

Gramdan – Implications And Possibilities

D.R.Gadgil

In the presidential address to the Allahabad Agricultural Economics Conference, I made an examination of Bhoodan from the point of view of land management organization in India. As a result of that examination I concluded that as considered against a static background Bhoodan had justification. If there was no prospect of a change either in the structure of economic society or the level of its productivity, social justice supported the plea of the Bhoodan movement. If the population was to remain prominently agricultural and poor there was every reason for sharing our poverty more equitably. However, if we could look forward to progressive and fairly rapid economic development, Bhoodan ideology and such success as the movement achieved in practical terms may prove a handicap in the proper solution of the land management and production problems at a later stage. Since I made this examination, the Bhoodan movement has undergone considerable development. The concept of Gramdan has emerged and emphasis has progressively shifted from Bhoodan to Gramdan. I heartily welcome this development; because, while I still hold that in a dynamic situation Bhoodan would prove inappropriate, I can visualize Gramdan being a powerful instrument of initiating the rapid socio-economic changes, in bringing about which there appears general agreement in the country.

The first point to be made in this regard is that Gramdan cannot be and should not be looked upon as a mere extension of Bhoodan. The slogan of both may be the same (सबै भूमि गोपाल की) but whereas Bhoodan appeals to you in the name of the landless to part with a little bit as an act of charity, Gramdan requires you to put your all in the pool and abide by the common decision. Further, the contention that in Bhoodan "dan" is to be interpreted not as charity but as equal distribution was never proved in practice to be true and was difficult to accept even conceptually. With Gramdan, there is no difficulty in accepting this definition of of the term "dan". However, it requires to be examined whether there are any difficulties in the way of its possible operation, in practice, in that direction.

It is often said that the Indian countryside requires an economic and social revolution. It is necessary to be specific about the nature of this revolution. Economic power in the countryside is today exercised chiefly by two elements. The first of these is represented by the trader-moneylender class who chiefly profit from all opportunities of gain connected with the finance of agricultural production and with trading in the countryside. This element is connected chiefly with the urban trading and financial communities and acts as their representative in the countryside. The other element is that of the substantial landlords and farmers, say, the top 10 percent. These are ordinarily holders of land as also cultivators of it on a comparatively large scale and they usually wield considerable political and social power. In some instances the two elements would have much in common and may act together closely. In many areas, however, they would be separate.

The problems of change involved in the two cases are different and different types of programmes have to be devised for them. In relation to the operations of the trader-moneylending interest, the programme now adopted appears to be that of strengthening co-operative efforts in the spheres of both agricultural finance and marketing with extended emphasis on processing activities; the co-operatives are to be helped by direct State activity in storage and warehousing of agricultural produce and, perhaps, also in purchase of agricultural products at a later state. This programme, if successful, would still not affect the position of the top agriculturists. They would be left as strong as before; actually their position may become stronger as a result of the diminution of the influence of traders and moneylenders if in the co-operatives which take their place the top cultivator elements are

dominant. Such domination on their part may indeed be expected and would ordinarily take place unless special efforts are made to obviate it.

The present position of the top agriculturists depends on their command of extensive land areas and will continue as long as this command lasts. Therefore, their position could be affected only by certain types of land reform proposals.

Both these programme, that of land reform and of co-operative development, are today largely paper programmes. It is indeed possible that they may be seriously whittled down even before they are launched. It is clear that there are today powerful forces operating at the highest level working for the retention of the trader-moneylender class in rural India. Two recent events may be noted which are of significance in this connection. The first is the keenness of many in authority to ensure the continuance of the operations of the private trader even in the handling of foodgrains. The second is the attack on the whole programme of strengthening of co-operative primary units by making their sizes economic and by supplying them initially with required financial resources by contributions from the State. The opposition takes the form of raising a cry of voluntarism. If safely ignores or deliberately shuts its eyes to the universal lesson, specially emphasized by experience in India, that the unaided activities of the poor and the weak can make no advance against the heavily entrenched position of the trader-moneylender classes. The plea for small uneconomic single village units and for denying financial aid to primaries of poor peasants, in a country where all the largest industrial units have been established through and maintained by sacrifices imposed on the consumers and have been given all kinds of State aid, including concessional finance, appears no more than an unsuccessful attempt at concealing the real intentions of those who want to maintain the *status quo*. The great difficulty of doing anything effective in the matter of land reform shows the strength of the other element which is powerful in the countryside. The basic sterility of the community projects administration stems from its inability and unwillingness to do anything which will affect the position and interests of these two entrenched classes. The approach of the C. P. A. is illustrated by a recent survey which revealed that the C. P. A. was unwilling to encourage the scheduled castes to assert their constitutional guarantee of legal and civic rights.

