FIFTH CHAPTER

Peasant Movements

and

Agricultural Policy of Congress and

Its Impact on Capitalists

and

Industrialization
FIRST CONGRESS MINISTRY AND AGRARIAN POLICY IN UTTAR PRADESH

It has been proud privilege of the congress to rule Uttar Pradesh for two times—between 1936-47. First Congress Ministry was formed in 1937 to September 1939 and the second ministry was formed from April 1946 to till independence. During these periods Congress Ministry passed many bills regarding the rents and loans of peasants which were signed by the Governor after the resignation of the ministry.

Congress had to work in favour of peasants because they were bound to work accordance to the manifesto of peasants programme passed in 1937 before elections and to consider the peasant’s problems two committees were formed. In this connection first committee had to enquire into the land rights and revenue; and was asked to advice on required amendments; while second committee was formed to look into the matters of rural indebtedness. And District Magistrates were asked not to take enhanced revenue; to stop the hearings of the peasant controversies regarding taxes.

In this connection revenue minister Rafi Ahmed Kidwai passed a bill in assembly in September to hamper some actions against peasants which were referred in Agra tenancy act and Awadh Rent Act; because Congress Party had assured the Peasants that after coming into the power it would provide the right of ownership to the peasants and would stop the *nazarana* and *begar*. After coming into the power Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant clearly stated that government is well aware of the peasants problems and wanted to make a law for rural indebtedness. The bill passed by Kidwai was opposed
by zamindar representatives. After a long discussion the bill was passed and the degrees of Diwani against Kisans were cancelled.\textsuperscript{63}

In October peasant’s relief bill was also passed to council for its consideration; while peasants were expecting new and decreased rent rates after new tenancy act; so they stopped paying rents. But the government declared that peasants would have to pay rents until the new rent rates were declared. So, the exemptions were provided to them who had payed their earlier due rents. (On 1 March, 1938) After the second session of assembly; congress party published its proposal regarding Uttar Pradesh tenancy bill. This bill was sent to assembly from where it was sent to select committee.

Although the pressure, to send the bill to select committee was laid by the zamindars; because the proposal did not seem to be revolutionary or not in favour of radical changes. The zamindar representatives had an intention to linger on the bill on the tables of select committee. So, that they could get appropriate time to negotiate with the top congress leaders meanwhile; to whom zamindars did not regard on anti zamindars.

The landlord were of course very critical of these proposals and had shown sign of getting together to oppose them. There was even some talk of congress land lord MLAs throwing in their influence to secure modification. They maintained and probably with justice that the 55 percent rate of land revenue was excessive, and a strong effort would be made to get it reduced. While some of them were exploring the idea of keeping the land revenue at its present percentage of 40 and agreeing to an agricultural income tax in addition. They seemed to think that the total effect would be less severe.
Some of the land lords had a feeling that if the rate of percentage of land revenue is now put up as proposed by the government, even on the understanding that an agricultural income tax will not be imposed it is possible that another government in a few years time might impose an agricultural income tax on top of this and taxation on such a scale would completely ruin them.

On the other hand, the Kisan leaders were dissatisfied with the government proposals as not going for enough and they were planning for another big Kisan demonstration in front of council house. In all the parts of Uttar Pradesh Congress party was opposed in Kisan Sabhas. In Kisan Sabhas Congress ministry was asked to reconsider the proposals which Kisans had found liberal and in favour of zamindars. 04

NEHRU ON AGRARIAN REFORMS AND PROPOSALS IN U.P.

On 17th April, 1938, J.L. Nehru addressed on the Kisan Day celebrations at Allahabad and stated that Congress party has stood for the betterment of the Kisans a lot. He stated that congress party helped the peasants in no-tax campaigns in the past, when Kisans were suffering greatly owing to the slump in agricultural prices.

He further stated that congress party had passed resolutions about the Kisan’s grievances and demanded relief. He emphasized on the most important question, the question of Swaraj which could led to final relief. Nehru convinced the people that government issued stay orders for the
arrears of rent suits and debt suits and a committee of the assembly to consider the question of agrarian reform was also formed. He further added that government framed its own proposals and very soon those proposals would be incorporated in a bill. It is to consider these proposals that we have met here. I am sure that the Kisans will approve of them for they are based on their own demands.⁰⁵

J.L. Nehru warned the people that Kisans should be well organized and should strengthen the congress party and organization in every village. He urged the Kisans to follow the proceedings of the agrarian bill and give opinions.⁰⁶ The land lords of Agra held a conference at Agra on 3rd July 1938 reiterating their grouse that grave injustice was inflicted on the zamindars of the province.⁰⁷ Another conference of zamindars of Agra was held at Allahabad on 10th July, 1938, which also condemned the socialistic approach of the congress and blamed on alien rule for the exploitation and miseries of the tenants.

While the land lord community maintained its sullen attitude becoming more and more emphatic in their protests against the action taken by the ministry in suspending further proceedings in suits for arrears for rent, the ministry calmly introduced the tenancy bill. In September, 1939 council passed the United Provinces Tenancy Act; which was opposed by one member.⁰⁸ This act has provided relief to some extent. This tenancy act had recognized following classes of tenants.

1. Permanent Tenure – Holders

2. Fixed – Rate Tenants
3. Tenants holding on special terms in Oudh.

4. Exproprietary Tenants

5. Occupancy Tenants

6. Mereditary Tenants

7. Non-Occupancy Tenants

Every tenant in Oudh holding land under a special agreement or a judicial decision made or passed before the passing of the Oudh Rent Act (1886) is called a tenant holding on special terms. Such tenants have all the rights and are subject to all the liabilities conferred and imposed on occupancy tenants in Oudh under the United Provinces Tenancy Act (1939).

