

*A Decade of Agricultural Development in India* by M. Shrinivasan, Bombay: Indian Institute of Asian Studies, November 1965. Pp. 169, Rs. 12.50 (Indian) or US\$ 4.00.

*Entrepreneurship and Agricultural Development* by Dr. D. L. Narayana. Bombay: Indian Institute of Asian Studies, July 1966. Pp. 120, Rs. 10.00 (Indian) or US\$ 3.00.

Mr. Shrinivasan's book is mainly a compilation of data concerning India's agricultural development during the first and second five year plans (1951 to 1961). The major part of the book presents a detailed description of the efforts that were made during the fifties—particularly by the government—to develop agriculture and improve the farmer's condition. The discussion is divided into seven categories—technical, organizational, financial, demographic, sociological, and capital formation. The data are comprehensive and well presented. What is unfortunately lacking is an analysis of the relative efficacy of the numerous measures taken. This question is of particular interest now, since the predicted growth of the agriculture sector has failed to materialize. Nevertheless, the book is a good concise, though detailed, description of what occurred during this period and as such should serve as a useful reference work for those interested in studying India's agricultural problems.

Dr. Narayana's book contains two essays on problems of agricultural development. The first, which gives the book its title, contains a long and

occasionally rambling discussion of entrepreneurship in general and its role in agricultural development in particular. He classifies entrepreneurs according to a scale which descends from the dynamic "innovator" down to the "drone" and the "parasite" and makes the observation that farmers in traditional agriculture tend to be grouped towards the lower end of the scale. We might observe that the distribution of populations in general is probably similarly skewed except in the most exceptional cultures. The problem is that the farmer is necessarily some kind of an entrepreneur whilst the rest of us can avoid this role.

The author seems to believe that forces outside the control of the farmer are primarily responsible for their being grouped at the lower end of the scale. The supply of information and highly productive inputs are inadequate and erratic; the farmer lacks the economic capacity to undertake innovations and the incentive (as a result of inadequate land reform, *etc.*) to create this capacity; and finally, the farmer suffers from a certain amount of inertia.

His recommendations for overcoming these obstacles are, for the most part, fairly standard. He supports land-reform measures in spite of the admitted unimpressive results that have often followed. He also makes the rather unusual recommendation that the government induce internal migration—not from rural areas to urban areas, but within the rural sector. His reasoning is that since migrant farmers often do much better in newly irrigated areas than the farmers who were settled there previously, increased migration will make all farmers more enterprising.

However, this raises the basic question: were the farmers enterprising because they migrated or did they migrate because they were enterprising? If the latter is the case, is it more efficient to concentrate the more enterprising farmers in one locality or to have them spread throughout the country demonstrating the benefits of innovations to other less enterprising farmers? This question must also be answered in regard to the package-programme approach that the author recommends. Should the government undertake this programme intensively or extensively? The author concludes that the "intensive approach" is more efficient. This reviewer is not so sure. The total package of inputs might be supplied at less cost per farmer if the programme were concentrated in a small area, but the spread of these innovations to other farmers would probably not occur as rapidly. For instance, the remarkable growth in private tubewells in the Punjab can be traced to the adoption of the "extensive" approach.

One defect of the book is that no attempt has here been made to determine the characteristics of the enterprising farmers who already exist in India. Dr. Narayana admits that there is a much wider spread between the successful farmers

and the unsuccessful ones in India than exists in most other agricultural societies. This raises the question: can we determine what it is that differentiates the dynamic innovator as he exists from the ordinary farmer? This would seem to be the point from which to begin an analysis of what is required to convert the ordinary farmer into an innovator needed for rapid agricultural development.

Dr. Narayana's second essay, entitled "Agricultural Take-off and Economic Development", deals with the question of whether the primary emphasis should be placed on agriculture or on industry for economic development. He argues that agriculture can also supply the required impetus for economic growth, perhaps even more than industry can. All in all, Dr. Narayana's book makes an interesting reading.

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