The position may be summarized as follows. There is general agreement that economic, political and social progress must rapidly take place in the countryside. At present there is, in fact, very unequal distribution of rural resources and the benefits of the better terms of trade for agriculture have most largely accrued to the financing, trader-moneylender classes and next, in some measure, to big cultivators. A change in this situation and a rapid movement forward in production could take place only if there is a more even distribution of productive resources, greater economic strength on the part of the smaller units leading to ability to withstand pressures from either the top cultivator's strata or the moneylender-trader classes and a concentration of the finance, trading and processing of agricultural production in the hands of the cultivating community itself. In order to achieve these ends there are planned programmes of land reform and of co-operative development and there is a special agency, the Community Projects Administration charged with the responsibility of promoting technical improvement and welfare.

Barring the abolition of Zaminadari, which in itself does not complete land reform but merely brings the problem in the older Zaminadari areas conceptually to the same level as in the Ryotwari areas, no great success has yet been achieved in the programme of land reform. In many States comprehensive legislation on well established principles is itself lacking. Where legislation is satisfactory the implementation of the tenancy provisions is either weak or the local land-owning classes have successfully circumvented it. The programmed of redistribution of land and the strengthening of the uneconomic units by some sort of pooling of land and other resources lags in every way, far behind even the tenancy aspect of land reform. Programmes of co-operative development in relation to

finance, marketing and processing have made some headway in states where already non-official co-operation was strong and had some idea of the nature of the problem faced by it. In other States the progress is far from satisfactory and there is likelihood of the programme in this regard meeting heavy weather in the near future. The Community Projects Administration is unable to take any action which vitally affects the interests of existing powerful groups of rural society. There is no prospect, therefore, of any immediate large scale socio-economic change in the countryside and this is so simply because there is no desire for any such change among those who hold economic and political power. It is only when pressures generate from below and discontent with existing conditions comes to surface that the formally accepted programmes could become alive.

I shall now examine, against this background, whether Gramdan can be an instrument of directly, by itself, bringing about the social revolution or of generating the pressures necessary to bring it about. It would be appropriate to give replies to these questions by examining the possible effects of Gramdan on each of the aspects of the present situation indicated above. In the first instance, then, how could Gramdan affect the position of the moneylender-trader classes vis-à-vis village society? The act of Gramdan, by itself, in no way, immediately or directly affects the position of the trader-moneylender class. Only to the extent that the operations of the moneylender had been based on mortgages of land either with a view to its ultimate acquisition or merely for greater security of credit, Gramdan involving the transfer of individual rights in land to the village community as a whole would affect them. However, the findings of the Rural Credit Survey indicate that in recent years the extent of mortgage credit in the countryside has decreased considerably. To the extent further, that though there was no explicit charge on land or a mortgaging of it, a moneylender operated in the light of the possibility of selling out the land by the cultivator and was persuaded thereby to give credit liberally, Gramdan would lead to its contraction. However, the total effect of this consideration is not likely to be large. As result of tenancy and alienation legislation, the free market in land has almost disappeared in most states and the land value basis of credit has been considerably narrowed.

The trader and his operations are not directly affected at all by Gramdan. Gramdan, by itself, cannot lead to community action in relation to credit, marketing and processing. Gramdan may create an atmosphere favorable to community efforts, but they do not automatically follow on Gramdan and would require somebody showing initiative and taking positive action. In this context, a difficulty is likely to arise which will have to be faced by all Gramdan workers. Barring exceptional cases, the combined resources of a Gramdan community in money or management ability etc. are not likely to be large enough for them, unaided, to dispense with the services of moneylender traders. Therefore, those who preach Gramdan and bring it about must consider it as, inevitably and logically, their own responsibility to provide the needed additional resources for at least a period from outside. This means that the co-operative development and technical improvement programmes which are being advocated elsewhere must be operated in the Gramdan villages and in this task the initiative and even the full responsibility, in the early stage, must be taken by the Gramdan workers. Reports from some areas where Gramdans are supposed to have taken place but where little has been done for loosening the hold of traders and moneylenders and the disruptive effects of such a state of affairs indicate that this point is not irrelevant to the developing situation. These observations mean that the act of Gramdan by itself will not bring about the desired change in relation to the position of moneylender-traders and that this problem has to be tackled specifically as part of the reorganization following Gramdan at least in the initial stage, by the Gramdan workers themselves.