These tenants were peculiar in Oudh and on their name indicate, their rights and liabilities were not uniform. It may be pointed out that under section 101 the appropriate rent rate for this class of tenants was that applicable to exproprietary tenants, that was two annas less in the rupee than that of an occupancy tenant in Oudh. Hereditary tenants form the new class of tenants created by the Act. They form the most important class and occupy the largest percentage of area in the province. In Agra the statutory tenants, who cultivated merely 25 percents of the total cultivated area in the province under the Act of 1926, have acquired hereditary rights. Some non occupancy tenants have also acquired this right. Similarly in Oudh the statutory tenants and the heirs of statutory tenants, who cultivated nearly 70 percent of the total cultivated area in the province under the Act of 1921,
have become hereditary tenants. Briefly, the hereditary tenants include the following classes of tenants.

1. Statutory tenants, including Pohi-Kasht tenants, who were liable to ejectement under Section 62-A (Clause-E), of Oudh Rent Act, (1921).

2. The heirs of statutory tenants.

3. Tenants in Oudh who could not acquire the rights of statutory tenancy under the provision of section 67(b) of the Oudh Rent Act (1921).

4. Tenants in Oudh holdings land specified in schedule D to the Oudh Rent Act (1886) under such land is exempted in Section 30.

5. Tenants in Agra who held land from permanent tenure holders before the passing of the Agra Tenancy Act (1926) and were tenants at the time of the passing of the Act (1939).

6. Tenants of tea estates, which had been notified under Act II of 1926, but which had not been notified under section 30, (Sub Section-5) of the Act (1939)

As a result of the creation of this new class of tenants, the statutory tenants and heirs of statutory tenants in Agra and Oudh have become hereditary tenants. Now the peasant’s holdings were heritable and their tenancy rights could not be terminated with the death of the tenant.

They could not be ejected by the land lords. Their rents can only be increased under the provisions of section 110, which provides rules for the framing of standard rates for hereditary tenants. Rent could be paid; both in
cash or in grain form. And if land was not used for agricultural purpose it could be resold.¹⁰

**SIR LANDS**

The Agra Tenancy Act and the Oudh Rent Act provided for a considerable increase in the *sir* area of zamindar or the talukdar. In Agra a graduated scale was introduced according to which a land lord could acquire *sir* up to a certain percentage of his proprietary interest in the mahal. Further the former acts imposed no restrictions on the sub-letting of *sir*. But the new act of 1939 cancelled this system an attempt had been made in the present act to remove the defects. The Act (1939) had made the following important changes in the rules regarding *sir* lands.

1. *Sir* acquired by larger land lords under the Agra Tenancy Act (1926) had ceased to be *sir*.

   This was a very important provision. It had rectified the fundamental defects of the *sir* Provisions of the Previous Acts under which the land lords acquired a larger area, not for the purpose of self cultivation but for sub-letting.¹¹

2. *Sir* of the smaller land lords acquired before or after the Agra Tenancy Act (1926) or the OUDH Rent Act, (1921) shall continue to be *sir* under this act. The object of this differentiation was that the smaller land lords used *sir* for purposes of genuine cultivation and not for sub-letting.
3. *Sir* of the larger land lords acquired before the Agra Tenancy Act (1926) and the Oudh Rent Act (1921) which was not sub-let, whatever its area continued to be *sir* under the Present Act of 1939.

4. There should be no further accrual of *sir* either in the case of larger a smaller land lords.

5. Tenants, who were cultivating the *sir* lands of the previous acts, could acquire the rights of hereditary tenants in such lands.

     As a result the sub-letting of *sir* had been put to an end.

     The tenant of *sir* was often rack-rented and had always a precarious existence. The conferment of the hereditary rights over such lands had increased security of tenure and stabilized rents. The further accrual of *sir* had been stopped which could results on increase in the area cultivated by hereditary tenants; and the distinction between the smaller and the larger land lords had strengthened the smaller farmers who were the genuine agriculturists in a large number of cases.

     Besides the restrictions imposed on the sub-letting and future accrual of *sir* rights led the land lords to take the agriculture. This would improve the economic position and then land lords could take agriculture as a profession. By the Acts of 1921, and 1926 land lords could acquire tenants land for many purposes, including setting up large farms, subject to orders of a court.
This provision was being used to deny the hereditary rights or to oppress tenants. By the new Act of 1939 the acquisition of landed property was limited to not more than five acres for a house, a garden or grove and at the same time, the scale of compensation was increased. The tenants were given the right to construct on his holdings a residential house or any other building serving an agricultural purpose without the permission of the land lord. He was also given and unrestricted right to plant trees on his holding.

The rents of hereditary tenants were to be determined periodically by special officers and the tenant was entitled to pay at the same rate for ten years. In the fixation of rents, the government imposed that the rent should not exceed one fifth of the value of the produce and the cost of production was to be taken into consideration. Both land lords and tenants in Oudh were given the right to claim that rents paid in kind should be commuted in cash. Thus the system prevalent in Agra was now extended to the whole of the United Provinces.

This new Act had also provided certain privileges to the tenants which they did not enjoy before the congress regime. A tenant was no longer to be liable to arrest or imprisonment for failure to pay his rent. So, the provisions of this act regarding the determination, modification, remission and suspension of rents and revenue were of far reaching character.

The standard rates put an end to the problems of rack-renting and excessive enhancement at frequent intervals. The provision of not taking rent beyond one-fifth of the value of the produce led to the emergence of correlation between rents with cost of production.
Among other miscellaneous provisions the court was also empowered to lease the holdings for a maximum period of six years to any person who pays the amount outstanding in the decree. Hereditary tenants were given right to make any improvement other than the construction of buildings in the immediate vicinity of their holdings or the construction of tanks. On the other hand congress ministry resigned when the discussion on rural indebtedness were proceeding in assembly, but later the gover Sir Hary Haig gave his consent and approved the bill in December.

Besides people were expecting remissions on rent arrears. And finally the governor signed the bill regarding remission on arrears of rent in the last week of January, 1940.

