also to achieve progressively increased development in the areas. In regard to subjects which do not specifically fall within the charge of any single department, adequate funds should separately be made available.

In the Third Five Year Plan, it would be necessary to secure that for all blocks, including the Post-Intensive Blocks, necessary funds will be provided by pooled blockwise allotments from departmental allocations and other sources. In short, the Third Five Year Plan should actually be built from block plans.

The Team has suggested that during the First Stage, the financial provision for a block should be Rs. 15 lakhs for a period of six years, and that during the Second Stage it should be Rs. 5.5 lakhs, again for a period of six years. This has been carefully considered and the Government of India feel that these stages should each be of five years' duration, in order to maintain the urgency and dynamism of the programme. Where, however, in specific cases, extension of the period of operation of Stage I is necessary, this should be freely given up to one more year.

As regards financial allotment, having regard to past experience of the rate of expenditure, it is felt that a provision should be made of Rs. 12 lakhs for a five-year period in the First Stage, and Rs. 5 lakhs for the five-year period in the Second Stage.

The following objectives should be kept in view while formulating the programme and budget estimates for each block:

(i) In every block, from the very beginning, the block organisation and village organisation should be regarded as basic units for formulating and carrying out different programmes;
(ii) the foundations for the block development programme are the Village Panchayat, the Village Co-operative, and the Village School as well as a statutory body at the Block or District level to which full responsibility for planning and implementing the programme should be transferred. The aim should be to ensure that these institutions are established in the course of two or three years, and begin to function well before the end of the First Stage;
(iii) the programmes and activities of agencies included in the schematic budget, as well as of departmental agencies which may not form part of the schematic budget, should

be fully integrated into the block development plan. No development activity for which any official agency is responsible should fall outside the block plan; and

(iv) as far as possible, those provisions should be included in the schematic budget which are intended to attract local community participation in labour, money and other ways. Provisions other than these should, in principle, form part of developmental budgets to be used, according to the approved scheme of development, in the blocks.

Two stages in the programme, namely, Stage I and Stage II, have been proposed and are distinguishable. Stage I is the intensive development phase in which people's participation would be promoted as the method of Community Development, and Panchayats intimately connected with the formulation of plans for their respective areas. The degree of success attained in the First Stage will be evidence of the growth and functioning of self-reliant rural communities, which is the basic objective of the programme. Accordingly, Stage II, which is the Post-Intensive phase, has been designed to intensify the operation of the method of Community Development in its fuller amplitude, and the comparatively small schematic budget purports to make provision only for such items in which the emphasis is more on Community Development rather than on development programmes as such. It would follow from this pattern for Stage II that the programme in the blocks in Stage II should from the very beginning be entrusted to statutory bodies at the block or district level.

As regards rephasing of the expansion programme, it may be mentioned that even in the existing approved programme, 1,000 N.E.S. Blocks really take effect from October, 1960, only six months before the commencement of the Third Five Year Plan period. The Government of India are not wedded to any rigid idea that they must, at all costs (efficiency or no efficiency), cover the country during the Second Plan period, and have decided that complete coverage of the country by National Extension Service should be aimed to be achieved by October, 1963. This date, it will be recalled, will be ten years from the introduction of the country-wide N.E.S. Programme in October, 1953. In fact, this was the recommendation of the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee in 1952. Future allotment will be adjusted accordingly, within the overall ceiling of Rs. 200 crores for the Second Plan. Annual plans will have to be worked out accordingly. The expenditure on the programme during 1958-59 should be adjusted within the allocations already approved by the Planning Commission for the year.

Pre-extension period for each block—It has been decided that in view of the renewed emphasis on agricultural production, each block allotable from April, 1959, should have had a one-year period of pre-extension activity exclusively in the field of agriculture. Provision should be made therefore for one Block Development Officer, one Agricultural Extension Officer and five fully-trained Gram Sevaks for each such block. This staff would be absorbed later in the staffing pattern for the block when it enters the First Stage.