Gramdan should directly affect the position of the other dominant class of the big landlords and cultivators. Without the active co-operation and consent of the more substantial landowners and cultivators in the village, no Gramdan can come about. Therefore, the statement that a Gramdan has been completed should be held equivalent to the statement

that the top strata of cultivators and landowners in the village have voluntarily withdrawn from their entrenched position. What are the important results which could flow from this act of voluntary surrender? In this context also it is necessary to distinguish between what will necessarily happen following the propaganda leading to Gramdan and what must take place if Gramdan is to prove a powerful instrument of change.

With the history of Bhoodan behind it the initial redistribution after Gramdan is likely to emphasize the aspect of giving a minimum of area of land to the landless and the smallest holders. It has already been the experience that such redistribution at the initial stage may be largely notional and may not affect materially the position of the large holders and the general pattern of command over resources in the village. That the initial step is not far reaching may not necessarily be a bad thing. As long as the initial step is no more than the first of a series, too much importance need not be attached to it. However, this implies that in the Gramdan village a force has been created which will bring about gradually all the desired changes. In the context of land management these changes may be considered under two broad heads. The first of these is consolidation. The technical need for consolidation is universally granted. At the same time, it is general experience that consolidation is a somewhat slow and expensive process. Gramdan can in no way obviate the need for the consolidation effort. Will it make the effort cheaper or more expeditious? The theoretically absolute right in relation to redistribution of land that the Gramdan village community may be supposed to acquire as a result of Gramdan should prove an extremely important asset in the process of consolidation. Both the expenses and the time required should be capable of material reduction because of this in the Gramdan village. But the effort at consolidation will not follow automatically because of Gramdan. The Gramdan community must be aware of the technical, long term need for consolidation and must have a functioning authority which will exercise the powers and organize the effort needed for it.

Perhaps even more important than consolidation is how the concept of the ceiling operates and what is done to the uneconomic holdings in the Gramdan villages. In this matter also there is no step or action that is inevitably connected with Gramdan or which logically follows from it. The attitude of Bhoodan workers towards common production and co-operative farming has become more favorable in recent years; but even today the ultimate objectives regarding, for example, the organization for production do not seem to be clearly visualized. The usual questions regarding the proportion of individual and of common or co-operative farming or other effort, the maximum and minimum sizes of individual and co-operative holdings, measures to prevent departure from accepted norms in these matters, will all have to be faced in the Gramdan villages also. The Gramdan villages will have only one advantage in this regard. They need not immediately attempt all that is thought as being ultimately desirable and they need not now finalize details of the ultimate picture. However, the broad outline must, in any case, be determined immediately and, further, provision must be made to see that the first tentative efforts are followed by continuous progress towards the end objectives.

There is undoubtedly a great deal in the notion that what is accepted willingly and with understanding would give a firm and lasting basis to change. The stages by which a certain pattern is brought about may be few or many or may take long or short time and there may be differences in the stages and the pace at which in the various Gramdan villages change is proceeding. Some variation even in the ultimate pattern could be visualized and it would be one of the merits of this approach that it gives you scope for considerable experimentation; it is also obviously implied in it that there would be close adjustment of the various stages and experiments to local circumstance and need. The circumstances would not merely be economic but also social and psychological and it may be necessary to look to and make adjustments for the latter to the same degree as for the former. When all this is said, it would still remain true that the general direction in which the Gramdan villages proceed will have to be clearly formulated. The idea thus brought

out in the context of land management that each Gramdan village is a unit which is committed to a programme of consolidating land and creating units of efficient operation of it (however, interpreted) and that this programme will proceed by stages and will be adopted to the needs of the situation in each village all implies continuous operation of an organization or authority in each Gramdan village. At each stage of further step in consolidation or creation of new efficient units, the Gramdan authority will have to exercise its rights regarding resumption and redistribution of land. A gradual process would be possible only if such rights continued to exist and were actively exercised. This again means that the Gramdan authority could not at any stage resign its powers or create permanent vested rights against itself. If, therefore, at the initial or at any specific stage in the redistribution of land, possibilities of later distribution were closed, the elasticity of operation and the possibility of progress in the Gramdan village would also be closed. All this could be summed up perhaps best by saying that a Gramdan village in which resumption and redistribution of land are not continuous active possibilities, would cease in fact to be a Gramdan village.

