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demonstrations and communication with the cultivators through group meetings, and intensive and meaningful individual contact.

So far the demonstrations have emphasized mainly the use of fertilizers and improved seeds. Now that the use of fertilizers has become more common at least in some areas, it is essential to demonstrate the use of certain techniques, specially water management. The extension aspect of the programme needs to be strengthened by building up a nucleus of well-trained field advisers to deal with the more sophisticated technical and managerial questions likely to arise in the near future with increasing frequency.

CONCLUSION

Whereas the principle of using scarce inputs in responsive areas is sound its translation into actual practice is hardly likely to be attained quickly. In so far as this is true, the lessons of the package programme should be applied in fixing realistic targets. The optimum performance level must be discounted by the extent to which supplies, distribution and adoption conditions are likely to be sub-optimum. The package programme, while it has much to commend it, is acknowledged to be an experimental type of programme and the lessons which have emerged from it should not be disregarded.

Since the intensive areas are on the frontier of agricultural development, a special effort should be followed there to arouse and maintain the interest and confidence of cultivators. To a large extent the present package programme is a watered-down version of the original concept. There is a similar danger that the intensive agricultural areas and the new strategy areas will also be shadows lacking in substance. If this is what the policy-makers want, then the fact should be recognized. If something much better is expected, let the inputs and facilities be provided so that better performance can be achieved through strenuous effort to eliminate weaknesses and to bring the basic conditions of the programme up to scratch. Otherwise the scale of intensive agricultural development should be proportionately reduced.

INTENSIVE CULTIVATION PROGRAMMES IN UTTAR PRADESH — A RETROSPECT*

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RATIONALE

The purpose of this paper is to make a survey of the genesis and rationale of the Intensive Cultivation Programmes in Uttar Pradesh, initiated at the instance of the Agricultural Production Team, sponsored by the Ford Foundation. The Team was of the opinion that there were no inherent, soil, climate or other phy-

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sical reasons for the present low yields and these could be significantly improved through intensive efforts by combining all the technological improvements and by concentrating all the available manpower and other resources in selected areas having the optimum conditions for raising agricultural production.¹ Technological improvements, however, include use of improved seed, fertilizers, pesticides, improved implements and proper soil and water management. The Community Development Scheme was already in full swing but it was realized that it was defective because the resources were diffused over too many programmes over unmanageable areas and the village level workers, the pivot of the whole plan, had adopted an approach based on lecturing.² Prof. E. A. Johnson, an American expert, therefore, remarked in a report prepared for the National Council of Applied Economic Research, that "the (C.D.) programme is ineffective in serving the villages as it was organizationally top heavy and technically thin at the district and block levels and both organizationally and technically deficient at the village level."³

The areas for intensive cultivation programmes are selected on the basis of a careful study of their potentials with relatively favourable conditions for agricultural production. The programme is based on person-to-person approach, in which the village level workers are asked to prepare appropriate farm plans for individual farmers in respect of the crops which they have to grow. They also prepare the inventories according to their requirements of production. Besides, farm demonstrations are also planned to show the cumulative effects of the 'package of inter-related improved inputs and husbandry practices' on yields. Thus, the "intensive agricultural districts provide the necessary facilities for raising the technical level of agriculture and experience gained in work in these districts should stimulate development elsewhere."⁴

COVERAGE

The Intensive Agricultural District Programme (IADP), popularly known as the "Package Programme," was sanctioned in 1960-61 for one selected district in each of a group of seven States. In Uttar Pradesh, the actual programme was introduced in 1961-62 in 12 blocks, covering 196 villages of the Aligarh district. Later on, it was extended to cover an area of 3.63 lakh acres out of the total of 13.07 lakh acres of the cultivated land by 1964-65. In 1965-66, it was proposed to cover 7.41 lakh acres involving all the 1.50 lakh agricultural families of the said district.

In subsequent years, encouraged by the results achieved under the programme, the Central Government decided to launch an Intensive Cultivation Programme, a slightly diluted form of IADP, to increase the production of paddy, wheat, millets and pulses. Accordingly 25 blocks in Varanasi, Basti, Banda and Saha-

1. Intensive Agricultural District Programme, Report (1961-63), Expert Committee on Assessment and Evaluation, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Government of India, 1963, p. 1.

2. M. S. Randhawa: Intensive Cultivation Programme, Farm Information Unit, Directorate of Extension, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Government of India, 1965, pp. 3 and 5.

3. *Pioneer*, Lucknow, November 2, 1965.