**Debt Legislation**

The fall in prices, increasing pressure of revenue had also increased real burden of rural indebtedness. The agriculturists could not repay their debts and led to forced sales of lands. To check this unhealthy situation a mass of legislation had been witnessed between the years 1930 to 1940. The congress ministries, during the short stay of their office (1937-39) tried enough to solve the problem of rural indebtedness.

It is very difficult to describe in any detail the enormous legislative activity. Broadly speaking, the entire mass of debt relief legislation may be grouped into two heads according to the nature of the objective which the legislation had in view they were (1) short term legislation; and (2) long term legislation. But the long term measures were the various money lenders
Acts for regulating the business of money lending and providing safeguards for the protection of the person and property of the debtors against undue exploitation by the creditors.

And that was United Provinces Money Lenders Bill, which was introduced in the year 1939, with the following objects – (i) regulation of accounts, regulation of interest, registration of money lenders.

This bill had provided relief to the peasants to some extent. This bill was more effective and beneficial in comparison of other states even the underground leaders of communist party also appreciated the nature of bill found it more pro-peasants as compared to other bills of the different states.\textsuperscript{14} On the other hand zamindars approached the Prayag Court against that bill; but on 11 March, 1940 the full bench of high court discarded their appeal.

In this way first phase of congress ministry came to an end in which the congress ministry passed tenancy bill initiated talks to grant free ship on due payments; but the ministry had to resign mean while. At the same time zamindars pressurized the top leaders of congress party and despite of peasants majority and thousand of congress party workers the law passed in council were very liberal in nature. The right of exactions was still in the hands of zamindars.

Zamindars could still make auction of the lands; where arrears were due even to genuine inability of the tenants. Even the congress party itself had to oppose their own bills after its resignation from the government. So,
we can conclude that during its first ministry congress party could hardly fulfill the aspiration of the peasants according to its proposed manifesto.

And the reasons was that; the congress party was not free to make laws and take decisions individually because every bill had to depend on the consent of the governor.\textsuperscript{15} Secondly; the congress party was a multi class party and the zamindars were dominating in a dominating position in it.

And then came the year 1942; when Gandhi ji gave his last message “\textit{Do or Die}” with which Quit India Movement was started. Gandhi ji was arrested on 9\textsuperscript{th}, August, 1942. This movement was a great signal for all our country men to break open the gates of the vast prison and declare ourselves free and take all consequences.

On 13\textsuperscript{th} of September, 1942, All India Congress Committee instructed the peasants that this movement is the last fight for freedom in which the rural folk had to play important role. And the congress committee gave the following instructions to the peasants.\textsuperscript{16} (which are mentioned in short only)

1. When the time comes, do not pay revenue to the Government. If you are living in a zamindari area, pay the zamindar his share only, if he refuses all co-operations with government and owes allegiance to the people.

2. Declare yourselves free men and your village a free village.

3. Disobey the orders of all officials, disown the British.
4. Establish a panchayat in your village, etc.

In this way the congress party wanted to make freedom struggle a mass movement with the help of 7,00,000 villages and wanted to organize a peasantry on a wider scale to deepen the struggle.

**The Second Congress Ministry**

The Second Congress Ministry was formed on 2nd April, 1946. And the party had assured the peasants to abolish zamindari system. Before elections; on 9th February, 1946, J.L. Nehru in an election campaign Gonda stated that congress party had taken firm decision to make on end of the exploitation done by zamindars on peasants.\(^{17}\) He further stated that taluqdar whether Hindu or Muslim are the strong enemies of peasants and if the question of hunger not solved soon, the struggle would definitely take place.

On 19th February, 1946 in an another election campaign at Barrhaj he declared the zamindari system; dangerous for the public; he further stated that not only article 171 of Tenancy Bill but its root cause; the zamindari system must be abolished.\(^{18}\) After coming into the power congress government decided to rectify the articles to tenancy law, in this connection parliament secretary Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain was asked to assist Rafi Ahmad Kidwai. It was decided that the articles 171 and 195 which vested the powers of exactions would not be continued further.\(^{19}\) And trials of last five years peasants would be stopped. Local committees were formed for the collection and distribution of grain and panchayats and co-operative
societies were asked to assist the local committees, besides volunteers were appointed to check the accounts.²⁰

On 13th, April, 1946, Prime Minister Pant stated in Radio that the peasant who produce less than 25 man would not come under compulsory grain collection programme and peasants would get clothes and Kerosine Oil, if they do not need cash.²¹

To provide relief to the sugarcane produces new government decided to withdraw the control of government from the sugarcane based productions; and government also decided to extend the agricultural land so as to increase the production of the state. District level committees were formed to collect grain which comprised the members of District Boards, Central Assembly, and Chairman of Education Committees.

About the prices of the grain Prime Minister declared the price policy of the grain collection programme; in a letter he wrote to the members of the assembly that agents of food department would visit villages and towns and peasants would also get value of their transportation expenditure.²² At the same time congress workers were demanding abolishment of zamindari system. The grain collection programme flourishing and there was a good response from the people.

The government wanted to check food grain problem in United Province; but some zamindars were plotting against the idea of abolishing zamindari system and were instigating with some congress people. Some zamindars were still indulge in wrong practices and were sending the grain in black markets after taking forcibly from the peasants; in this connection
zamindar of Bahraieech was arrested by the authorities, which was appreciated by the common people.\textsuperscript{23}

In July, 1946, the congress ministry passed an order in which \textit{nazarana} (gift from inferior to a superior) was declared illegal.\textsuperscript{24} The congress workers, different political organization and members of the Kisan Sabha were forcing the government to take necessary step to abolish the zamindari system.

On the other hand zamindars met in a conference at Lucknow where 500 hundred zamindars discussed on the decision of the Congress Ministry (of abolishing zamindari system). This meeting was presided over by Nawab Muhammad Yusuf and the meeting warned the government not to implement the idea of abolishing zamindari system; otherwise they concluded there could be the situation of civil war and class struggle.\textsuperscript{25} In this meeting a committee was formed to proceed the discussions with congress leaders and Mahatma Gandhi.