The formulation arrived at above has far reaching result. For example, it implies that the ordinary laws of tenancy operating in a state would not operate in a Gramdan village. The whole elasticity of the Gramdan would be lost if tenancy laws were held applicable. The act of Gramdan must be held thus to involve not only complete surrender of existing rights in relation to land by all types of present holders but also the decision not to alienate any of the surrendered rights to any person, family or organization at any time in the future. This suggests that the individual cultivator in a Gramdan village would be, vis-a-vis the Gramdan authority, in a position similar to that of a tenant-at-will. Such a status would be agreed to by members of the Gramdan community only if it was guaranteed that in a Gramdan village, none of the usual disabilities to tenants-at-will continue to operate. For example, it would have to be guaranteed by the Gramdan community that each holder who cultivated independently had fully adequate credit and supplies, whatever the status and size of holding and that even though he held no permanent or long term rights in any particular piece of land his economic security was looked after by the community at least as well as if he held a piece of land or property permanently. Existence of a continuously functioning right of resumption and redistribution is thus seen to involve the obligation of looking after permanently the economic interest and security of all constituents but also to their dependents, successors in title etc. Perhaps even this is too arrow a definition of the responsibility. The fact that one of the first acts of the Gramdan village is usually to vest some land in the landless in the village shows that the responsibility shouldered by the Gramdan community is not confined to those who are holders of land today. The responsibility extends to non-owners as well as to owners, to non-agriculturists as well as to agriculturists. It covers all of them. The Gramdan village, in fact, takes responsibility for the economic security and welfare of all who form members at any one time, of the Gramdan community.

Let us examine this further by reference to some of the usual difficulties experienced in the operation of tenancy laws. One of these relates to alienability of land and the raising of credit. The Gramdan community is essentially the superior holder of land. As no other holder within the Gramdan village would have any transferable rights, he would have no right to create a charge on any piece of land. Therefore, to the extent that resources could be had only through creation of a charge on land resources such credit could be raised only by the community and by no individual or institution within it. Is this to be taken to mean that, for example, intermediate and long term credit would have to be raised by the village community itself and would it logically follow that, in this instance, the village community and the borrowing authority for this purpose would have to be identical? It does not seem absolutely necessary to accept this somewhat inconvenient position. With the current programme of land reform in India the land mortgage basis of long term agricultural credit is more and more receding into the background. Both the alienability of

land and determinancy of the value of land are no longer generally existent. Therefore, land values and long term land credit would not be as inter-connected in the future as in the past. Long term land credit related to specific approved investments and leading to expected improvements in production from which the credit is liquidated, would tend to be divorced from alienability of land in the future. Thus conditions outside the Gramdan villages would not differ materially from those within Gramdan villages. So that not necessarily the Gramdan community itself but any co-operative operated by a body of producers within the village which had an investment programme should, in the particular context, be able to obtain credit without a mortgage on land. Though it may well happen that where the investment is in land or in permanent structures imbedded in it the creditor may require the additional guarantee of the Gramdan authority as the ultimate superior holder of land. Thus in normal operations a Gramdan village may not suffer any handicap. However, the discussion makes clear that the fact of Gramdan does raise important questions regarding not only legal provision but also regarding division of functions etc. between the Gramdan authority and other associations like co-operatives within or outside the village. It also emphasizes that a large part of the development investment will have to be undertaken on a community or co-operative basis and could not be left to individual operators.

A number of difficulties of the existing tenancy laws arise in connection with enforcement. These difficulties have their origin in the overwhelming influence of the top strata among cultivators, who might also be substantial landowners. Legal provisions regarding levels of rent become ineffective as these landlords are able to enforce payment of the traditional rent in spite of the law. In view of the competition for land among tenants, legal rent becomes ineffective except against absentee landlords or perhaps landlords not belonging to the dominating cultivating communities. Similarly, security of tenure guaranteed by law loses meaning when the landlords are in a position to obtain voluntary surrenders of land from their tenants.