4. The Third Plan Mid-term Appraisal, Planning Commission, Government of India, 1963, p. 79.

ranpur districts were taken for intensive cultivation of paddy from *kharif* of 1964-65, 25 blocks in Meerut, Bulandshahr, Gonda, Faizabad and Muzaffarnagar districts were selected for wheat cultivation from *rabi* season of 1964-65 and 92 blocks in the districts of Agra, Jhansi, Etah, Aligarh, Jalaun and Mathura were chosen for the intensive cultivation programme of millets and pulses.⁵ It was proposed that up to 1966-67 all the remaining blocks of the selected paddy and wheat cultivation areas would be covered. This was also to include 7 blocks each of the Gorakhpur and Rae Bareilly districts. In this way, about 20 per cent of the paddy cultivated area and about 16 per cent of the wheat cultivated area in the State was planned to be covered by the Intensive Cultivation Programme by the end of 1966-67. Although the above districts were selected from the point of view of predominance of a particular crop, yet emphasis has been laid on the crop economy as a whole.⁶

EXPERIENCE

For any development project, economic investigations are necessary at various stages of the project including planning, implementation and valuation to ensure that the project is economically sound and that it will be of the greatest advantage.⁷ The scheme of intensive agriculture is one of such projects having far-reaching socio-economic consequences. Very few studies have been undertaken so far in this regard and their observations and findings show wide divergence. According to M. S. Randhawa, Director General, Intensive Agricultural Areas, "the results achieved during the brief period.... have more than proved the soundness and validity of the Package concept."⁸ On the other hand, the studies conducted by the non-official agencies and individuals clearly indicate that "the programme is not operating at an intensive enough level even in the first seven districts."⁹ Another report by Wolf Ladejinsky, observes that "the more recent package programme (in Aligarh) have somehow failed to spark the enthusiasm and confidence which inspire agricultural communities to higher productivity and a better way of life."¹⁰

The reasons for the unsatisfactory performance of the programme were mainly related to institutional factors. Because it has been demonstrated that the areas with assured rainfall and extensive irrigation suffer more from problems arising from tenancy than relatively drier regions.¹¹ Therefore, without a comprehensive reconstruction of the agrarian relations, increase in the technical inputs for improvement in agricultural production would be fruitless and likely to benefit only the rich and the well-to-do peasants.¹² Accordingly, the National Develop-

5. M. S. Randhawa: *Op. cit.*, pp. 10-27.

6. District Plan Frame (1966-71), Vol. I, issued by Commissioner, Agricultural Production and Rural Development, Government of Uttar Pradesh, Lucknow, October, 1965, pp. 185-187.

7. The European Productivity Agency of the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation: Land Consolidation (Cheaper and More Specified Methods), 1958, p. 26.

8. M. S. Randhawa: *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

9. T. C. Verghese, "Indian Agriculture: Problems and Promises," *Yojana*, June 26, 1966, p. 25.

10. Wolf Ladejinsky: A Study on Tenurial Conditions in Package Districts, Planning Commission, Government of India, 1965, p. 41.

11. T. C. Verghese, *Ibid.*, p. 27.

12. Surendra J. Patel, "India We Want," Cyclostyled lectures delivered under the auspices of the Department of Economics, Lucknow University, August 6 to 10, 1965, p. 80.

ment Council felt that the earliest possible execution of the land reform programme was vital for increasing agricultural production.¹³

Though, a comprehensive land reform legislation has been enacted in Uttar Pradesh yet its implementation has not been carried out completely. In this context, tenancy reforms, ceilings on land holdings and consolidation of land holdings are the necessary measures because the programme of intensive development is farmer-oriented and so any programme concerning his land will benefit him.

Tenancy Reform

In July 1952, the Zamindari system was abolished and the cultivators became the owners of land. Thus, the cultivators came in direct relationship with the State. Sub-letting of land though prohibited is allowed in special circumstances. Therefore, Wolf Ladejinsky, Consultant to the Ford Foundation, has pointed out that "many a good piece of agrarian reform legislation has arrived stillborn in India, but in Uttar Pradesh it went hand-in-hand with enforcement and important attainments."¹⁴ For lack of adequate preventions and checks, the problem of sub-letting still continues and most of the transactions are oral and clandestine. Further, changes take place on year to year basis. There is, however, little on record. Similar is the case of partnership, which is quite in vogue. Such conditions are quite enough to create an adverse effect on the incentive of the actual tiller of the soil in undertaking fixed investments. These factors tend "to defeat not only the provision of tenancy laws but also the attempts at preparing production plans for them and extending them credit facilities as envisaged by the package programme."¹⁵

Ceilings on Land Holdings

An Act was enacted in 1960 and was enforced from July 1, 1961, for the imposition of maximum limit on the size of holdings. The land in excess of these ceiling was intended to be acquired and given to new claimants. Thus 58,136 acres of land was estimated to be in excess in the 12 Intensive Cultivation Districts (paddy and wheat) including Aligarh. (Appendix 1.) Five years have passed but only two-third of the excess land could be finally determined as surplus. The possession has been taken over less than half (48.29 per cent) of the total ceiling area. The percentage of the area settled comes to 31.73 of the total applicable area.

Consolidation of Land Holdings

Ladejinsky observes that "there is another factor which should work to the advantage of the programme, an advantage from which all the cultivators of

13. Fourth Five-Year Plan—Resources, Outlays and Programmes (22nd Meeting of the National Development Council, September 5 and 6, 1965), Planning Commission, Government of India, p. 29.