The economic minister introduced the bill on behalf of ministry. Prime Minister while repling on the discussion stated that the zamindari system must be abolished without which the prosperity of the 80% people can not be brought back.\textsuperscript{26} Some of the zamindars and authorities were forcing the tenants to sell their products in half rates and authorities were demanding bribes from the tenants. These incidents took place in Banda and Allahabad districts.

On 25\textsuperscript{th} September, 1946, Congress Committee in Delhi asked the Uttar Pradesh government to send its programme report pertaining to
abolishing zamindari system and assured that working committee would discuss on it. Consequently an eleven member committee was formed under president ship of Prime Minister Mr. Pant. So with few amendments in tenancy bill government emphasized mainly on abolishing zamindari from united provinces. The committee formed to eradicate zamindari system held its meetings many times. On 15th April, 1947, the committee discussed the pros and cons of the zamindari system for nine hours in which many people recommended to abolish it in near future.

The proceeding on eradicating zamindari system was in final phase meanwhile on 15th August, 1947, India became independent and the ministry was now free to take independent decisions on peasant’s welfare. So, the land relations structure in India - a complex of legal, economic and social relations acts like a built-in depressor, kept Indian Agriculture in a semi-stagnant condition and accounts for the country’s economic back ward ness. Therefore in the re-organization and development of the Indian economy, land reforms had a place of special significance. They provided the socio-economic base and institutional frame work for bringing about a planned agricultural revolution. The national government after independence pursued a policy of planning.

The national planning committee under the chairmanship of Shri J.L. Nehru could not submit its report before 1948 owing to the outbreak of Second World War and abnormal political developments. Again in March, 1950, Indian Planning Commission was appointed with Shri J.L. Nehru as its chairman. In July, 1951 the commission presented the draft outline of the first five year plan. A mixed economy based on welfare ideas, was
envisaged by the planning commission. It was decided that in such a mixed economy. Public and private sectors should function side by side as integral parts of a single organism.

The national government after independence pursued a policy of gradual decontrol which was supplemented by a reoriented grow-more-food campaign and the food self sufficiency drive. After independence national government declared food decontrol policy, and grow more food campaign was integrated with the community development-cum-agricultural programme.29

**TENANCY LEGISLATIONS UNDER FIVE YEAR PLANS**

The primary aim of tenancy legislations recommended in the five year plans was (i) to regulate rents; (ii) to provide greater security of tenure to the tenants and; (iii) where the land owners have a large amount of land under their personal cultivation, to permit the tenant to purchase the land taken under lease. The level of rent suggested under the first five year plan was one third or one fourth of the gross produce according to whether the land was under irrigation or not.

At the same time the new constitution of India declared serfdom in any form a penal offence our national government was determined to eliminate serfdom in any type of occupation. The government was taking effective steps for the upliftment backward classes, reclamation of cultivate wastes, extension of irrigation facilities, imposition of ceilings on land holdings plus reorganization of land tenure systems, establishment of agro type cottage industries and simple rural construction work for substantially
improving the condition of the agricultural worker also. According to the first agricultural labour enquiry (1950-51) conducted by the ministry of labour and employment in collaboration with the central statistical organization there were 17.9 million agricultural labour households.

In this connection the Agrarian Reforms Committee of 1950 observed “to leave out the problem of agricultural labour in any scheme of agrarian reforms”. Since independence attempts have been made by official and unofficial agencies and persons for improving the lot of the agricultural labours by means of suitable measures. Keeping in mind agricultural labours minimum wages act of 1948 and agricultural labour was fixed. In determining the land reforms policy of the first plan special emphasis was placed on the abolition of intermediaries enactment of radical tenancy reforms and resumption of personal cultivation based on peasant proprietorship.

Concept of land to the tiller was kept in mind and the serious evils of the zamindari system led to legislations for its abolition after independence in the worst affected states like Uttar Pradesh. As a result of these legislations, the proprietary rights of the zamindars were acquired by the state on payment of compensation and the statutory tenant or the tenant in chief was brought into direct relationship with the state. The intermediary rights were abolished and compensation was paid to zamindars and the amount of compensation in most cases was multiple of net income from intermediary right.
The compensation was paid partly in cash and partly in bonds. The zamindars were allowed to relation land for personal cultivation but in most cases, a ceiling on land holding was introduced. After the abolition of zamindari system, the tenant was responsible for paying rent directly to the government; hence there was a faith among tenants that the rent paid by them was no longer pocketed by the intermediaries. If we compare to the conditions prevailing at the time of commencement of the first plan, the economic situation in India by the middle of 1956 much more encouraging. The appreciable increase in agricultural output, which was recorded in 1953-54 made it possible to free the Indian economy from the complex and wearying system of controls.

Agricultural production recorded an increase of 18% during 1951-56 food production rose from 50 million tons before the plan to about 65 million tons in the last year of the plan. From irrigation schemes, started in the first plan irrigated 8.5 million acres land by 1955-56. These irrigation schemes benefited the industrialists like cement and iron industries which were providing raw material to the irrigation schemes. Cement production rose from 2.7 million tons in 1950-51 to 4.6 million tons in 1955-56.

Agricultural progress in India led to the enhancement in the production of Agro-based industries, for instance mill cloth production exceeded the planned target by about 400 million yards which led to the good profit to the mill industrialists. The larger availability of raw materials in agriculture sector made the industrialist ready for fresh investments and for the general increase in Industrial output. Next to agriculture, priority was
accorded to transport and power about 51.2% of the total out lay was meant for transport, irrigation, communication power.

Besides 22% of the total outlay of the first plan was earmarked for social-cum-welfare services. So, the capital was invested in education health, housing by the capitalists for the implementation of social welfare schemes. Communication and transport also presented a refreshing picture for the industrialists because new railway lines, national highways programmes, building of 30 major bridges, improvement of existing roads helped the capitalists and industrialist to invest capital in new areas and their cost of transportation was decreased.