In a Gramdan village, such problems should not arise, initially, because of the voluntary giving up of their superior position by the big cultivators and later, because of the continuous operation of a phased programme of equitable distribution and efficient productive organization in the Gramdan village. Obviously, if the initial redistribution is nominal and no phased programmes operate, abuses flowing out of the dominant position of a small number of big cultivators will not cease merely because at one time an act of Gramdan took place.

There are other problems of tenancy arrangements which may be said to be connected with the life-cycle. These arise out of the variety of circumstances which tend to create a break, for a long or short period, in the cultivating operations of a family. There is the common case of the death etc., of the head of the family leaving only males who are minors and who are unable to carry on cultivation. Or, consider the case of a family from which one or more adults have migrated for employment outside the village while one carried on the cultivating business and due to death or incapacity of the non-migrant adult the village business is interrupted while the migrant adults may not be in a position to return to the village immediately, though they intend to return after a period. In all such cases, for long or short periods, the family might desire to vest its cultivating rights temporarily in some other person. It may, as in the case of a minority, also find it necessary to have some income from the property during this period. A problem of subletting arises in these cases. On the other hand, when the minor is able to look after the farm or the migrants return to the village for permanent settlement there arises the problem of resumption of cultivation. Subletting and resumption have, therefore, been processes for which some provision has always had to be made in all tenancy laws. At the same time it has been found that it is not easy to make a provision without serious possibilities of creating a class of pure rent receivers on the one hand and complete tenants-at-will on the other. Gramdan may be able to deal with this problem successfully.

It will do this on the two-fold assumption made above that (1) in a Gramdan village resumption and redistribution are always possible and to some extent, frequently take place; and (2) that the Gramdan authority which is the superior holder of all lands and natural resources also shoulders the responsibility of adequately providing for the economic need of all members of the village community for the time being. On this basis the Gramdan authority should have no difficulty in meeting the problems of subletting and resumption. For, if for whatever reason a family in the village is no longer able to continue cultivating operations the lands in question will be available to the Gramdan authority for being allotted to other persons or uses. At the same time when, for whatever reason, the earning capacity of a family at work is impaired it would be the responsibility of the Gramdan authority to provide appropriate work and/or relief to that family. Similarly, when in any family minors grow up and become capable of doing work or some temporary migrants return, provision of land or other type of work would have to be made for them by the Gramdan authority. Thus the dual responsibility of keeping all resources under active productive operation all the time and of finding work and sustenance for all members of the community, which the Gramdan authority shoulders, could be carried out only with a full control over productive resources of the village as a whole.

Continuous operation of powers of resumption and redistribution emerges as the key factor in all contexts. Resumption or redistribution may take place both at long intervals in a large measure and continuously in a small measure. In relation to changes in circumstances of individual families there would be continuous but marginal adjustments. On the other hand, in relation to important transformations made necessary by changes in ideas or through reaching limits of important phases of a long term programme or by reason of the need to introduce new techniques or undertake new common ventures, the operation may have to cover simultaneously almost all the village resources and may bring about very substantial changes. With this view of the functioning of the Gramdan authority, the tenancy difficulties discussed above will get dealt with as parts of the continuous adjustment process.

It will be realized that this formulation of the responsibilities and functions of the Gramdan authority implies interest on its part not only in agriculture but also in economic activity other than agricultural. As manager of land and of the cultivator's economy in general the Gramdan authority will have to concern itself with the fodder, fuel and forest resources connected with the village and with their management. As the authority proceeds to take its responsibility of providing work more and more seriously, it will find it necessary to enter the field, for example, of organization of village industries, as this will be the area in which employment for most of the labor outside agriculture in the village will have to be found. This will be in addition to its activities relating to improving techniques and in every way improving the utilization of land and natural resources. All this will link up not only with the general problem of organization and development of rural industry but also of increased capital formation in connection with agriculture and such matters as development of communications, the provision of housing, the provision of overhead facilities such as water or power supply. The Gramdan authority will thus come to have an overall interest in all economic activities in the village. It may be that in many of these contexts the Gramdan authority will not operate directly but through common or co-operative organizations set up for specific purposes. In fact, experience may reveal that it may be best for the Gramdan authority to confine itself to the role of the superior holder and planner and co-ordinator, leaving all individual activities including agriculture production, marketing processing etc. to separate organizations specifically formed.