14. Wolf Ladejinsky: *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

Aligarh stand to benefit..., namely, the vigorous and successful programme of land consolidation in Aligarh."¹⁶ The scheme was started in March, 1955, under the U.P. Consolidation of Holdings Act, 1953, and by now almost all the consolidable cultivated land in the district has been consolidated. This is why, he further states, "the impact of this programme was quite apparent to us in villages where consolidation has been completed a couple of years ago."¹⁷ But on the other hand, not even 50 per cent of the cultivated land of the remaining districts under Intensive Cultivation Programme has been taken up for consolidation operations. In the Banda district the programme of consolidation has not yet been started. On the whole, the progress is very slow. (Appendix 2.)

SUGGESTIONS

Now, it is clear that the speedy implementation of the agrarian reform with adequate legislative provisions is an indispensable condition for stepping up production and the development of the productive forces, the concept behind the Intensive Cultivation Programme. Though, all the related legislations have been passed, but due to their incomplete and slow execution, the cultivators are uncertain about their size and location of plots. For instance, if a person has a large size of holding, he is not sure as to what would happen to his holding when the Imposition of Ceilings on Land Holdings Act is enforced. Further, nobody knows where one would get his new consolidated plots. This applies to all the cultivators—the owners as well as those who cultivate land taken from others on share-cropping basis. All this dissuades the people from making fixed investments and from applying new and expensive inputs.

On the basis of the foregoing analysis, it can be said that if the Government is really interested in raising the food production and in improving the economic conditions of the cultivator, then land reforms must be carried out. Firstly, ceilings on large land holdings should be imposed and the area found in excess should be used for enlarging the small size of holdings rather than giving it to the landless. If this suggestion is followed, as remarked by Dr. Punjabrao Deshmukh, it will give some good results, as it will help those who are having uneconomic holdings.¹⁸ Simultaneously, steps should be taken for the preparation of correct land records on the basis of which consolidation operations could be undertaken. Besides, adequate provisions should be made for the prevention of future fragmentation of holdings. Restrictions should be imposed on the purchase of land by the landless persons. Instead, small landholders may be helped in the acquisition or purchase of new lands. Finally, institutional reforms and technological change are intimately inter-related. But, one should bear in mind that these land reforms are not touched or influenced by political motives and must not be carried out to keep the peasantry under the influence of the Congress, as was once advocated by a veteran Congressman.¹⁹

16. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

18. *Problems of Food Production in an Under-developed Economy*, Indian Bureau of Parliamentary Studies, 1960, p. 57.

19. Grigory Kotovsky: *Agrarian Reforms in India*, 1964, p. 104.

APPENDIX 1

CEILINGS ON LAND HOLDINGS IN INTENSIVE CULTIVATION DISTRICTS (UPTO JUNE 30, 1966)

(area in acres)

Districts	Applicable ceiling area fixed	Total area finally determined as surplus	Possession of surplus land taken over	Area settled out of col. 4.
1	2	3	4	5
Aligarh	1,497	941	518	302
Varanasi	2,794	2,181	41	41
Basti	6,065	5,102	3,114	2,262
Banda	10,228	7,978	7,583	5,660
Saharanpur	1,844	1,844	856	778
Gorakhpur	7,292	3,275	1,843	1,079
Meerut	3,136	2,769	2,687	2,394
Bulandshahr	1,018	236	221	180
Gonda	12,121	4,902	3,017	3,017
Faizabad	5,343	4,553	4,553	1,117
Muzaffarnagar	4,483	2,818	2,388	860
Rai Bareli	2,315	1,907	1,253	756
Total	58,136	38,506	28,074	18,446

Source : Board of Revenue, U. P., Lucknow.

APPENDIX 2

CONSOLIDATION OF LAND HOLDINGS IN INTENSIVE CULTIVATION DISTRICTS (UPTO MARCH, 1966)

(area in acres)

Districts	Year of inception	Cultivated area	Cultivated area under consolidation	Area consolidated
1	2	3	4	5
Aligarh	March, 1955	9,59,730	8,67,368	8,65,657
Varanasi	April, 1964	8,35,014	1,63,980	571
Basti	March, 1955	14,09,160	6,77,875	3,011
Banda	—	11,38,647	—	—
Saharanpur	March, 1955	9,06,577	6,90,626	5,38,739
Gorakhpur	October, 1956	11,80,924	3,54,201	1,188
Meerut	March, 1955	11,48,496	6,30,419	5,25,398
Bulandshahr	March, 1955	9,30,765	8,49,705	6,67,856
Gonda	January, 1960	12,95,869	3,53,872	740
Faizabad	March, 1955	7,46,204	3,16,347	955
Muzaffarnagar	April, 1954	8,00,225	6,87,667	6,87,667
Rai Bareli	December, 1959	6,88,168	4,42,557	652
Total		1,20,39,779	60,34,617	32,92,434

Source : Directorate of Consolidation, U. P., Lucknow.