Coal industry, Iron and Steel industry were now satisfied for initiating investments in new areas; setting up new factories. So, the agricultural schemes paved way to the industrial development as well, because transport and communication received a good deal of attention after independence which helped a lot to the industries for linking the key production centers with the remote village and towns. With growing population and limited cultivable area it was necessary to raise substantially the productivity of Indian Agriculture. For achieving this, it was necessary to introduce general technical changes, change in the technique of agricultural production was required with the general development of other sectors of the economy so, as to provide employment opportunities not only for the large number agricultural labour but also for those who might be displaced by mechanization of farming operations.
In the agricultural sector, 85% of the agricultural labours were employed as casual workers. These casual workers shifted towards the non-agricultural sector of the economy; and agricultural labours were absorbed into different industries in cheap wages. So, the entire industrial areas received cheap labour with many working hours.

On the other hand mechanization of agriculture initiated by the five year plans were expected to bring about the following changes in agricultura methods in India – (i) greater use of chemical fertilizers and better quality manures; (ii) considerable extension of irrigation facilities; (iii) better variety of seeds; (iv) marked increase of experts in rural area; (5) provision of light tractors and other simple but useful mechanical equipments.

Above all the small size of the Indian holdings introduced new process of co-operative farmings which could prepare the ground for the use of mechanized implements in Indian Agriculture. As a result a moderate dose of mechanization in agriculture accelerated the growth of manure and fertilizers industries at the same time. Co-operative farming provided ample opportunities to Iron and Steel industries since light tractors and other machines were started in cultivation process. High yield variety seeds were also introduced in which research work and technical labs were required; which ultimately led to the investments by the capitalists because it could yield good profit from the agricultural sector.

As we know that a large number of people of our country in agricultural sector remained idle for many months in the year. Therefore our problem was to discover such industries as would provide employment
opportunities both for the agricultural labour and marginal farmers and as could be managed with small capital. The congress government in U.P. realized that large scale industries alone were not capable of absorbing all the existing under employed persons of agriculture sector. Therefore the congress party government aimed at developing small scale and cottage industries side by side.

So, the government emphasized on the development of match box, sugar, pottery, khadi, brick industry at the level of village. After independence a separate secretraite for cottage and small scale industries was established along with the new industrial policy of 1948. The first five year plan earmarked Rs. 49 crores for the development of village and small industries.

The second five year plan’s basic strategy assigned a district role of village and small industries for whose development about 175 crores were spent during the plan period. Two important steps taken for the development and expansion of village and small industries during the first plan period were (i) the setting apart by the central government of substantial finance for the development of village and small industries and; (ii) building up a network of All India Boards to deal with the problems of the handloom industry, Khadi and village industries, handicrafts, small scale industries, sericulture and the coir industry.

Towards the end of first plan period four regional small industry service institutes, with a number of branch units, were set up for the purpose of providing technical services, advice and assistance to small business. The
national small industries corporation for marketing the products of small scale industries was also set up during the first plan. So, it true that establishment of cotton textile industry, iron and steel industry, sugar industry, cement industry, paper and match industry and the remarkable growth of the cottage and small scale industries brought immense profit to the few Indian entrepreneurs.

Village and small industries in their different aspects were an integral and continuing element both in the economic structure and in the scheme of national planning. The primary object of developing small industries in rural areas was to extend work opportunities, raise the income of the people and to bring about a more balanced and integrated rural economy. In this connection government’s aim was to consider the traditional industries of the rural areas.

As the rural economy was developing, technical changes were taking place in different fields and consequently the pattern of rural economy industrialization was also changing from simple crafts meeting elementary needs to small industries based on steadily improving techniques and designed to satisfy the needs of the more advanced character. In this connection two steps were taken during the first plan, first arranging substantial finance for the development of village and small industries and building up of a network of All India Boards to deal with the problems of the handloom industry, khadi and villages industries, handicrafts, small scale industries, sericulture and the coir industry. Greater attention on the part of the central and state governments and the expending activities of the All India Boards had increased production and employment in a number of
Industries. The handloom industry, which was in a difficult situation, received considerable support. The value of khadi, according to the figures furnished by the khadi board increased from Rs. 1.3 crores in 1950-57 to over Rs. 5 crores in 1955-56.\textsuperscript{32}

In many of the remaining industries, much of the initial expenditure had been on research, marketing, organization. The All India Khadi and Village Industries Board were set up a technological institute for village industries and had also established central and regional institutions for the training of workers. The All India Handicraft Board had assisted research in new designs and patterns and in improved processes. The Coir Board had promoted the formation of co-operative societies for the collection of husk and the production and supply of yarn.

Another step had been the government’s acceptance in principle of the stores purchase committee’s recommendation that certain classes of stores should be reserved exclusively for purchase from village and small industries that price differentials should be allowed to them over the products of large-scale industries. The value of purchases made from cottage and small scale industries by the Directorate General of Supplies and disposals had increased from Rs. 66 lakhs in 1952-53 to Rs. 105 lakhs in 1954-55. During the first five year plan many sales depots for handloom, handicrafts and village industries had been established.

In the first five year plan the principle of common production programmes for related large scale and small scale industries was recommended. The possible elements of a common production programme
were stated to be reservation of spheres of production, non-expansion of
capacity in large-scale industry, imposition of excise on products of large
scale industries and positive measures for the supply of rent materials,
equipment and technical and financial assistance to the small industries.
(The production of certain varieties of cloth had been reserved for the
handloom industry and an excise duty had been levied on the production of
large mills so as to build up a fund from which financial assistance could be
given to handloom and khadi industries). For excise duty had also been
levied on the large scale leather footwear industry. Printing of cloth by large
mills had been limited to their best years output during the period 1949-59,
and expansion of the capacity of large units for garment making had been
restricted. A differential excise duty had been imposed on the washing soap
industry and a subsidy was given for neem and non-edible oils used in
making soap.