Consideration of various aspects above indicate that Gramdan may indeed prove an agency of resolving satisfactorily a number of difficult problems that confront us in bringing about change in rural society. It may break the power of the top strata of

cultivators; it may eliminate the moneylender-traders from agricultural production and marketing; it may satisfactorily deal with many problems of land arrangements and management arising out of changes in fortunes of individual families etc.; it may organize total resources and economic activity successfully; it may bring about greater equality and generate enthusiasm from which all would benefit. It is at the same time equally clear that for attaining all this it must recognize spheres of action and responsibilities which are not generally recognized as pertaining to it and take on itself a wider and more positive role than has been hitherto envisaged.

However, this wider concept raises urgently and in an acute form the problem of defining the relation of the Gramdan village to the rest of the society in general and to government of the state in particular. It has been made clear above that the Gramdan village will have to be placed outside the scope of most of tenancy and land reform legislation of the State. In many other ways, such as in dealing with the Revenue, Police, Forest, Agriculture, Industries or Co-operative Departments the special position of the Gramdan village may have to be recognized in law and in administrative practice by the authorities of the State. But this can be done only if Gramdan represents a worthwhile social experiment. Therefore, while recognizing in many ways the privileged position of the Gramdan village the State will, in fairness to itself and to the society in general, have to insist that the experience is conducted properly and moves continuously in the right direction. For this purpose there will have to be a clear definition of the ultimate objectives of the experiment, the direction in which it keeps on moving, the pace at which it moves and the persons or organizations responsible for ensuring a minimum performance. In this connection reference may be made to a notion much talked of, the notion of *Gram sankalpa*. It is often said that Gramdan operates with a *sankalpa* and the *Gram sankalpa* representing the views of the villagers and their autonomous decisions should be unguided and unfettered. It is also often said that this should be connected with a minimum of organization. Whatever the spiritual or ethical values of these ideas, it has to be clearly recognized that in terms of socio-economic policy such claims on account of *Gram Sankalpa* cannot be recognized. It was indicated earlier how Gramdan may prove abortive at early stage, so that nothing happens after an initial perfunctory redistribution of land. To treat a village in this position as a Gramdan village outside the operation of tenancy and other laws will be a travesty of socio-economic policy. Therefore, it is far from sufficient for being so treated that at one time there has been Gramdan; if subsequently there has been rigidification of all arrangements and no further movement, the village must come within operations of the ordinary State laws and State policy. To be treated as a Gramdan village the village must be seen to be shouldering responsibilities and pursuing objectives that are or should be held to be at the basis of the social philosophy and economics of Gramdan. No doubt, in judging the performance of the Gramdan villages a large margin of tolerance will have to be allowed because of the immense variety in circumstances in the country. So that the phases of the programmes in some respects, even its pattern to a limited extent and especially the time taken over its fulfilment should not be rigidly laid down. But there must be some overall directives and some overall responsibility for continuous progress. Who will shoulder this responsibility! Is it to vest merely in each Gramdan village separately or at least where there are large numbers of them in an area, will a common organization of all undertake the responsibility? Also, in no case can the State divest itself of its overall responsibility which, in this case will mean the right and duty to assess progress periodically, to issue directives and, finally, if necessary, even to suspend, supersede or extradite – extradition meaning in this context removal from the roster of Gramdan villages.

Gramdan, then is an unprecedented movement with many and complex complications and very great potentialities. Wherever the Gramdan experiment is conducted in a substantial measure very special legal and administrative provisions would be required to give it a fair trial; these could not be made perfect within a short time, and a large amount

of sympathetic experimentation could alone prove what is required. But from the outset it is also of the utmost importance that both Government and those responsible for the Gramdan movement realize fully the total implications of the effort and the experiment and are ready to carry out the related responsibilities.

Finally, a word may be said about the possible extension of the idea and the movement. Once Gramdan becomes established as an operative institution, it may in favorable circumstances grow and spread without any special propaganda or outside effort. It may then become a matter of choice for the people whether they remain in the common pattern or seek development in the Gramdan pattern with the special aids and privileges that it obtains, on the one hand and the special effort and responsibilities that they have to undertake, on the other. And it may become necessary to provide for obtaining certain requisite majorities as in other types of legislation for being counted in the Gramdan system. This is perhaps looking far ahead, but it is only if the Gramdan movement succeeds in this manner in establishing a possible pattern for which the people can deliberately opt that it could influence policy and socio-economic development in the country in a really effective manner.

(From 'Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics', Vol. 12, 1957)