INDEX

Administration

Before and after Independence 103-105

A human problem 111-112

Need for change in outlook 41, 105-106

Organisation at the Centre 63, 147

Organisation in the States 19-20, 61-62, 147

At the District level 107, 146

At the Block and village level 108-109, 146

Agriculture

Pressure on land, unemployment and under-employment 15-16, 25-27, 130-131, 140

Inter-relation with industry 113-114, 131

Magnitude of development under the Plans 91, 114, 116

Stabilization of agricultural prices 32, 33, 95, 151

Contribution of agriculture to an industrial Plan 86-87

Agricultural economics 35-37

IRRIGATION

Development of Irrigation 88, 117-118

Utilization of Irrigation Facilities 92-93, 118-120

Minor Irrigation Works 120-121

IMPROVED TECHNIQUES

Use of Improved Seeds 94

Application of Fertilizers and Organic and Green Manures 94, 123

Japanese Method of Cultivation 94, 123

Dry Farming methods 31, 122

Technical assistance to farmers 95

CONSOLIDATION OF HOLDINGS 95

Awakening among the People 29, 45, 67, 127

Co-operation

Role of Co-operatives 16-17, 56, 69, 71, 81, 96, 99

Growth of Co-operatives 97-98

Right size of Co-operatives 56-57, 72-73

Co-operative farming 69

Targets of savings 100

Extension Movement

Pattern of rural society envisaged in the Constitution 104, 108

Evolution of the movement in India 9-10, 12-15, 58-59

Self help and co-operation: basis of the movement 16, 28, 80

N.E.S. and Community Projects: identity of aims 10, 43

Stages of the movement 52, 152-154

The programme 20-21, 54-57, 152-154

Building up permanent assets 18, 101

Integration of rural and urban life 94-95

Financing of the programme 63-64, 149-150, 152-154

Integrated approach to rural development 43-46, 138

Training of Extension personnel 22-23, 51, 102

Danger of multiplying departmental staff 75

Role of non-official leadership 21-22, 57, 74

People's participation 53-54, 81-82

Test of success: plan of improvement for every family 23, 38-40

Programme Evaluation 37, 48, 65, 148

Family Planning 33-34

Increase in National Income 84-85

Land Reforms 32, 125-126, 151

Panchayats and Village Self-Government

Place of the Village in India's Policy 67-68, 76, 80

Need to Widen Rural Horizons 73-74

Remedy for Village Factions 79

Size of Villages 50, 78

Growth of Panchayats 77

Panchayat, Co-operative, and School in village life 69-70, 108-109, 115-116, 145

Functions of Village Organisations 77, 123-125

Role in democratic planning 76, 82

Preserving Democratic Way of Life 85-86, 102

Reduction of Inequalities 64

BOOKS ON PLANNING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The Second Five Year Plan of the Indian Union 1956-1961 : A Pictorial Presentation

Size 12"×10". *Pp. vi*+58. *With over* 50 *photographs, graphs and cartographs. Deluxe edition (bound in the form of an album and printed on superior card)* : *Rs.* 20. *Popular edition* : *Rs.* 2.

A People's Programme
(Community Development in Cartoons)

Size 11½"×8½" *oblong. October* 1957. *Rs.* 2.

This book tells the story of our Community Development projects through about 150 cartoons drawn by the famous cartoonist T. Samuel.

We Plan For Prosperity

Crown 8vo. Pp. 102. *Illustrated with wood-cuts.* 50 *nP.*

This small book, specially meant to convey the essence of the country's plans to students and youngsters, has been written in very simple language and is illustrated.

The Second Five Year Plan—Questions and Answers

Size 6½"×4½". *Pp.* 92. *December* 1957. 40 *nP.*

This small pamphlet has been brought out to facilitate the study of the Second Five Year Plan through the help of questions and answers. Divided into 15 chapters, it covers all aspects of the Second Plan.