In regard to a number of other industries also including certain types
of agricultural implements, furniture making, sports goods, states and
pencils, it had been decided to reserve further expansion of production for
small units. The village and small scale industries committee was appointed
by the planning commission in June 1955, commonly known as Karve
Committee. In making its proposals the committee kept three principal aims
in view namely –

(i) To avoid as far as possible, during the period of the second plan,
further technological unemployment such as occurs specially in the
traditional village industries.
(ii) To provide for as large a measure of increased employment as possible during the plan period through different village and small industries.

(iii) To provide the basis of structure of an essentially decentralized society and also for progressive economic development at a fairly rapid rate.

The Karve Committee considered that the progressive expansion and modernization of rural industry could be best brought by the establishment of small industrial units, along with the necessary services in large villages and small towns located all over the country. In the industrial policy resolution no 30th April, 1956, reference had been made to the policy of supporting cottage and village and small-scale industries; which the state had been following by restricting the volume of production in the large scale sector by differential taxation or by direct subsidies. The resolution also recommended that rural electrification and the availability of power at prices which the workers can afford will also be of considerable help. Emphasis was laid in the resolution on the organization of industrial co-operatives which would assist many activities related to the small-scale production.

In the first five year plan a common production programme was suggested as a convenient way of expressing the desirability of considering, while formulating programmes of development for different branches of industry, and the respective contributions which large and small units could make towards the total requirements of the community and the measures which should be taken to enable small industries to fulfill the targets proposed for them. Those measures fall broadly into two groups, namely (i) those intended to provide a degree of preference or assurance of a market for
small units; (ii) those intended to provide assistance through supply of raw materials, technical guidance, financial assistance, training, research, organization of marketing etc.

The first five year plan visualized that one or more of two main steps might be needed in furtherance of a common production programme.

(i) Reservation or demarcation of spheres of production;

(ii) Non-expansion of the capacity of a large-scale industry.

Proposals for non-expansion of the capacity of a large scale industry were considered from two different points of view. The first is the extent to which such a measure would enlarge the market for small units. Therefore it was decided that licensing of industries should be extended to the field of agricultural processing.

Besides it was also decided that village and small industries co-operatives had to be developed to the greatest extent possible. In this regard the experience of the handloom board in encouraging the formation of weaver’s cooperatives illustrates some of the conditions needed for the growth of co-operation in small industry. The number of handlooms included in the co-operative fold increased from 626,119 in 1950-51 to 788,664 in 1953-54 and to 878,984 in 1954-55 and was expected to reach a million by the end of the first plan. And for the formation of co-operatives the handloom board had provided assistance to weavers in share capital and in working capital from 75 to 87% of the share value was contributed as loan by the government and due balance was provided by the weaver. Weaver’s co-operative organization at different levels were federated so that there were central agencies available for supplying raw materials, offering
technical advice, arranging for credit from co-operative sources and providing better marketing facilities. In the coir industry, 120 primary coir marketing societies, 22 husk co-operative societies and two central coir marketing co-operative societies had been formed. And in Uttar Pradesh progress had been made among particular classes of artisans, as among tanners and leather workers. The government had viewed that in almost all village and small industries there was a scope for supply and marketing co-operatives. Producer co-operatives had greater possibilities in some fields them in others. Supply and marketing co-operatives were in themselves an important means of aiding small units and securing steady improvement in techniques, including quality control holding of stocks against future demand and supply of credit. The Karve Committee also suggested that a network of well organized industrial co-operatives for supply and marketing will be essential if a scheme of assured marketing as envisaged by the village and small-scale industries committee is to be tried out.

Marketing research was suggested to provide the basis of knowledge and information for shaping and properly orientating the production programmes of the various industries. As small town and rural electrification was extended, a large number of small industries will be worked out by power and the adoption of improved techniques. In this connection during second five year plan the number of places with population less than 10,000 which had electricity was expected to increase from 6500 to 16,599. Further it was also suggested that since there was scope for utilization of electricity in agriculture and the small industries; local schemes could be undertaken in the form of diesel installations or in hilly areas through hydro-electric stations.
The committee also suggested that improvement of housing conditions of artisans should be an important item in the programmes of decentralized industrial development, as often the house of the artisan was also his workplace. There were provisions for the allotment for individual industries but the committee recommended that this scheme would be supplemented by giving due attention to the needs of housing of artisans; and rural housing programmes were kept specially in view.

For credit and finance the Karve recommended that short term or working capital were needed for purchase and stocking of raw materials and for the stocking of finished goods, finance was also required for enabling artisans to contribute to the share capital of co-operatives; for the purchase of tools and equipments and for investment in land. The committee suggested that to very limit extended medium and long term finance were provided by state finance corporations. Co-operative institutions could get working capital through banking channels. The Reserve Bank and State Banks were asked to play vital role in the integrated scheme of finance for village and small industries; besides coordinated policy based on close collaboration between the Reserve Bank, the State Bank of India, State Finance Corporations and Central Co-operative Banks was required in this regard. The Rural Credit Survey Committee emphasized the need for the Reserve Bank of India to take an active role in the provision of short-term credit for industrial cooperatives.

**OUTLAY ON VILLAGE AND SMALL INDUSTRIES**
Expenditure incurred on the development of village and small industries during the first five year plan is shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>1951-55</th>
<th>1955-56</th>
<th>Total 1951-56</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Handlooms</td>
<td>6.5 crores</td>
<td>4.6 crores</td>
<td>11.1 crores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khadi</td>
<td>4.9 crores</td>
<td>3.5 crores</td>
<td>8.4 crores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village Industries</td>
<td>1.1 crores</td>
<td>3.0 crores</td>
<td>4.1 crores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Scale Industry</td>
<td>2.0 crores</td>
<td>3.2 crores</td>
<td>5.2 crores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handicrafts</td>
<td>0.4 crores</td>
<td>0.6 crores</td>
<td>1.0 crores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silk and Sericulture</td>
<td>0.8 crores</td>
<td>0.5 crores</td>
<td>1.3 crores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coir</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0.1 crores</td>
<td>0.1 crores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>15.7 crores</strong></td>
<td><strong>15.5 crores</strong></td>
<td><strong>31.2 crores</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The draft plant for the second five year period prepared by the various boards and by the state governments were considered by the village and small scale industries committee which had been set the task of preparing proposals, by industries and wherever possible, by states, for the utilization of resources which were expected to be available during the second plan for the development of village and small scale industries. The committee recommended programmes and allocations involving a total outlay of about Rs. 260 crores which also included provision for working capital which was about Rs. 65 crores.

An allocation of Rs. 88 crores was proposed for the handloom industry including cotton, silk and wool, Rs. 2.2 crores for wool spinning
and weaving (Khadi), Rs. 23 crores for decentralized cotting spinning and khandi, Rs. 47.4 crores for the various villages industries, Rs. 11 crores for handicrafts, Rs. 65 crores for small scale industries, Rs. 6 crores for sericulture, Rs. 2 crores for coir spinning and weaving and Rs. 15 crores for general schemes. The provision for working capital required for the development of the various village and small industries was to given by the government in the initial years of the plan period, that is until adequate arrangements for the supply of working capital through normal banking and institutional channels become available. The All India Khadi Board and Village Industries Board had estimated their requirements for working capital for the entire plan period Rs. 28.5 crores of which about Rs. 7 crores was the khand and the balance for village industries.

**EXPENDITURE ON VILLAGE AND SMALL INDUSTRIES IN THE SECOND PLAN (Rs. Crores)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Centre</th>
<th>States</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Handloom</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>58.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khadi &amp; Village Indstry</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>51.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handicrafts</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Scale Industry</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>45.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sericulture</td>
<td>02.0</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coir Spinning &amp; Weaving</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Scheme</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Part of the programme for village and small industries was to be implemented directly by the central ministries or by All India Boards functioning under their aegis. The remaining programme was to be implemented by states on the advice of the ministries and the boards; as mentioned in above data of the IIInd plan.

Under the programmes of production in the second plan the handloom industry produced a much larger quantity of cloth than previous years. According to the estimate of the village and small scale industries committee the additional quantity produced on handlooms was about 1700 yards by the end of the second five year plan. The development programme for the handloom industry it was proposed to increase the number of handloom in the co-operative field from 1 million to 1.45 million. It was also proposed to introduce technical and other improvements thus raising the production per unit from about 4 yards to about 6 to 8 yards a day. Loans were advanced to the weavers to enable them to join co-operatives and working capital was to be provided.

Besides the object decentralized spinning on an extensive scale was mainly to provide the requirements of handlooms which were otherwise dependent upon mill yarn. With this view efforts and experiments had been made over several years to devise a technically sound and low cost charkha. A pilot scheme which includes training centers, production centers and center for the production of the Ambar Charkha had been launched by the khadi and village industries board. A pilot schemes with about 6,000 spinning sets in over one hundred centes spread over the country was on final stage. The technical as well as the economic aspects of the spinning set,
including productivity, production costs, subsidies required and acceptability of the yarn for handlooms were under examination by a committee. Khadi and village industries board had prepared a tentative programme for the manufacture and introduction of 2.5 million muld-spindle charkhas over a period of five years, offering prospects of past time employment to about five million persons. So, for khadi which had been woven from traditional charka yarn, would produce in future in greater measure from Ambar Charkha yarn. Production of traditional khadi was proposed to be raised from 34 million yards, including 5 million yards on self-sufficiency basis, to 60 million yards in the course of the second plan at a total expenditure of Rs. 21 crores, including working capital.

The development programme for woolen khadi was aimed at increasing the production of blanketing cloth from about 250,000 yards in 1956-57 to one million yards in 1960-61. The principal village industries to be developed during the second plan were hand-pounding of rice, vegetable oil, leather footwear and tanning, gur and khandsari and cottage match. Rice milling committee had reviewed the problems of the hand-pounding rice industry. Keeping in view the Karve Committee it was proposed that all power driven rice mills should be licensed and that no new mills should be allowed to be set up nor expansion of capacity of the existing mills allowed, except where it was considered essential in the public interest. And it was also recommended that hand pounded rice produced by hand pounding centers and certified by Khadi Board might be exempted from sales.

Karve Committee reviewed all the problems related to the vegetable oil (Ghani); concluded that the development of the vegetable oil (Ghani)
industry depends in a part on the possibility of diverting larger supplies to edible oilseeds to ghanis for crushing and on the possibilities of including oil mills to utilize greater quantities of cotton seed. The Karve Committee proposed that, measures should be adopted for discouraging and where necessary, regulating on a regional basis the crushing of *sesamum, neiger* and *kardi* seeds by the mills. It had also been suggested that no new oil mills should be allowed to be set up except in area where it is not possible to adopt alternative methods of crushing oil seeds and interest free loans should be given to village oilmen so, that they can become share holders of co-operative societies. The Karve Committee also proposed that the present policy of cottage leather industry should be continued during the second plan also and the increased demand of the leather footwear should meet by small scales and cottage units. They should be provided financial assistance in the form of loans so, that they may became share-holders of the co-operative societies or may purchase improved equipments.

Regarding Bee keeping industry, it was proposed that training would be given to field men and apiarists. All India Khadi and Village Industries Board expected total expenditure 59 lakhs in 1956-57 and Rs. 86 lakhs in 1960-61, the total expenditure over the plan second period was about 5 crores. Besides 80 factory units were established by 1960-61 for the production of hand made paper.

Handicrafts appeal the consumers principally through their distinctive and artistic designs. During second five year plan it was proposed to undertake schemes for the improvement of designs and to organize regional designing centers, scholarships and technical research was promoted for the
artisans to improve crafts designing. For improvement of marketing arrangements within the country sales depots as well as crafts museums were set up at a number of centers; mobile vans were used to serve the local markets, fairs. Sales shops and show cases were provided at places visited by tourists, stations, aerodromes etc.