Our Second Five Year Plan
(Popular Summary of the Second Five Year Plan)

Demy 8vo. Pp. 72. 35 *nP.*

This is a summary of the Second Five Year Plan written in easy and simple language for the lay reader.

Available from leading booksellers or direct by post from :—

THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
Post Box No. 2011, Old Secretariat, Delhi-8

A Set of PERIODICALS Projecting

INDIA'S PROGRESS

AND

DEVELOPMENT

INDIAN INFORMATION

A fortnightly journal containing news of major national events, digest of proceedings in Parliament, statements of Government's policies, and information on the country's planning and development activities. A repository of valuable data.

Per copy 30 nP Annual Rs. 6.00

★

KASHMIR

A monthly that unfolds the life, charms and the problems of Kashmir. Illustrated with paintings, photographs and sketches.

Per copy 50 nP Annual Rs. 5.00

★

KURUKSHETRA

A monthly that tells the story of the Community Development Programmes in the country. Illustrated with photographs and sketches.

Per copy 35 nP Annual Rs. 4.00

★

BHAGIRATH

A popular, illustrated monthly, describing the mighty adventure of harnessing India's rivers for irrigation and power.

Per copy 25 nP Annual Rs. 3.00

★

METRIC MEASURES

A bi-monthly dealing with the different aspects of the Indian weights and measures reform and the science of metrology, of interest alike to laymen and specialists.

Per copy 40 nP Annual Rs. 2.00

THE MARCH OF INDIA

(Monthly)

"A fascinating record of India in its onward progress."

The Sunday News of India.

"Every item in the contents of the Journal is interesting."

The Hindu.

Per copy Re. 1.00 Annual Rs. 10.00

★

SOCIAL WELFARE

Official monthly organ of the Central Social Welfare Board. It discusses the various aspects of the social welfare problems in the country through articles written by eminent men in the field. Illustrated.

Per copy 35 nP Annual Rs. 4.00

★

YOJANA

An intelligent man's guide to India's Five Year Plans with a critical appraisal of the progress being made in all spheres in all parts of the country. Issued every fortnight.

Per copy 10 nP Annual Rs. 2.50

★

GRAM SEVAK

A lively monthly which covers the various activities of the Gram Sevaks and other Community Development workers.

Per copy 15 nP Annual Rs. 1.25

Powerful media for advertising

Available from leading booksellers and news agents or direct from :

THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION

P.B. 2011, OLD SECRETARIAT, DELHI-8.

VALUABLE ADDITIONS TO YOUR LIBRARY

MODERATELY PRICED & ATTRACTIVELY PRODUCED BOOKS

	Price *Rs. nP*	*Postage* *Rs. nP*
Mahatma Gandhi—An Album With over 500 pnotographs.	35.00	..
The Way of the Buddha—An Album With over 400 photographs.	30.00	..
Kangra Valley Painting With 40 colour plates.	18.00	1.10
Kashmir—An Album With over 100 photographs.	10.00	0.90
Speeches of President Rajendra Prasad 1st series (1950-1952)	4.50	0.85
2nd series (1952-1956)	4.50	0.85
Occasional Speeches & Writings by S. Radhakrishnan First & Second series		
Popular edition	3.75 each	0.75 each
Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches (1949-53)	5.50	1.20
(1953-57) Popular	6.50	1.20
Deluxe	9.50	1.95
Kashmir—V. K. Krishna Menon's Speeches in the Security Council, January-February 1957	2.50	1.20
Russian-Hindi Dictionary Equivalents of 40,000 Russian words in Hindi.	35.00	..
Facts About India	2.00	0.55
Eighteen Fifty-seven by Dr. S. N. Sen (Reprint)	5.50	1.00
1857—A Pictorial Presentation	4.00	0.50
Women of India With more than 100 photographs.		
Popular edition	6.50	0.75

(Registration charges extra)

Books worth Rs. 25.00 or above are sent post free.

THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION,
POST BOX NO. 2011, OLD SECRETARIAT, DELHI-8.

THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
Ministry of Information and Broadcasting
Government of India

3