Special attention was given to the introduction of the co-operative form of organization in the marketing of handicrafts. Export of the handicrafts was developed through participation in international exhibitions and trade fairs. For the development of traditional and new crafts assistance was given to states on the advice of the handicrafts board training cum-production centers were setup in the states for various crafts such as art metal work, toys, palmyra fibre, stone and marble carving, embroidery, bamboo articles, glazed ceramic-wave. Specific handicrafts like wooden toys, cane and bamboo work were promoted in Uttar Pradesh.

The pragramme undertaken directly by the central government involving an expenditure of about Rs. 10 crores included further extension of technical servicing through the small industries service institutes and the establishment of an industrial extension service a scheme for hire-purchase of machinery, establishment of a marketing service and undertaking of pilot projects in selected centres and industries. It was proposed that small scale service institutes from four to 20, so that each state had at least one institute. The institute was providing technical advice in response to enquiries from small units regarding improved types of machines, equipment and processes, use of raw materials and methods of reducing cost. The marketing services were to be operated along three times. Firstly, wholesale depots were
opened; and the national small industries corporation would purchase those goods according to certain quality standards. Secondly; the national small industries corporation was asked to negotiate with the Director-General of supplies and disposals for placing stores purchase orders with small industries. Thirdly the small industries service institutes through a special whole time technical officer would explore the scope for obtaining orders from large industries for various components and parts which small units can manufacture.

As the marketing service and the hire-purchase system of machinery were extended; so subsidiary corporations of the national small industries corporations were proposed to setup to supply iron and steel and other raw material required for the use of small industries.

A provision of 10 crores had been made for setting up industrial estates in the second five year plan with a view to providing conditions for favourable to working efficiency, maintenance or uniform standards in production and economic utilization of materials and equipment. It was proposed that state governments would run the estates through corporations and the central governments would advance the entire cost of the estates in the form of loans. Ten large industrial estates had already been approved all over the country and U.P. was one of them. Two types of industrial estates were proposed by the plan, large ones costing 40 to 50 lakhs and small ones costing from 20 to 25 lakhs were expected to be established. The village and small scale industries committee expressed the view that industrial estates should be located in such a way that they do not encourage further concentration of population in large urban centers. In deciding the location
of the states, especially the smaller estates, this consideration should be kept in view so, that preferably they are developed in or near towns of comparatively small size. So, for state schemes were concerned, these schemes were of four types.

(i) Technical service and research schemes, e.g. training cum-production or training-cum-demonstration centers and polytechnics;

(ii) Production schemes of a pilot character initiated departmentally with a view to being turned over to industrial co-operatives or private enterprises.

(iii) Production schemes of a commercial character and loans to private concerns under state aid to industries acts;

(iv) Schemes for supply of power.

Besides the Karve Committee stated that state industrial departments; would continue to handle all matters regarding enquiries for starting industries, financial and other forms of assistance needed by industries, organization of industrial cooperatives etc. There was a mutual consultation in such matters as pilot-schemes of central government, such as, model workshops, arranging for the services of technical experts and preparation of lists of industries suitable for different regions. Model schemes for some industries had already been prepared by the office of the development commissioner for small scale industries. In proposing schemes for developing various schemes for developing various small scale industry conditions of demand, availability of raw material and other relevant factors had to be studied. Different regions were selected for industries with
accordance to their favourable conditions exist and industries were promoted and assisted accordingly. In preparing departmental schemes and in scrutinizing the applications from private persons for loan and other assistance, reference to lists of selected industries could be of much assistance. Exploratory surveys as well as intensive studies were required for their preparation and for the necessary modifications in the light of changing conditions.

Sericulture had high employment potentials and provided supplementary occupation to large numbers of rural families. Schemes for the improvement and development of both mulberry and non-mulberry silk had been in operation during the first plan period, but in all directions a larger effort was envisaged in the second plan. The Karve Committee suggested that the bulk of the programme will be implemented in the state, central scheme being confined to general coordination and all India research centers. In regard to mulberry silk an important item in the development programme is the reduction in costs of mulberry leaf through substitution of existing mulberry with higher yielding, evolving new varieties mulberry of higher yield and improvement in cultivation method. The committee also suggested that as an experimental measure cooperative societies for raising young warms of the first and second stages collective were to be established. Cooperative marketing and testing of cocoons, grading of cocoons and introduction of a system of payment of cocoon prices on actual yield was also undertaken. Besides primary co-operative societies were to be organized for retting; distribution of retted husk to members for the production of coir yarn and for the collection of yarn. Coir marketing societies were also organized for the sale of the yarn received from primary
societies. During second plan unions were also set up for exercising supervision and control over primary societies. Cooperatives were assisted by grants.

The Karve Committee suggested that state industries departments must be strengthened training must be provided to the field staff and to artisans. Artisans should come under co-operatives. The committee also emphasized on establishing suitable arrangements for marketing the products of industries.

Provision for strengthening industries departments had been made in the plan under “General Schemes”, for staff employed on small scale industries; the government of India beard a 50% of the expenditure on salaries and allowances for a period of three times commencing from 1955-56. The Karve committee recommended that most of the organizational work for the development of village and small industries had to be done in the states. The committee also suggested that in each state village and small scale programmes would have to be implemented through a well-knit organization which had adequate staff both at the technical and extension levels and works in close association with cooperative agencies.

These organizations had to work in urban areas at developed centers in co-operation with associations of artisans and small entrepreneurs and also had to work in close association with rural development programmes so as to reduce under-employment. Both these tasks had to be done by trained extension workers; and by the passage of time the role of official agencies was diminished. Indian National Congress conducted a policy to ameliorate
the problems of Indian country side by investing in irrigation, agro research, agro-modernization and mechanization which paved way to the development of industrial expansion; urban industrial economy was expanded and industrial development was able to absorb the landless population in its rapidly expanding industrial and services sectors.
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